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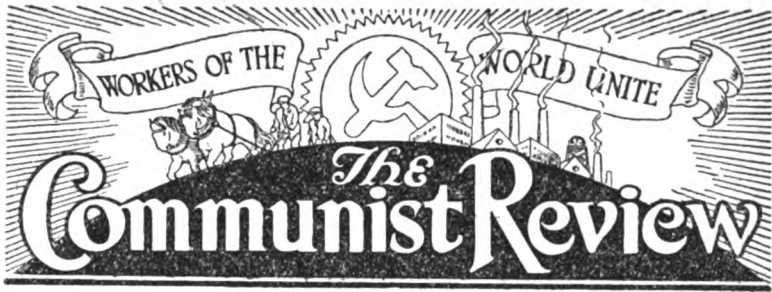
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THE EDITORIAL VIEW

THE rejection of the Government's terms (which are also those of the T.U.C. and the Labour Party), after direct recommendation by the Delegate Conference (though only by a small majority), is one of the most remarkable events in working class history, and one requiring the closest attention and analysis of every member of the Communist Party. The mock pressure on the mineowners by the Government, the mediation of the General Council, were symptoms of alarm at the growing paralysis of capitalism caused by the lock-out.

By the solution of district settlements covered by a sham national agreement, the miners were to be tricked into believing they had gained certain concessions and the traditional role of the reformist trade union leaders as "arbiters," i.e., in reality the arrangers of defeat for the workers, was to be preserved. By rejecting the terms the miners have shown that they are able to see through the miserable pretence, and the General Council is clearly placed in its rightful position of the betrayers rather than the leaders of the working class.

The vote against the Government terms has shown the impossibility of a permanent settlement in the minefields. But coal is the basic industry on which British industrial economy depends and for this reason the miners have had to bear the brunt of the present struggle, the first phase of the general offensive on the working class. What has been the cost of this attempt at stabilisation at the expense of the working class is ably shown on an

other page in George Forbes' article, "On the Moscow Road." The conclusion we must draw from the seven months' struggle is that if the capitalists are unable to obtain a stable settlement in the coal industry, if every attempt to lower the workers' standards is to be met with the same heroic resistance as the miners have shown, then British imperialism is doomed.

Politically the rejection of the terms has been the final unmasking of the Government and their allies, the treacherous mediators of the General Council and Labour Party. The reformist leaders throughout the struggle have attempted to excuse their own inactivity, their refusal to take up the definite political challenge to capitalism, by blaming the miners' militant leaders and accusing them of misrepresenting their men. This lie is now finally disposed of, and by their vote the miners have shown they possess a clearer consciousness of the issues involved in their struggle than all the so-called leaders of the Labour movement, than even the reformists on their own executive. The vote has finally placed the Government and the reformist leaders in the same camp.

* * * * *

Ever since Red Friday, 1925, the role of the T.U.C., of the Labour Party leaders, has been to avoid a conflict at any price. These reactionary leaders, who have no faith in the power of the workers, have gone over completely to ideas of class collaboration and co-operation with the political leaders of capitalism. They would tie the healthy working class to the diseased body of capitalist-imperialism, infecting it with the decay which is slowly rotting both capitalism and themselves. At every phase only the pressure of the workers has forced them into tardy and hesitating action—in July, 1925, on May 1st, 1926, and lastly in the granting of the voluntary levy to the miners, action which they have hastened immediately to repudiate or impede.

This absolute lack of political leadership of even the most elementary kind, in spite of the great courage and devotion of the locked-out miners, in spite of the unexampled solidarity of the General Strike, has been the most notable lesson of the last seven months. No section of the movement, whether so-called Rights or so-called Lefts, has come forward in the miners' struggle to make a direct political challenge to capitalism with the exception of the Communist Party.

In the near future, the miners' fight will be repeated in other industries on an even wider scale, and the workers will again see their industrial struggle for livelihood turned by the capitalists

into a political fight against the State. The future attacks will fall, not only on the standard of life, but upon the "democratic" rights of free speech, organisation and local government.

It becomes the supreme task of the Party to complete the political education of the workers by the lead we give in these future struggles and show them beyond all doubt that in these days when the industrial and political struggles have become indistinguishable only the direct political challenge to capitalism itself can save the working class, and that such a challenge can only be made by a revolutionary mass political party of the workers themselves.

* * * * *

Mr. Baldwin, cheered by turtle soup and the cup that comforts and confuses, has also been surveying affairs in the Guildhall, at the Lord Mayor's banquet. He reviewed British policy over the last three years, and its desperate efforts to stabilise Europe, for "it is perfectly obvious, to give a selfish reason, that there can be no real prosperity for this country without a settled Europe." How successful has his policy been in creating a settled Europe? Certainly, to judge from Baldwin's survey, it has been more than successful, it has been triumphant.

After drawing a sombre picture of Europe in 1923, when Germany was on the verge of collapse, and French troops were in the Ruhr, he led his listeners through Dawes and Locarno to the present day. Now the nations are "recovering." France, Germany, and Italy are working together, Germany is in the League and the League itself has gained both in "efficiency and authority" (doubtless owing to the secession of Spain and Brazil, Mr. Baldwin did not say). Debt agreements have been made with France and Italy. The Budget has been settled in Belgium. In all this good work, as in the Austrian, Hungarian and Greek refugee loans floated by the League, London banks have taken a leading part.

In other words, the partial stabilisation of Europe has deeply involved British finance. Unless Europe remains settled, those financial interests are going to receive a ruinous shock. How far is Baldwin's picture of blissful peace and growing prosperity true? Only very partially. America is the biggest creditor to European States, and up to date those States are no nearer meeting American demands than they were three years ago, but the American demands, as President Coolidge's hectoring speech in Kansas City showed, have rather become more insistent than more amenable.

Germany and France have come together, but the steel cartel, the most visible sign of that coming together, is not a particularly good omen for the continued stability of British imperialism. Indeed the return of Germany to her old position of one of the dominant Continental powers is one of two factors which are decidedly upsetting the balance in European politics to-day. In place of the mere "absence of friction" between France and Germany of which Mr. Baldwin speaks we see to-day a real economic and political agreement between the two countries **at the expense of Great Britain**, who was not even consulted, though since Locarno she has pretended to play the arbiter between the two countries. The new German imperialism which is arising with its concentrated, highly developed industry and the help of American capital, will seek in the near future to re-establish the Continental hegemony exercised in Central and Eastern Europe by the old pre-war Germany. It will once more seek a "place in the sun," and has already commenced to penetrate into the Near East again. German commercial and political activity has already been remarked in Arabia and Abyssinia. This is a very different position from the one aimed at by British diplomacy.

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The second disturbing factor is not quite so important, though it succeeds in making much more noise and attracting more attention than the new growth of German imperialism. This is the instability of Fascism in Italy. The recent dissensions in the Fascist party, the attempts on the life of Mussolini and the establishment of a legalised White Terror, are all symptoms of a more serious factor—the advent of an economic crisis in Italy. Professor Salvemini's recent lectures in Manchester have given us one of the best surveys of Fascism yet published in England. Italian industry greatly expanded during the war, has reached the limit of its markets, and unless new ones can be found, and quickly, "industrialisation" under a Fascist dictatorship is likely to prove a ruinous failure.

Particularly interesting was Professor Salvemini on the emigration problem. The closing of America to emigration has made an enormous difference to Italy. At first the expansion of industry was able to absorb the surplus, but that expansion has now ceased, mass unemployment looms up as a possibility; and the need for expansion beyond the national frontiers becomes a vital one. Hence the bombastic utterances of Mussolini to his neighbours over the Alps, hence the intriguing alliances with Britain and Spain, the first directed against Turkey and Asia Minor, the second against France and North Africa. Hence, too, the amazing Garibaldi incident, by which an Italian agent-provocateur is

deliberately paid by the Fascist police to create "incidents" with the object of embroiling France with Spain and Italy.

The split in the Fascist party which occurred when Farinacci was dismissed and Federzoni, the creature of the big landlords and capitalists, put in his place, was a sign that Mussolini hoped to "legalise" his Fascist tyranny and gain his ends by ordinary diplomatic intrigue. But the internal crisis has proved too strong. Farinacci and his petty bourgeois following, the "Left Wing" of Fascism, have forced themselves to the front again and Mussolini has instituted a white terror worse than has existed before in Poland or Hungary, in a desperate attempt to reconcile his unruly following and solve the economic crisis by Fascist "revolutionary" methods.

* * * * *

On closer inspection, Mr. Baldwin's Guildhall picture proves to be rather a trumpery affair and his three years of stabilisation and reconstruction in Europe to have brought anything but a hope of prosperity to England. Quoting the historian Trevelyan, Mr. Baldwin proudly says: "England has led the world in reconciling three things which other nations have found very difficult to do—executive efficiency, popular control and personal freedom." Yet a rather deeper glance than Mr. Baldwin gave to this country's affairs might have shown him that this boasted executive efficiency had been unable to run the basic industries of the country for nearly seven months, that in place of popular control we have the rule of the chief constable and the Ministry of Health commissioners, that personal freedom, if ever in recent years it has existed, has become a grim farce to that majority of the population which is the working class.

* * * * *

The "great commonwealth of Free Nations," another source of comfort to the harassed British imperialists, is also likely to prove a very shadowy help in this great effort at stabilisation. The Imperial Conference, applauded by Mr. Baldwin and his fellow diners as the consummation of three years' reconstruction effort and the dawn of a new era, an "industrial revolution" for the British Empire, has held its sittings in such profound secrecy that one is bound to conclude that the differences in Empire policy so marked before the Conference opened, have needed a considerable amount of smoothing over, if indeed they have been smoothed over. In any case the united political front within the Empire can be only temporary, since the economic contradictions are so profound and insoluble that any talk of Empire unity is in itself only self-comforting illusion.

The Imperial Conference has met at a time of unparalleled difficulty for British capitalism, both at home and abroad. The seven months' resistance of the miners to the 'unscrupulous attempts to stabilise capitalism at the expense of the workers' wages and hours, the failure of the foreign policy of Dawes and Locarno, have shaken the foundations of British Imperialism still further.

The successful construction of Socialism by the workers of the Soviet Union, and the victories of the Nationalist Armies in China against the forces of reaction and foreign imperialism have immensely increased the difficulties of Great Britain, as the chief supporter of world reaction and imperialist oppression.

Weakened by economic decline at home and loss of prestige abroad, the Conservative Government has had to face the difficult problem of consolidating the Empire against the great forces working for its disruption. These are the growth of home industries in the Dominions and their penetration by American capital, making them impatient of financial and political control from London, and the growth of the National revolutionary movement inside the "slave" Empire, in India, Egypt and the Near East.

Faced with these dangers, British Imperialism has sought salvation at the Empire Conference in a policy of despair. It is seeking to develop to the utmost possible extent the wealth, resources, and capacity for aggression of the Empire territories, even though this be at the expense of industrial ruin in Great Britain itself. The meaning of the statements by Messrs. Amery, Bruce, Mond and others on the new imperialist policy is that it is considered more profitable to work up the raw materials of the colonies with cheap labour on the spot and abandon to their inevitable ruin the great basic industries of the home country. This can only have one result, that British industry will be consciously hastened along the road it is already travelling, viz., of the working up of highly specialised and finished goods and luxury products, while the home country turned into a mere financial centre, is to become a parasite upon the Empire.

The Dominions are to be drawn into close co-operation by receiving a larger share of the exploitation of the slave territories by means of mandates, concessions, etc., and a tariff wall is to be erected round the Empire to form it into a centre group between American Imperialism on the one hand, and the new Continental imperialism on the other.

This new policy is full of menace for the already impoverished workers of Great Britain. It means industrial stagnation, low

wages, high prices and a vast permanent army of unemployed. It means a huge expenditure on the armed forces for the placating of Australia and the suppression of native revolts against intensive exploitation. It means an ever-growing danger of war arising from the restriction of markets, and the increasing competition with rival imperialisms.

In these circumstances, the C.P. of Great Britain points out to the whole working class the danger of Labour imperialism, which blindly supports this reactionary policy and ignores the real allies of the British working class, the millions of oppressed peoples in the British Empire, the revolutionary masses of China and the Socialist workers of the Soviet Union.

The British Imperial Conference

By M. N. Roy.

THE drama which is being enacted behind closed doors in Downing Street could be characterised as a comedy had it not been so tragic for the British Empire. It is a comedy because of the hypocritical speeches made for publication. They are talking of imperial unity and loyalty to the Crown while the conflict of interests becomes ever sharper. Baldwin virtuously concluded his inaugural speech with a quotation from St. Augustine: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things charity." But the Boer General Hertzog, who lacks Anglo-Saxon politeness, brusquely turned the tables and demanded that the basis of the imperial federation should be "liberty in essentials; unity when self-interests permit; charity—to none." The frankly separatist views of Hertzog are shared, if not as openly, by Canada and Ireland.

The Conference will last a month. Evidently inter-imperial relations have become so critical that a determined effort must be made to find a *modus vivendi*. In political and constitutional issues London seems to be prepared to make concessions, provided that economic supremacy remains unimpaired. That is, if the Dominions would sincerely accept the principle of imperial preference and effectively apply it in practice, their demands as regards internal autonomy and international status could be reluctantly granted. Although Chamberlain's long report on foreign affairs is not published, it is reported that he even did not raise the question of ratification of the Locarno treaties by the Dominions. That is a great concession. It places the Dominion governments outside the jurisdiction of the British Foreign Office.

In view of the acuteness of the situation the British Government decided to beat a timely retreat as the best strategy. Three important Dominion delegations (Canada, South Africa and Ireland) came to the Conference determined to raise the constitutional question and the question of international status. The delegates are fully supported by public opinion at home.

Hertzog, who bore arms against the British during the Boer war and who even after reconciliation with Britain stood for an

independent South African Republic, completely defeated the loyalist South African Party of Smuts in the last election and became the head of the government. Ever since he came to power, Hertzog has repeatedly put forward the separatist programme of Boer nationalism. The agitation for a South African Flag was the acute manifestation of the separatist sentiment. A few days before the Imperial Conference met in London, a great mass meeting was held in Johannesburg to celebrate the "Afrikander Day." Four ministers of the Hertzog Cabinet including the acting Premier were present. In that meeting Malan (one of the ministers) declared that the Government had decided unanimously to pass the Flag Bill next year. Malan accused the South African press of defending imperial interest as against national interests and declared that the press was owned by peoples overseas and that the editors are foreigners.

Undoubtedly this demonstration of nationalism was to strengthen the hand of Hertzog in the Imperial Conference. And Hertzog did not disappoint his followers at home. He took the first opportunity to state his case, and in doing so did not mince words. He demanded: (1) "In principle, unrestricted freedom of action to each individual member of the Commonwealth; (2) in practice, consultation with a view to co-operative action wherever possible."

This conception of imperial unity, if accepted, would reduce the Empire to a sort of loose entente likely to drift apart under the growing pressure of economic interests.

Canada has not come with any friendlier mood. Mackenzie King may be a better diplomat than the Boer General from Transvaal, but his diplomatic words are pronounced on the background of formidable facts. He has swept the country in the recent election which was fought with clear nationalist slogans. The country has supported him in his challenge to the authority of the British Governor-General. He has defeated his opponents who were backed by the Governor-General because of their imperial orientation. The Conservative Party, behind which stand the financial interests closely connected with London banks, has been vanquished at the polls. The Liberal-Progressive combination, led by King, came to power with the following programme: (1) Canada is de facto independent, but de jure still subordinated to the sixty-year old British North America Act passed by the British Parliament. This state of affairs must be changed. (2) The Canadian Parliament should have the same sovereign right to manage domestic and foreign affairs as the British Parliament. (3) Canada should

not be reduced to the status of a colony by the interference of the British Governor-General.

These are very clear issues, and the government of Mackenzie King is committed to them. When King showed reluctance to attend the Imperial Conference to press these vital constitutional issues, he was urged by the nationalist politicians who wanted him to back up Hertzog in the Conference.

Then there is Ireland. The Irish delegate, Fitzgerald, expressed his intention to raise the questions of War and of the functions of the Governor-Generals. His views are that the Dominions should not be considered to be technically or legally in a state of war simply by virtue of the fact that Britain was at war.

The Conference will have to sit much more than a month if such grave conflicts of interests are to be composed. But in this critical period of its economic existence British Imperialism can hardly afford to sharpen the issues of inter-imperial relations by stubbornly opposing the points of view of the Dominions or by insisting upon London's hegemony over foreign affairs. Diplomacy is considered to be the best way out of the crisis.

But neither diplomacy nor concessions in questions of foreign relations would touch the background of the conflicts. Rifts in the background of the relations between the Dominions and the "Mother Country" cause the discord in the political and constitutional superstructures. The basic relation is the economic relation.

Britain is losing her economic, financial and political hegemony upon the countries which formally are, and will be for some time still, parts of the British Empire.

The growth of a separatist tendency in the Dominions is closely connected with the decline of British capitalism. It is the cause and effect at the same time. Industrialisation of the Dominions makes them progressively independent of the metropolis, but increases their need for capital. If it were possible to keep up a constant and increasing flow of capital from England to the Dominions on the most favourable conditions, the process of rupture in inter-imperial relations would not be so pronounced. The Dominions (with the exception of South Africa) developed largely with capital and labour exported from Britain. On the other

hand, the large bulk of the raw materials produced in the Dominions found market in England.

Now both these basic relations between the Dominions and the Mother Country have changed. England is not able to supply the growing capital demand of the Dominions. Capital is available elsewhere on more favourable conditions. For example, no British capital has penetrated deeply into Canada. At the same time, chronic industrial depression has caused a shrinkage of market in Britain for the raw materials from the Dominions. Since the latter are obliged to sell out of the Empire, they must also buy outside the Empire. Consequently, the programme of imperial preference in which British capitalism seeks a way out of the present crisis, becomes unrealisable.

Speaking outside the Conference hall, Mackenzie King succinctly but clearly formulated the basic conditions for the relations between Canada and England in these words: "We want capital. We would take it from Britain; but if we cannot get it here, we must find it elsewhere." In his opening speech Baldwin did not fail to touch this foundation of inter-imperial relationship. He endeavoured to justify the present inability of London to supply the Dominions with capital on favourable terms by reference to what the Mother Country had done in the past. He reminded the Dominion representatives that down to the end of 1925 London had lent to the Dominions 850 million pounds. But he was constrained to admit "the reduction in the wealth and accumulated savings of this country (Britain) resulting from the world war." When Baldwin referred to the total investment of 850 millions (of which 350 millions went to Canada) MacKenzie King must have taken a mental note of the 400 million pounds of American capital invested in Canada mostly since the war.

Recently the South African Trade Commissioner in London stated that every year his country was sending more raw materials abroad. Last year's balance was 17 million pounds sterling. He said that South Africa must increase her export because she must have capital in return.

Similar difficulties underlie the economic relations with all the Dominions which possess the autonomy to determine the direction of their trade and protect their industries by raising the tariff walls. These difficulties frustrate all the efforts to enforce the principle of imperial preference. And it is around this basic question of economic relations that the main battles of the Conference will be fought.

In his speech to the Conference the President of the Board of Trade stated that in the first half of the current year, one-third of the British imports came from the Empire and half of the exports went to the Empire. This fact shows that imperial preference operates against the interests of the Dominions and in favour of England. British manufacturers gain by the preferential tariff whereas the producers of raw materials and partly finished commodities in the Dominions lose. Consequently it is natural that the Dominions, possessing the autonomy to determine the direction of trade in fiscal matters, do not take kindly to the scheme of imperial preference. An effective operation of this scheme may help out British capitalism; but all sentimental considerations of racial and language affinity taken together cannot induce the Dominions to sacrifice their economic interests on the altar of the Empire.

Then there is the question of Empire settlement. Most of the Dominions need labour. Britain is suffering from the incurable malady of unemployment. Why not settle the Dominions with the British unemployed? It is a very simple proposition on the face of it; but here also arise serious complications. At this time when the Dominions are drifting farther and farther away from the control of metropolitan finance, emigration of British workers means an irrecoverable loss of so much labour power for British capitalism. Their inability to export sufficient capital to the Dominions makes the British bourgeoisie very reluctant to encourage emigration to the Dominions. Thus the Empire settlement scheme remains a paper scheme.

In spite of the frantic attempts to stabilise British capitalism on the basis of a self-contained imperial unit, the process of disruption goes on. The Empire will continue still for some time as a loosely-bound federation or rather entente working in co-operation whenever and wherever possible without prejudice to self-interest. But the hegemony of Britain is gone for ever. This is being demonstrated in the Imperial Conference.

The General Strike and its Lessons

By J. R. CAMPBELL.

The Political Meaning of the Great Strike, by J. T. Murphy
(Communist Party, 16, King Street, W.C.2. Price 1s. 6d.).

The General Strike; Trades Councils in Action, by E. M. Burns
(Labour Research Dept. Price 2s.).

THE books by Comrades Murphy and Burns ought to be studied minutely not only by Party members but by every worker who desires to understand the meaning of the events which have taken place in Britain during the present year. We are living in a period when the demands of the daily struggle make theoretical study increasingly difficult, but in spite of the difficulties this theoretical study has got to be undertaken, otherwise we shall fail in the daily struggle itself.

The first of these books—that by Comrade Murphy—was completed by the end of May and deals mainly with the events leading to the General Strike and the lessons of the Strike itself, and with the future which the General Strike has opened out to the British working class. In view of the attempts now being made by Trade Union leaders to represent the General Strike as an accidental event and to assert that the trade union policy based on co-operation with the employers is both practicable and useful it will be essential for our Party members to master the history preceding the General Strike in order to be able to demonstrate to the workers the inevitability of that event.

As Murphy excellently puts it :

“To separate the General Strike from the events leading up to it would be a great mistake. Although this is the first General Strike, it must not be forgotten that a General Strike has been threatened on more than one occasion in recent years. The years 1920, 1921, and 1925 have stamped upon their pages indelible marks which are inseparable from the events of May, 1926.”

and :

“Mr. Cramp cries “Never Again.” Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues proceed to capitalise the Strike into Parlia-

mentary votes but each and every one of them are ignoring certain very important features of the situation which no serious person can afford to ignore. Not the least of these is the fact that on each of the occasions cited, both with regard to the threat of the General Strike and the actual General Strike, the decisions were taken by Congresses and Conferences and by leaders politically opposed to the policy of the General Strike and its implications."

The character of the Trade Union bureaucracy is well described in the statement: "Comfortable in their social life, excellent as collective bargainers and as administrators of trade union rules, they felt neither the necessity nor the desire to 'worry about theory' " "To them Socialism was still some far-off divine event. They faced a severely wounded, quivering European Capitalism and the millions of suffering restless workers with the mentality of the comfortable 19th century Liberal and Tory trade union bureaucrats. They neither understood the class war nor wished to understand it. All they wanted was to be left alone, to return to 'normal.' When all the 'inner histories' of the collapse of the General Council have been written and told, and the stories of cowardice and panic have exhausted themselves, these deeper defects will be found to underlie not only the incidents of failure but the continuous refusal of the leaders to take the measure of history and face up to the new tasks life itself was calling upon them to fulfil."

The Months Before the Strike.

In Chapter 2 we have an excellent description of the process of class consolidation, both amongst the workers and amongst the capitalists, which preceded the General Strike. In reading this chapter it becomes clear that the capitalist consolidation was consolidation under the leadership of the Conservative Party which expresses the will of finance-capital and which knew what it wanted and how to get it. Such consolidation as was achieved by the workers was consolidation imposed upon the leaders by the rank-and-file and did not place in control of the workers' movement a leadership prepared to hasten the consolidation, or prepared to use such consolidation as had been achieved, in the interests of the working class. The Communist Party, which had done much to hasten the consolidation of the workers' movement, was still too weak to take over the leadership. The result, as Murphy describes, was:

"But the Communist Party has not yet secured the organic leadership of the Labour Movement, with the result

that the crisis of this period finds a working class, in the process of being revolutionised, facing class battles encumbered with a leadership that does not want to fight.”

Next follows a section which deals with the events in the mining industry. This section ought to be thoroughly assimilated by every Party member in order to meet the charge of the Trade Union bureaucracy that the miners had a good settlement in their grasp if only they had not been so stubborn or their leaders so stupid. The part dealing with the actual events of the Strike itself is exceedingly valuable, particularly the description of the events of the Nine Days as seen by the author in the part of the country in which he was operating. The situation existing after the collapse of the General Strike is then analysed in detail and readers will here find the well-known Samuel Memorandum (which is likely to be a feature of the Conference of Trade Union Executives that will discuss the calling off of the Strike) thoroughly analysed and exposed.

There are one or two minor blemishes in what is otherwise an excellent book. Like the first edition of the Party pamphlet, “The Reds and the General Strike,” the book does not deal at any length with the specific part played by the former Left leaders on the General Council either before or after the General Strike, although in two places they are mentioned as acting with the Rights. This does not mean that the attitude of these leaders is in any way condoned. In my opinion, the failure to deal specifically with the Lefts was due to the fact of the Party Executive Committee being in possession of information with regard to the capitulation of these individuals to the Right even before the General Strike so that the resultant tendency after the General Strike was to lump them all together—Rights and “Lefts”—in condemnation. The failure, however, to specifically analyse the rôle of the “Lefts” was important as it tended to create the impression that the Party was condoning their actions. It was a mistake to fail to realise the importance of such an analysis in view of the future struggles with which the working class movement will be faced.

The Nature of the General Strike.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to discussing the nature of the General Strike, and to reviewing the statement of the General Council that it was purely an industrial dispute. The analysis is in every other way excellent but comrade Murphy has allowed one slip in a paragraph which is bound to give rise to some misunderstanding. The paragraph is as follows :

“What is a political act? A political act is an action whether in the form of words written or spoken, the making of a law, the raising or reducing of wages, the conduct of a strike, the casting of a vote or any other act *which changes or tends to change the relation of the classes in society*. If this definition of political action is correct, there is very little in the life of present day society which has not a political significance, irrespective of intentions. Everybody knows the destiny of good intentions, and for the Labour Movement to have intentions the opposite of its actions is adding childishness to its other defects.”

The weakness of this paragraph is that it seems to meet the General Council's statement that the Strike was purely industrial in character by the counter-statement that all industrial disputes are political and in so doing it obscures, in my opinion, the real point at issue.

No doubt every industrial dispute of a mass character brings in the Government to act on behalf of the capitalist class as a whole even if the demands made are to a body of employers and not directly to the Government.

The General Strike, however, was more than that. It was the General Council's plea that the General Strike only differed from previous strikes with which we were familiar in that a greater number of men were involved. We claim that this is incorrect for the simple reason that the General Strike was not devoted to the coercion of an individual body of employers to make concessions to the miners but was devoted to the coercion of the capitalist State representing the capitalist class as a whole to make these concessions directly in the form of a subsidy or some other means whereby the miners' wages could be maintained at the pre-lock-out level.

There is, we believe, a distinction between a strike primarily aimed at coercing a body of employers, even though the magnitude of that dispute should cause the Government to interfere, and a General Strike directly coercing the Government itself. It is that distinction which the General Council is trying to obscure. On its technical side, the political nature of the General Strike was equally obvious. Instead of the employers organising strike-breaking organisations and claiming the protection of the Government in so doing, the Government itself organised strike-breaking, and the General Strike could only be carried out by a struggle against the Government's strike-breaking organisations.

In the suppression of the Press and in the issuing of food and transport permits the General Council and the local Labour Movement were in effect putting into operation regulations as to who should be permitted to transport food and as to who should be permitted to publish newspapers, etc. This gave the General Strike, even on its technical side, a more definitely political character than any previous mass strike in British history. These are, however, minor blemishes, and we hope that the Party will do more than it has hitherto done to get the book into the hands of the largest possible number of workers.

Trades Councils and the Strike.

Comrade Burns' book deals with the work of the Trades Council during the General Strike and is of the utmost importance.

The book is somewhat defective in parts but it has also many exceedingly valuable qualities which will recommend it. The work consists of two parts, the first being an analysis of the work done by the Trades Councils and the lessons to be drawn from such an analysis, while the second part is composed entirely of the actual reports from the Trades Councils upon which the first is based. We believe, however, that on the basis of these reports a much fuller analysis might have been made.

One thing that strikes one in reviewing the book is the still great influence of sectionalism in the British Trade Union Movement. Many Trades Councils report their difficulties in inducing local trade union officials to work under Trades Council leadership in a co-ordinated fashion. In a number of cases the Trades Councils had to wage a struggle in order to prevent local officials from conducting the strike as a series of sectional parallel strikes. This was due to some extent to the General Council issuing the call through the various Union Executives but even this does not fully explain the sectional outlook of many of the trade union officials and the fact that this outlook existed in many districts right throughout the strike and prevented a strong central strike organisation functioning. This must be taken into consideration by all those who desire to view the strike as it really was and not as it might have been.

A strong pacifist tendency, even among the rank and file, can be discerned clearly in some localities. The case of Plymouth, which organised a football match between the Police and the Strikers, at which the Chief Constable's wife kicked off, caused much unrestrained merriment amongst our Russian comrades. We are afraid that there will be much more merriment when they hear that in the same place religious services were daily arranged for the Strikers!

In other cases it was reported that the Police were friendly and that there was no need to organise Workers' Defence Corps. That the Police were in sympathy with the workers in certain districts is true beyond doubt. But this is not the whole explanation as to why they were friendly.

A perusal of the reports show that the weakest section in the General Strike was that connected with local municipal tram services and with road transport generally. The Government had elaborated its road transport organisation months before the General Strike and it was essential to the success of the Strike that road transport should be stopped except such as was permitted under the regulations of the trade unions. To do that it was necessary to stop the functioning of the Government transport organisation. Yet it is safe to say that a study of these reports shows that, possibly with the exception of the North East Coast, the bulk of the workers in the Strike was not conscious of any Government machinery being in operation against them, though fully aware of the functioning of road transport during the Strike. The stopping of the road transport could only be done by keeping up the morale of the workers through bringing them out on the streets in mass demonstrations, by mass picketing on the road, and by taking steps to protect these demonstrations and pickets by organising Workers' Defence Corps. Where this is not done and where the Government machine was allowed to function, there was obviously no need for Police interference with the Strikers who could fool themselves that the Police were friendly!

We do not think that the book is sufficiently critical of those Trades Councils which did not have control of the streets and which advised the strikers to stop at home, and thus refused to participate in the Strike and make it a success.

One good feature of the book is the insistence on regional organisation for Trades Councils, and the setting up of regional Councils of Action with the officials of the districts of the various unions. In the last Strike, those Trades Councils which did engage in picketing, found it difficult to combat the Government organisation owing to the fact that they, the latter, were organised regionally, while the Trades Councils acted locally and often without any contact with other Trades Councils.

We think that any future edition of the book should carry the analysis further and that as a means to doing this should embark upon a more systematic research of the working of local organisations during the Strike. The questionnaire which was

sent out to the Trades Council secretaries was very restricted. Furthermore, Trades Council secretaries are very often overburdened and their replies could not be other than formal. To get a real picture of the local Labour Movement during the General Strike one should not go to the Trades Council secretaries who are in most cases delicately balancing between Right and Left but to the active men. In the meantime, however, the book is of great value as a basis for further study and should be in the hands of everyone who wants to understand the meaning of all that took place during the Strike.

Our Party members have a great responsibility of seeing that both these books get to the workers. The selling of literature is seemingly a lost art in many places, but it is an art that must be revived in order that we may ensure that political lessons reach the workers.

On the Moscow Road

By GEORGE FORBES.

RUIN OR REVOLUTION?

IT becomes quite clear at this stage of the greatest industrial upheaval ever witnessed in Britain as to what road Britain is travelling along. The capitalist economists, reviewing the losses incurred by British capitalism during the past seven months, plainly and clearly state that the continuance of industrial disputes can only mean that they are on the road to ruin. The figures which they have collected show conclusively the terrific havoc done to the economy of capitalist Britain by the General Strike and the miners' lock-out. Hence, if they fail to find the road to industrial peace and prosperity through Baldwin's formula of "the wages of all workers must come down," there is no alternative facing them but actual ruin.

The working class, who also desire industrial peace and prosperity, but who will not accept the Baldwin formula, find themselves confronted with increasing industrial conflict in order to maintain their present meagre standards. Slowly, but surely, the working class are discovering by the method of trial and error that the road by which they must travel to industrial peace and prosperity is the hard road of revolution—the Moscow road.

Neither section may desire to travel either the road to ruin or the road to revolution, but it is not man's consciousness that determines his social life, but, on the contrary, it is man's social life which determines his consciousness, and so in a class society with increasing class struggle, the social life of increasing class conflicts drives one section to ruin and the other to revolution in order to escape ruin.

The Miners' Struggle with Capitalism.

The continuation of the miners' struggle, with the rejection of the Government terms of surrender, lashed the hacks of the capitalist press into a fury of wild denunciation against Cook and the miners. The disappointment of the bourgeoisie in their failure to drive down the miners to abject slavery is revealed in their insistent demand for trade union legislation which would cramp and curb the activities of the working class. Mr. Baldwin further

reveals this in his message to the Conservative candidates at the bye-elections in Yorkshire wherein he states the intentions of the Government against the Communists and working class elements who fight for their class.

The pitiful failure of the leaders of the T.U.C. and Labour Party to fulfil their role as agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers is revealed in their open attack on the working class movement appearing in articles in the capitalist press, where they openly plead the interests of the capitalists against the interests of the workers. All these factors point to the desperate situation in which British capitalism finds itself and as the shams and masks of democracy are torn aside and capitalist dictatorship reveals itself, so also corresponding to the degree of this revelation there arises the class consciousness of the working class.

This finds expression not only in the increase in the ranks of the Party, but also amongst the broad masses of the workers. The insistent demand for the dissolution is even finding open expression, as witness Joynson-Hicks' meeting at Scunthorpe, in Lincolnshire. That it should be heard there, and not faintly either, gives an idea of the forces which are gathering the working class together in their struggle against the executive committee of the capitalist class—the Baldwin Government.

With this view of the political perspectives let us turn to a detailed examination of the breaches in the economy of capitalist Britain.

The Loss to Capitalism.

During recent weeks much has been written regarding the economic report of the League of Nations and much stress has been laid on the fact that world trade has been on the upgrade during the past few years. Little or nothing has been said or written as to the position of British trade and in order that it should not go unnoticed we wish to draw attention to this report. While it is true that the volume of world trade has increased during the past few years, we find that this has been due to the development of North American, Japanese and Eastern trade and that the volume of trade is passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

It is to be noted that European trade as a whole shows a decline and that the greatest and most marked decline is to be found in British trade. It is also found, and this is interesting in view of the present Imperial Conference, that U.S.A. trade with the British Dominions and Colonies has in-

creased by 100 per cent. and over, while British trade within the Empire has remained stationary only in New Zealand and declined in every other part of the Empire. This leads the "Economist" of November 20th, 1926 to remark:

"If only the lessons of this disastrous coal dispute will drive home to all those who, whether for the employers or for the employed, rule the fortunes of our industries, the lesson of futility and costliness of industrial conflict, there is hope that we **may** in the near future see the feet of the nation firmly set on the road to better conditions. . . ."

The conditional **if** and **may** reflect the uncertainty of the writer as to the future, and no wonder, when we go on to read the article, "The Cost to the Nation," where an attempt to assess the damage sustained by British capitalism is outlined. The article opens with the remark: "**The coal stoppage of 1926 has been by far the most costly in British annals,**" which for brevity and clearness compares most favourably with the preceding quotation from the same source. Up to the end of October, 126½ million working days were lost in the mining industry alone, and it is estimated that the total loss of effective working time in all trades for the year of 1926 is already more than twice the figure for any other period and about twelve times the average for the last twenty-five years. This reflects increasing class conflicts on an ever ascending scale.

The loss of working time is a serious factor, but corresponding factors, which do not lend themselves for measurement, are such features as the lowering of the vitality of the population in particular areas. This is a serious matter which reflects itself on the working class in those industries affected by the coal stoppage, leading to lower productivity at a moment when the capitalist class are crying for increased production. Another factor referred to is changes in industrial psychology and in the relations of employers and employed, although it is not stated that the changes in industrial psychology have been finding expression in the bye-elections since the General Strike and lately at the Municipal elections with their 200 Labour gains.

Some Estimates of the Cost of "Stabilisation."

The various estimates of the immediate cost of the strike range from £260 million to £600 million, and a conservative estimate would range from £350 to £400 million. The full extent of the damage done is revealed in curtailed production. In mining the net loss of output is approximately 110 to 113 million tons; this

despite the fact that some 14 million tons had been imported between May and October at an average of 43s. per ton, but owing to world shortage November contracts were being concluded at 70s. per ton.

The stoppage of the mines and the totally inadequate supplies of imported and scab coal have slowed down industry in general by about 20 per cent. The heavy industries of iron and steel have been the chief sufferers. Against a potential seven months' production of 3,644,000 tons of pig iron and 4,457,000 tons of steel ingots and castings the actual May-November output will probably not exceed 200,000 tons and 460,000 tons respectively. The figures of registered unemployed in the pig iron and steel industries on the eve of the stoppage and after six months' stoppage are as follows :

Pig Iron	...	...	3,426	15,440
Steel	...	...	40,722	102,834
For all workers	...	...	1,093,820	1,635,886*

* Excluding coal miners who ceased work on account of the dispute.

The above figures, as the "Economist" points out, do not give an adequate indication of the large amount of short time working, and this journal quotes the Ministry of Labour as follows :

Cotton industry—21½ per cent.	of workers were losing	17	hours weekly
Woollen industry—37½ per cent.	"	10½	"
Worsted trade—40 per cent.	"	12	"
Boot and Shoe trade—45½ per cent.	"	12½	"
Pottery—29 per cent.	"	9	"

None of these sections would be entitled to Unemployed Insurance.

Further, we have the statement of J. H. Thomas that 45,000 railwaymen are totally unemployed and 200,000 on short time, mostly three days a week. Considerable numbers of these railwaymen who are totally unemployed received no unemployment insurance as will be seen by the Ministry of Labour figures of registered unemployed railwaymen. These at the end of April stood at 9,663 and at the end of October, 20,120.

The overseas trade during the past ten months reveals a decline of £97 millions in British exports while the adverse balance of trade has reached the exceptionally high figure of £364 million.

Again, the prospect of increased taxation is foreshadowed in the next Budget, as the receipts have fallen and expenditure has increased.

Therefore, all evidence provided by the capitalist economists only goes to prove the contention of the Communist Party that British capitalism is in decline and that the General Strike and the miners' lock-out have dealt it a blow from which there is neither peace nor prosperity to be expected, but from which the working class has nevertheless learned lessons which will be of value in its struggle for power.

Political Prospects for the Working Class in Britain.

A clear understanding of the role of the working class in the struggle against the capitalist class is of importance for us in Great Britain. Since the termination of the General Strike we have had the parrot-cry of Cramp and others of "Never Again." These have been supplemented by speeches and articles of the Liberal-minded leaders of the Labour Party to turn our thoughts from industrial conflict to the task of returning a parliamentary majority for the Labour Party at the next election. These leaders think that the sole task of the trade unions and working class is merely to aid the Labour Party (and they have the mistaken idea that **they** are the Labour Party) in becoming His Majesty's Royal and Loyal Labour Government with a continued belief in capitalist democracy.

The recent successes at the bye-elections and Municipal elections have, according to those leaders, been due to the extension of industrial organisation, political democracy and popular education. To them this implies that all that is needed is a continuation of the development of these factors and that by means of Parliamentary reform and gradualness the workers can be emancipated. The lessons of the past seven months with the offensive against the miners, the forthcoming projected legislation against the trade unions, do not in themselves show the basis of any extension of industrial organisation. Political democracy has with the Baldwin Government clearly taken on the appearance of capitalist "democracy" in West Ham and elsewhere, through the action of the Ministry of Health. The continued freedom of political democracy has been further encroached upon by E.P.A., operated through the Home Office.

Popular education appears to have given way to a more practical form where the experiences of the workers during the past seven months have left their mark in the minds of the workers.

No, the true reason of the growth of the Labour Party is to be found in the ever-increasing bitterness of the class struggle, with the long-continued unemployment and the savage curtailment of poor law relief, added to the attacks on wages, hours and workers' organisations. These are the factors which are drawing the workers together to consolidate their ranks in the Labour Party and the trade unions, and which express themselves in the increasing political activity of the working class in the Labour victories.

It is this which the capitalists recognise in the growth of political consciousness of the working class and they know full well that the workers are not going to remain passive to the issues which are opening up before them. The class character of the State has been revealed to a greater extent than ever before and the faith of the working class in present day institutions of democracy is being shattered. Our reading of the situation is not that we are going to have industrial peace and gradualness but an ever-increasing class conflict with the resulting development of class conscious expressing itself in a mass Communist Party leading the working class to power.

The Moscow Road.

The argument used by all opponents of the Communist Party that revolution is alien to our British way of doing things and that we have never had revolution here, is so weak that it reflects a lack of historical knowledge or else deliberate suppression of it. The bourgeois constitutional authorities, Stubbs, Maitland and Pollard, should be read in regard to the Magna Charta, the baron's war, the civil war and Cromwell's Ironsides, the "Glorious Revolution" with the advent of a German King, the Reform Bill crisis of 1832, and the Chartist rising of 1848, is evidence of revolutionary periods in British history. More recently we have the actual experience of the Irish crisis and the Ulster Army of Galloper Smith and Lord God of Battles Jix, against not a Labour Government, but the Liberal Government of Asquith.

So also to-day the great social changes that are imminent are neither likely to consult or consider the desires of Baldwin or MacDonald, they are being generated in the intensification of the class struggle, the inability of capitalism to satisfy even the most elementary needs of the working class. And in the process the Communist Party is building a workers' party with a definite class basis, knowing full well the road the workers will travel.

The Party and the Opposition Bloc

By N. BUKHARIN.

(Continued from last issue.)

We Shall Overcome the Difficulties, Remove the Excrescences Correct the Errors.

We are confident, comrades, that however difficult our economic position is at times, still our economic prospects are good, and the excellent crops which we shall have this year will make it possible for us really to overcome the economic difficulties being undergone by the country at the present juncture. And we are even more confident that we shall be successful in leading both our Party and our country forward on the broad road of development. There are none so blind as those who will not see. There are many who believe the situation to be still the same among us as it was at the beginning of the revolution, when anyone able to write an article with correct spelling could consider himself a Party leader. We have a new generation of functionaries in the provinces, we are supported on all sides by thousands of hands, and we stake confidently upon this magnificent collective power of our Party. We are fully convinced that we shall win. (Enthusiastic applause.)

The present opposition, like every other opposition which has hitherto arisen in our Party, and even like those oppositional groups which contend against our Party outside of its ranks, has a certain foothold upon which it bases its position. Were we to live in Paradise, and had we no faults whatever, so that everything worked at a hundred per cent. rate of smoothness, then there would be no foothold for an opposition. I have often made this observation, and am not ashamed to bring it forward again here. During the rising of Kronstadt, in the spring of 1921, the armed counter-revolutionary opposition was again based on a rational idea, for a certain disorder had found its way amongst us, and things had occurred which demanded a corresponding reaction on our part. This reaction consisted of the introduction of free trade, in the cessation of grain requisitions, etc. And if

there were bureaucracy among us at the present time, if wages were not still so low in a number of branches of production, and if the village poor had not to live under bad conditions, then the opposition would have no ground under its feet.

Of course, every opposition in the Party exploits our faults. The whole point of the question lies in what is criticised and in how and why the criticism is exercised.

When the comrades of the opposition declare: "Bureaucracy is strangling you," then we reply: "Yes, bureaucracy is an excrescence very detrimental to us." But when they go further and say: "Your State has ceased to be a State of the proletarian dictatorship, it is a State of bureaucrats who have nothing in common with the masses," then we reply: "That is not true; we retute this criticism as a slander against our Workers' State."

If we are criticised and told: "This has not been done, and that has not been done," and if we are criticised for the purpose of making capital for the formation of a fraction, instead of for the purpose of helping us to remedy our faults, if we are criticised in enormous exaggerations, if our Party and the Soviet power are slandered, if individual errors, individual mistakes, and individual weaknesses in our State and our Party apparatus are multiplied a thousandfold, if a fraction platform is formed of these and if the critics do not help up to overcome the real inconsistencies and difficulties, but take the opportunity to fry their own fraction fish, then we take up arms against such a criticism, for this is no capable help coming to aid us to overcome our deficiencies but a system of repeated attempts to shake the unity of the Party, and to attain the legalisation of other Parties by means of fractions and groups. This is a falling away from the proletarian line, even if it is not acknowledged as such.

The opposition, after making several accusations against the C.C. of the Party, maintained that the Party should learn the following lessons from the election campaign; (1) Real industrialisation; (2) real organisation of the poor peasantry; (3) real alliance with the main mass of the middle peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat; (4) real fight against bureaucracy; (5) real inner Party democracy. It would thus appear that our industrialisation is not real—apparently we only assert that we are building new factories, whilst in reality they do not exist. It appears that we are not organising the poor peasantry, that we have no real alliance with the middle peasantry, that only the opposition proposes a real alliance, etc. The opposition gives

false testimony against our whole policy, and believes that it alone is creating something "real" whilst all that we have done and are doing is fundamentally "wrong."

We, however, are straightforward enough to believe that those persons who contend in the crudest form against a current in our Party one day, only to let themselves be borne on this current the next; who to-day proclaim the question of fractions to be a matter of death to the Party, and to-morrow a matter of life—we believe that these elements have found their way into "real" Leninism to a certain extent on false passports.

I must tell you a funny story. In oppositional circles comrade Zinoviev's book on Leninism has been regarded as a hundred per cent. gospel. This will be known to you. A considerable part of this book was directed against comrade Trotsky. But now comrade Zinoviev, for the sake of the bloc with comrade Trotsky, for the sake of the realisation of real Leninism, has let this book fall under the table, and is not having a further edition published. This is the way they treat the principles of Leninism. Not merely a word which might have slipped out accidentally, but the "gospel" of Leninism.

Our Tasks.

In conclusion a few words on the tasks now facing us. In economic politics our main task is to steer an efficient course towards industrialisation, to seek means for the acceleration of the speed of development for our industry. Our next task, in view of the coming autumn, consists of inquiring into the possibility of a rise in real wages, especially in the wages of those categories of workers whose wages have not kept pace with the others. Although we were unable to fulfil this task a few months ago, it is certain that if we now succeed in manœuvring our exports skilfully, in bringing in our grain properly and selling it well, etc., we shall be in a position by the autumn to raise the real value of wages. This must be carefully considered and calculated a hundred times, but we must make preparations for it.

The next measure to be taken in our labour policy must be to combat the excrescences which have grown up about the saving regime. In some places the necessity of saving has been so interpreted that the workers have been deprived of water to make tea with, with the result that there have been small reactions here and there in the provinces. This is not a regime of saving, but a caricature, a perfectly criminal caricature of a regime of

saving. Our C.C. or its Secretariat must send an explanatory letter to the organisations on this subject. One of our main tasks all over the country must be the combat against the bureaucratism which is throttling us. I may remind you that one of the main thoughts in comrade Dzershinsky's last speech, delivered just before his death and directed against the opposition, was a declaration of determined war against the immobility, the unwieldiness and the bureaucratism of our apparatus, against conditions which oblige an urgent matter to pass through the hands of ten to twenty authorities before it can be decided upon and executed. Here we have still a great deal to do, and here the collective endeavours of many workers' hands and heads are truly necessary.

And finally, I am of the opinion that in the sphere of inner Party politics we must not only carry on this direct struggle against fractions and groups, but at the same time we must strive more energetically for inner Party democracy. We must enlighten the mass of the Party at any price, strengthen and steel its ideology, and do this in the firm conviction that the line pursued by the majority of the Party is right. This is one of the greatest tasks.

The Communist Party is the mainspring of the State administration of our great country. We are entering the autumn season faced by extremely complicated tasks. We must manoeuvre with our grain prices, and manoeuvre in such a manner that we bring in the largest possible quantity of grain. We must export and sell this grain on advantageous terms, and upon this basis we have to arrange our programme of production, and find our way to a certain improvement in the housing question, the wages question, etc. We begin with these operations every year almost simultaneously with the realisation of the harvest. A very great deal depends upon how these operations are begun. They are almost determinative for the results of a whole economic year. And though we have our hands full with this great practical task, still we must increase our activity in the work of strengthening the ideology of the whole of the Party members, of closing the ranks of the Party on the basis of a definite political standpoint. May every member of the Party know and realise that the majority of the C.C. has a clearly defined standpoint, one for which it stands, which it continues, and which serves as a rule for its guidance of the Party.

We are not adherents of Party methods which maintain one thing to-day, and something diametrically opposite to-morrow; which declare a crusade against deviations to-day, and submit

to the lead of these deviations to-morrow. We have our line of policy, and we follow it consistently. We shall continue to stand for this line, to fight for it, to lead the Party unwaveringly by it, and we are firmly convinced that the whole Party—with the Leningrad organisation, which has always been and always will be a pillar of the C.C. in the front rank—will pursue this line in every respect. The most important point is: the struggle for the right political line; everything else depends upon this, everything else is determined by the struggle for the right political line. Our line is actually a Leninist political line, from which we never deviate, for which we fight without ceasing, and which will be the means of leading us to victory. (Prolonged applause.)

Building the Party

6.

COMRADE BEAKIN in his article in the September issue of the "Review" uses the phrase "The Party First" and then goes on to say—"But when it comes to putting this into actual operation, then appears a discrepancy in the spoken word and the deed."

What exactly is meant by the phrase "The Party First"? If it is used and meant in the sense that a comrade who is working actively in non-Party organisations (*i.e.*, Minority Movement, Trades Council, Trade Union Branch, Unemployed Committee, etc.), is not doing such valuable work for the Party as a comrade who is on the L.P.C. and attends all his group meetings, then obviously the use of the phrase in that sense constitutes a danger that will do incalculable harm to the Party.

The strength and influence of the Party depends upon the extent to which our members can rally the support and influence of the non-Party masses behind the Party. In that lies the whole basis of our work in non-Party organisations.

Unfortunately it is all too common to hear criticism levelled against a Party member who is engaged almost the whole of his time in working within his Trade Union, or similar body, because he does not regularly attend his group meetings. And this in spite of the fact that that comrade is carrying out correct Party policy in his Union, and working to win the confidence and support of the Trade Union members for the Party!

Is it to be wondered at that we lose many good Party members because, through having all their time taken up in Trade Union or similar work of vital importance to the Party, they are being constantly bickered because they do not attend group meetings, or go house-to-house canvassing with literature?

It must not be thought that the above is written as an encouragement to members not to attend such meetings and take part in such work. But a comrade who is in the position referred to above should have allowances made him, *providing that he maintains contact with the L.P.C. and carries out Party instructions and Party policy.*

Continued absence from group and aggregate meetings, however, is a fault that must be remedied, and those comrades must make it their duty to attend these meetings at intervals, in order to strengthen the group and give it the benefit of their experiences.

Again, the L.P.C. must endeavour to arrange group and aggregate meetings at such a time when the largest possible number of members can attend.

The solution of the problem raised by comrade Beakin (clashing of meetings, members unable to attend owing to engagements in non-Party organisations, etc.) seems to be that the L.P.C.'s must exercise more control over the members.

Too often Party members take positions in the Minority Movement Groups, Left-wing Committees, etc., without consultation with the L.P.C. Thus we lack that distribution of Party work and personnel which is at the bottom of half the complaints that are made.

The L.P.C. should *organise* the work of its members as far as possible. It should appoint certain comrades to devote their energies to building up the Minority Movement, others to developing the Left-wing, and so on.

As things stand at present in many Locals, the L.P.C. does not know half the activities which its members are engaged upon, hence there are continual complaints that such and such a member won't attend his group because he says that his Minority Movement Committee is meeting the same night, and another member says he can't take the chair at the open-air meeting because he has been appointed secretary of the local I.C.W.P.A. And so it goes on, causing unpleasantness and frayed nerves between the members.

Most of these difficulties can be overcome if the L.P.C. performs its functions as it should do, controls the activities of its members, and generally guides the entire work of the members in the Local.

R. E. BOND (London D.P.C.)

PARTY

TRAINING NOTES

MARXIST - LENINIST EDUCATION.

By A. BERNARD.

The primary, systematic study of the experiences in the struggles of the proletariat, and their summary into a revolutionary theory formulating the conditions for emancipating the proletariat, has been realised in the last century by the great thinker and revolutionary fighter, Karl Marx, with the aid of his comrade Engels, in a work covering a period of many years.

The Marxist theory embraces thus, the lessons acquired by a century of working class experiences. It follows that this theory is very extensive. But in examining the actions of the proletariat, Marx perceived that this class had particular ways of thinking, *i.e.*, of analysing and estimating its own conditions. In other words, the proletariat possesses a certain method of its own. Marx has expounded this method—the dialectic method. He applied it in analysing the daily experiences of the proletariat and found it enabled him to improve and complete his theory as a whole.

With Marxism, the proletariat possesses finally its own theory. This theory comprises, with the method which is the most fruitful part for us, a *series of results* obtained in the application of this method to the essential facts of capitalist society and the proletarian struggle. These results concern above all, philosophy, sociology, history, political economy, politics and tactics. Upon all these grounds, Marxism has furnished for us a *knowledge* which is in radical opposition to the *teachings of the bourgeoisie*. This knowledge permits the proletariat to free itself from the yoke of bourgeois science, to define and direct its action.

The work of Marx and Engels has been continued by Lenin. Marx has created the method and based all his

theory in analysing the mechanism and general functioning of capitalist society. He has created the theory of the revolutionary proletariat for the historical epoch during which he lived. Lenin has applied the Marxist method to the epoch following the period of capitalism which Marx could only trace in broad outline. To realise this indispensable work for the victory of the proletariat, Lenin has developed and *deepened the method*, and elaborated at the same time, a *series of new results*, which has happily enriched the Marxist theory. These results were appropriate to the actual phase of the capitalist regime—imperialism; to the strategy and tactic of the revolutionary proletariat, to the struggle for power and the socialist transformation of society. For the revolutionary proletariat, of to-day, which is struggling in the last phase of the capitalist regime, imperialism, at the opening of the world revolution, Leninism is the necessary complement of Marxism. Proletarian education shall be thus a Marxist-Leninist education.

Lenin has furnished us also with a *method* of revolutionary education. He has taught us that Marxist-Leninist education can never be an abstract education, which teaches a vast theory with books in hand, but an education which is acquired by the analysis of concrete and actual events. It is in the daily action and for it, that the Communist pupils must conquer theory and, primarily, those points of theory which for them are most necessary for everyday agitation in their immediate circumstances. The study of general problems and the lessons of the preceding historical epochs will come afterwards, and finally, those abstract, scientific problems. Only this method of teaching enables the studious workers (and Leninist education addresses itself always to them and not to the cultured intellectuals who are "inter-

ested" in Leninism) to conquer gradually the theory that will enable them to take their fighting place in the ranks of the Party.

The System of Leninist Education in the Communist Party.

Participation in the activity of the world Communist Party is the special and primary form of communist education. Even as one cannot be a Communist outside the Party (because to underestimate or neglect the Party is to deprive Communism of its principal weapon) one cannot study Communism outside the activity of the Party.

It is in agitation, organisation, trade union struggles, anti-militarist activity, propaganda among the peasants, etc., that the worker acquires his Leninist education in practice. It is there that he acquires a personal and collective experience which shows his errors and how to correct them.

But that is not all. Contenting himself with education, by activity he will fall into forms of routine. Education by daily activity, which alone gives the worker access to theory, must be completed by a systematic instruction, which will enable him to profit from previous proletarian experiences, and those experiences acquired every day by his brothers in struggle throughout all the other parties on the globe. That is why the Communist Parties must organise a special system of Leninist Theoretical Education for all their members.

Systematic education for all the members of the organisation, that is precisely what distinguishes the Communist Parties from the old socialist parties of yesterday. In the old socialist parties, theory was the monopoly of a little superior group, the leaders; the journalists, the parliamentarians, who possessed the theory and cultivated it in a very "scientific" way. Grand doctrinaire discussions went on between them. The mass of the adherents admired the remote theories and the "high priests" as the faithful of the catholic church admired the holy written word and recited in Latin the priests' interpretation much in the same way as the Jews admired the Kabbala and the Zaddek.

The socialist troops constituted electoral cattle only good for voting for the theoretical deputy and for the several motions proposed by the leaders during the Congress. The Communist Party must, so far as theory is concerned, abolish once and for all the chasm which separated the mass of the members from the leaders. Theory, i.e., Marxism—Leninism, must become the common property of the whole Party. That is not to say that there will never be varying degrees of political knowledge. Just as the Party knows several degrees in functions, and that necessary responsibilities involves a good division of labour, so also does it recognise various degrees of theoretical knowledge. The Party places at its head comrades, who possess the maximum of revolutionary experience, the capacity for direction, and those most energetic and intelligent. It confides the direction of the districts, the local functions and special work to those of its members who are best qualified to carry out these tasks. It recognises thus, a certain hierarchy of capacity and knowledge, quite natural for a living organism fired with the object of concentrating upon the development of class consciousness.

To this hierarchy of functions in the Party, necessarily corresponds a hierarchy of theoretic functions. But it is indispensable that this theoretic hierarchy rests upon a common homogeneous base, upon a common foundation of elementary political knowledge which will give to the Party a single ideology, and making it a solid Leninist block.

For assuming this theoretic unity, *systematic education* must be adapted to the various levels of theoretical knowledge existing in our organisations, so that each member has the possibility without ceasing, of passing from one degree of Communist education to the other. This means that the Party must create a system of schools for each degree of its organisation. From the factory group to the national centre, there must exist a series of study circles, courses, schools and institutions where one can learn in a systematic way Leninism-Marxism, each of these institutions having for its aim the giving to the militants who participate in the work the necessary knowledge to enable

them to accomplish in the best way the tasks which fall upon them in the degree of the Party where they find themselves placed (Factory Group, Local, District or Centre). This is the essence of Marxist-Leninist education, i.e., Party Training.

BUILDING THE MASS PARTY.

The Future of Trade Unionism and the Mass Party.

Does the future hold for trade unionism a period of progressive militancy ending in revolutionary leadership of revolutionary struggle? This is a question that is being debated to-day throughout the entire Labour and Socialist Movement. Some say that disillusionment has followed in the wake of the General Strike collapse, and, that the masses will limit themselves to the most elementary forms of struggle for the future. This is undoubtedly the opinion held and propagated by the bulk of the trade union bureaucrats, whose sole concern is to maintain their hold on the machine.

At bottom trade union bureaucracy is reactionary in that it stands for a position which is static in a period of dynamic social change. It is not by accident that both at Bournemouth and Margate trade union bureaucracy carefully evaded the issues of the Embargo and Levy for the miners. This was only to be expected after the Anglo-Russian Committee conversations. They plead financial difficulties and desertions from the trade unions and that the masses can't be got to move now as their reasons for refusing assistance to the miners. One might ask, who is responsible for this sorry mess? The answer is this same trade union bureaucracy that capitulated in the very moment of victory for the workers after nine days; the same crowd that did not even trouble to safeguard their own members from victimisation.

From the standpoint of scientific Socialism these people are like so many Tolstoyans, arguing that we must await the period of the perfect man, that we can do nothing until we are organisationally perfect. To them the trade union machine is not a means to an end but is the end itself.

This involves a task which is pre-

eminently the Minority Movement's of shifting that bureaucracy. At the same time, we must beware of that small fry which is purely demagogic, and uses the workers' anger and disgust as a ladder to climb to trade union positions by means of mouthing revolutionary phraseology. We must see to it that we effectively control the individuals we elect to office, and be able to drag them from their high estate as easily as we put them there.

The workers in their heavy struggles of the last year have shed many of their illusions. The Communist Party, the Minority Movement and the organised Left Wing of the Labour Party have in no small measure been responsible for this. Their effect cannot be measured in terms of membership, though the totality of the ebb and flow of their membership has done wonders in demolishing many illusions of the workers. It is an advance to note the many individuals who have come and gone in the Revolutionary Movement. Their activity is not, in most cases lost to us, they generally remain good active trade unionists with whom we can work. These comrades, while they have left the bone of the revolution, still cluster round the skeleton as the flesh or muscle. The important lesson they must and are learning is that we are useless when we are apart.

Here, events themselves have done wonders in demolishing the illusions of the workers. The E.P.A., mass arrests, the Chester-le-Street affair, the actions of the Baldwin Government, the treachery of official Labour and the trade union bureaucracy have torn the mask from the double-faced Janus Democracy and the other century old illusions of the working class. This is a subjective gain that cannot be exaggerated, for, the less illusions the masses have the nearer they approach to us.

In conclusion, the agreements forced on the workers by the trade union bureaucrats after the General Strike have been so satisfactory that the masses are showing an increasing restlessness under them and their pent-up anger may explode at any moment. Masses and masses of workers have been involved in struggle with their respective bosses. The

hopeless position of British industry has been accentuated by the prolongation of the miners' lock-out. All these things provide the answer to our opening query, viz., *The future of British Trade Unionism is one of progressive militancy culminating in Revolutionary Struggle with Revolutionary Leadership. The Communist Party and the Minority Movement must provide that leadership.*

The two fundamental tasks that the Communist Party of Great Britain must engage in for the future are in the trade union movement and the Anti-Imperialist struggle of the Eastern Peoples for emancipation.

These two tasks cannot be separated, they are complementary, as without a peasantry we are forced to seek allies elsewhere.

Happenings in the French Party should teach us much with regard to the Colonial Question, and if we are to avoid desertions from our Party in the heavy anti-Imperialist struggles of the future we had better get busy right now.

Rough's contribution on the Mass Party insofar as it affects Party functionaries and Party tutors is all right, but if carried much further is in the same boat as Middleton's

The future of the British Mass Party will neither be built by making us all Stalins and Bukharins, nor by making us all brilliant propagandists. The Mass Party will be built on the results of our work in the two fields already mentioned.

A mass Party is not calculated on the Party membership, but on the Party's controlling influence among the workers, and this can only be got by work among the workers. We must recollect that it is a Revolutionary Mass Party we want and not a Party like the old German Independents. It is a Mass Party we want, not a massive Party.

I think we are inclined to overestimate propaganda, while Middleton thinks we have not estimated it enough.

It is difficult if not impossible to measure the results of propaganda meetings, but this is not so in our group and fraction work. Take the

type of recruit secured through propaganda. He comes in through a brilliant speech full of feeling made by, say comrade Pollitt; he has been secured by sentiment and since he discovers that there are no local Pollitts he soon fades out under pressure of hard tasks. This type of recruit is no good, comparatively speaking, and it is not impossible that he's a semi-fascist. The type of recruit got through group and fraction work is one who is already bound organisationally to the Communist Party, and when he joins the Communist Party he's in for keeps.

I think the Party should make a drive for new recruits through the groups and fractions and should keep an eye to this in the future.

The British Party still labours under tradition and this is simply the Propaganda tradition of the I.L.P.

DUNCAN LABURN.

My Communist knowledge is so very limited that I feel rather hesitant at writing to the "Review." However, with all due respect to comrade Middleton, I find that his contribution on "Building the Party" rather "skims" the problem. Since *ours must be a Mass Party, we must build from the Masses.* This leads us to two questions. (1) Where do the masses gather most suitably? (2) When are the minds of the masses most receptive for receiving *Revolutionary Propaganda?*

The capitalist system answers both questions simultaneously, i.e., the factories, railways, mills, etc. In my opinion the present propaganda and organisational influence of the Party amongst the miners would not be possible were it not for our work in *setting up pit groups.* Many comrades who live in industrial areas, hard hit by unemployment, seem to forget that there are still millions of workers engaged in industry, and I think a small group of Communists *inside a factory can by carefully planned work and conscious revolutionary activities do more to build the Party on a solid basis than any other line of approach.*

The first duty of every Communist

who works in a factory is to join a trade union, and see that his or her job is worked on trade union conditions and wages; then by seizing every opportunity of personal conversations with individual or groups of workers, especially during meal hours. All grouses and anti-trade union conditions should be tabulated, so that correct reports can be submitted at group meetings.

Party members should never shun factory workers who are *seemingly only* interested in horse-racing or football topics, remember these workers are taking the line of least resistance towards supplementing their wages. Our chief task in the factory is to get 100 per cent. trade unionism, and those workers interested in horse-racing, etc., are generally the chief obstacle in this respect. The publication of a factory paper should not be attempted until such times as the "Party Coll" is fairly well rooted and got the confidence of the best type of the workers. Rash or jumpy actions only result in *unnecessary* victimisation, which generally results in the clearing out of the "cell," and tends to scare the workers further away from the Party. Communists in the factories must ever have their eyes and ears open, be able to act quickly and correctly, especially under critical periods. New members working in the factory must be told that they are of more importance *inside* the factory, and must therefore work carefully.

Trade Union Branches.

Since revolutionary activities must be well connected and organised, our best link with the factory is undoubtedly the trade union branch. As a matter of fact, work in the factory is of *little avail* unless definitely connected with the trade union movement.

Regular attendance (this cannot be overstressed) at the branch meetings, combined with our ability to give correct leads on all branch matters, will do much to give Party members sufficient influence to be able to guide the branch along revolutionary lines. Party members should not *hug* their Party instructions, but rather make them *known* to the best elements, and thus ensure wider support for all Party proposals. Of course

mere passing of resolutions is not sufficient, we must ever be ready to place our services at the disposal of the branch. *Good fraction* work inside the branch will result in the winning over of good members for the Party.

Trades Council, Labour Party and Co-operative work along similar lines should also provide good results to the Party. We must remember of course that work in these organisations will retard the Party, unless it is definitely *organised* work. *Bad fraction* work inside Trades Councils and other delegate bodies will do more to damage the Party than most members realise.

Retention of New Members (Training).

The *retaining* of new members is the *real* difficulty, the Party machinery is certainly responsible for the *through-going door* that exists in the Party. To get new members down to work means, first of all, we must give them a ground knowledge of what the Party is, and what it stands for. Since the question of Party Training is of *immediate importance* it is beside the point to speak of Training Cadres of leading members as tutors, this will certainly serve for the future. New locals and backward locals should be provided with a comrade who is fairly well up in all questions of Party policy, even if such comrades are not tutors.

Simple lessons on our methods of work inside the branch, an outline of the structure of trade union movement, its relation to the Party, etc. Short lectures on items that new members are *actively* interested in, will take away the "rough," and serve up the necessary interest for further knowledge through the training class. No member, however new or old, can hope to learn all that is required through the training class. Tutors should submit suitable lists of books, according to the development of the particular comrades.

Personal Contact.

Hundreds of members leave our Party through the failure of old and leading members to gauge the peculiarities of the various members. Local group leaders and organisers should be able to give every member

a task according to the particular work the member is best capable of doing. To ask new members to carry the platform, sell papers, steward "open" meetings, immediately they enter the Party is sheer suicide, and to a great extent responsible for the continual stream of workers who leave the Party.

One other failure of old members is, that after a new member has been in the Party a few weeks, he is used as the *butt* for all the petty little *personal* differences that may exist, i.e., he is told all the merits and demerits of the various members; this in my opinion, should be stamped out wherever it exists, as it only leads to splitting locals into cliques, etc., and sometimes to the actual existence of organised factions.

To keep down unnecessary differences it is essential that every member has a definite task to perform, also that locals should pay more attention to the development of the social side of Party life.

New members should not be given the impression that Communists must attend a meeting every night in the week, and when at home lock themselves up with Marx's "Capital."

If we are to build a Mass Party, then we must live, and understand the Life of the Masses, always using our Marxian knowledge to give the correct guidance to every phase of mass life.

Group and Aggregate Meetings.

Much loss of time and lessening of interest is caused through the failure of these meetings to start at the appointed time. Group meetings are prolonged beyond reason, much to the discomfort of all concerned; no group meeting should last any more than an hour, or hour and a half at the most. Useless and prolonged discussion at aggregate meetings only results in breaking the patience of new members, who are lost in a tangle of socialist phraseology. Short speeches with the use of everyday language will create more interest than the usual long-winded speeches we generally get at Party meetings.

The few points I have put forward, combined with participation in the everyday struggle of the workers, should materially assist in the building of a Mass Party.

A. STEWART.



BOOK REVIEWS

The Labour Party and the Empire, by L. Haden Guest. Labour Publishing Company. Paper Covers, price 1s.

If any further evidence was needed to further prove that the point of view of the Right Wing members of the Labour Party on the question of the Empire is precisely that of the British Capitalist imperialists, this book is conclusive evidence of the Communist Party's contentions.

The book is a piece of political sophistry and a conscious attempt to harness the great forces of the British Labour movement to the capitalist Imperialist brigandage which regards the countries of the "far-flung" British Empire as a dumping ground for its surplus goods and merchandise, and the unfortunate coloured inhabitants as a huge reservoir of cheap labour to be used in the production of commodities.

The attempt to gloss over the evil reputation of Imperialism by references to the British Empire as "The Commonwealth of Nations"; the affirmation of the writer of his confidence in that "thieves' kitchen" of the robber Powers, the League of Nations, as an agency for safeguarding the interests of the coloured workers in the Colonies and Mandated areas; his expressed faith in the Imperial Economic Committee and the Empire Marketing Board on which sits Amery, Ormesby Gore, R. McNeill and other such "progressives"; and his hopes that the Imperial Conference of 1926 will set up an Empire Migration Board as a wing of the Imperial Economic Committee in order to facilitate the emigration of unemployed workers from this country to the Colonies and Dependencies; all these things demonstrate emphatically how far our Labour Imperialists have gravitated towards the ideology of the master-class.

Talk about the "Socialising of the

Empire" is all nonsense, for the Empire is an institution used by the dominant class of Britain to hold down in subjection and exploitation the millions of workers and peasants in the countries over which it exercises armed control. As well may one talk of socialising chattel slavery. In order to free the workers of the world from the bondage of Imperialism we must completely smash the slave-Empire. The organised workers who make up the great Labour movement of Great Britain must give these Labour Imperialists to understand that attempts to gloss over the evils of Imperialism with empty talk of the "British Commonwealth of Nations," etc., will not be tolerated. A definite Labour policy must be adopted by the workers calculated to render active assistance to the insurgent nationalist and social forces which are at present struggling in all the countries against the armed power of Imperialism and to restore to the peoples of the various countries the full right of self-determination. Active assistance must also be given to the workers and peasants in the colonies in their gallant attempts to set up trade unions and co-operatives and in the formation of workers' and peasants' political parties. Along these lines lies the foundation of a real Labour policy on Imperialism.

J. C.

The British Public and the General Strike. Kingsley Martin. Hogarth Press, 3s. 6d. net.

This book has two good points to recommend it—it is by a very shrewd and honest man, and it is witty. It is a study of the so-called British character during the General Strike and an analysis of the attitude towards the strike, its causes and effects, of the different sections of society.

The biting irony with which the

author dissects the tosh purveyed by Cabinet Ministers and Press during and after the Strike, the merciless way in which he strips the mask of pompous hypocrisy from figures like Baldwin, revealing them for the crude and foolish marionettes of capitalism which they really are, make the work excellent reading for sheer amusement's sake.

But there is a far more serious reason for reading the book than simple enjoyment of shrewd gibes at the cant of the representatives of the British bourgeois mind, from Baldwin and Asquith down to Thomas and Norman Angell. Kingsley Martin has attempted, from his point of view of the disinterested intellectual, a serious and deep study of the present situation of Great Britain. And in spite of himself, time and again he is brought to the conclusion that the Communist position is the only correct one. His analysis shows him one alternative, given society as it is now, ruin or revolution.

I have said "in spite of himself," for though Kingsley Martin's reason brings him to Communism, his innate middle-class consciousness rebels against the merciless conclusions of his reason. Given society as it is, given British capitalists as the blundering and reactionary class they appear to be, and showed themselves to beyond all doubt to be during the Strike, then there is no other alternative—ruin or revolution.

But the author still thinks, or rather does not think, but hopes (for we are sure he is too honest to *think* this) that some change of heart may occur. Basing his hopes on a rather narrow reading of British history he expects the so-called genius for compromise to assert itself and a way out of the *impasse* to be found. Unfortunately he fails to see that the conditions which have allowed these compromises in the past exist no longer. The earlier crises of capitalism during the nineteenth century were surmounted by a young and growing capitalism. The present crisis is being faced by an old and decaying structure to which any concession means death, and in this sense it must be admitted that the "class-conscious capitalists" whom he flogs so unmercifully have some justification for their blatant class-consciousness.

Mr. Kingsley Martin's book would be worth reading if it were only for the foot-note on page 35, in which he demolishes so absolutely and completely the whole argument of Norman Angell's "Must Britain Travel the Moscow Road"? A man who can see so clearly will not stay for long in the half-way house of Liberal-Labour reformism and though we do not expect the pleasure of welcoming Mr. Kingsley Martin into the Communist Party, we are sure that his own intellectual honesty is going to give him some very uncomfortable moments in the coming years.

R. F.

British Imperialism in Malaya.
Labour Research Department.
Colonial Series No. 2. 64 pages,
paper covers. Price 6d. Obtainable
from the Communist Bookshop, 16,
King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.

The ever increasing interest which is being taken by the workers in Imperialist politics and capitalist development in the Colonies has created a need for special literature dealing with the various phases of Capitalist Imperialism. There are many fine books on the subject but, unfortunately, most of them are expensive and beyond the reach of the slender resources of the average worker. In addition, the active workers have little time to devote to wading through masses of detail in order to arrive at a clear understanding of the extent and direction of Imperialist exploitation.

To meet this need the Labour Research Department is issuing an extremely useful series of booklets each dealing with British imperialism in one of the colonies. No. 2 of the Colonial Series, *British Imperialism in Malaya*, is now published and we strongly recommend all interested workers to purchase it. Within its small compass we are presented with a vivid picture of brutal exploitation and slavery dating from the establishment of British control in the Malay Peninsula in 1786 under the East India Company until the present time. The story of the exploitation of native workers in the Tin Mines and Rubber Plantations under a system of indentured labour which can hardly be distinguished from actual slavery; of the immense profits made

by the British companies and the appalling wages and conditions of work of the Indian and Chinese workers is one of the blackest records in the whole history of predatory British capitalism.

One very interesting feature of the book is the table of comparisons showing how development of the Tin industry in Malaya synchronises with the rapid decline to almost total extinction of the ancient tin mining industry in Cornwall thus furnishing a graphic illustration of the effect of colonial exploitation on the workers' struggles at home. The growth of British interests in Malaya; the sharpening of inter-capitalist rivalries between those interests and those of other countries, Japan, France, America, etc.; the strengthening of the Singapore base by Britain in order to protect her interests in Malaya and her designs upon China and the Far East; thus laying the bases for new Imperialist Wars; these are all points which are dealt with in this very useful book which we hope will have a sale of many thousands.

J. C.

"Dialectics in the Natural Sciences."
Frederick Engels [Marx-Engels Archives, Moscow, 1925].

A year and a half ago we reported here something of the work being accomplished by the Marx-Engels Institute and referred to the fact that the gravitation centre of Marxian research had shifted from Western Europe to Soviet Russia.

This is strikingly confirmed by the contents of the Second Volume of the Marx-Engels Records, which is edited by Riazanov. Under the collective title "Fr. Engels: Dialectics in the Natural Sciences," there are published sixteen, for the most part, hitherto unpublished essays by Engels in the original German, together with a careful Russian translation.

The manuscripts of the greatest importance are "Dialectic and Natural Science" (1873-1876), "An Ancient Introduction to the Dialectics of Nature" (1880), "Reviews" (1881-82), and "The General Character of the Dialectics as a Science." These writings form an invaluable supplement to the works of Marx and Engels already known. From a historical

point of view their significance consists above all in the new light which they throw on Hegel's influence upon the development of Engel's thought.

Against the shallow empiricism manifested in the conscious and unconscious philosophical speculations of contemporary natural scientists, the principal subject of his polemic, Engels continued ever to raise new and weighty objections drawn from the inexhaustible resources of the Hegelian logic. The running commentaries on the Natural Philosophy of Hegel are an excellent proof that only the Marxian dialectic is capable of extracting the precious and enduring substance of the old philosophy, while the modern bourgeois philosophical schools, including the Neohegelians, are unable to make the slightest use of Hegel's pioneer work in the explanation of nature.

From a systematising point of view the manuscripts are no less valuable. Their importance does not consist merely in the fact that Engels' endeavour to indicate the operation of the dialectic laws in nature is here undertaken in a much more comprehensive way than in "Anti-Duehring," but above all in this that from the beginning to the end the proof of the workings of the dialectic in nature is connected in a wholly concrete fashion with the evidence of the common nature shared by the laws of nature and the laws of thought.

In Engels' "Memoranda" we have the foundation laid for the construction of a really dialectical logic. Everywhere Engels is concerned to indicate the dialectical flowing over into one another of the contradictions. His analysis forms a single continuous confirmation of Lenin's definition: "Dialectics is the mode of reasoning which shows how contradictions are capable of being identical, and are identical, as well as their method of becoming so . . ." (N. Lenin, "On the Problem of the Dialectical Method," "Under the Banner of Marxism," Vol. 2).

In close reliance upon Hegel, Engels furnishes a precious criticism of the insipidities of "inductive logic," which still remains predominant in millions of present day manuals, and also a series of analyses of the basic conceptions of the theory of knowledge—causation, accident and neces-

sity, identity—as well as of the fundamental ideas of natural philosophy. The highest plane of the dialectical criticism of conceptions is reached in the analysis of the notion of force—directed against Helmholtz's view—which is given in the paper entitled "Fundamental Forms of Motion."

The essays on natural science in the limited sense of the term ("Friction in Wave Motion," "Heat," "Electricity") while their material content has become more or less antiquated still offer very valuable examples of the skilful application of the dialectical method, and, as such, will well repay study.

The profitable reading of the Engels' manuscripts demands the possession of very different qualifications. They are not the easy going of lectures written for noisy advertisement. Only a precise knowledge of the works of Engels hitherto available as well as of the Hegelian logic will render

possible any fruitful utilisation of these scanty and fragmentary references. Others of these writings, polished essays intended for publication by the author, such as for example, the admirable "An Ancient Introduction to the Dialectics of Nature," are models of what the popular exposition of a difficult problem should be.

We must express the hope that these scientific essays will be published as soon as possible in a separate edition, such as will make them available to all workers and not merely to a few specialists.

Comrade Riazanov's introduction constitutes a brilliant historical account of the subjective and objective conditions surrounding the birth of the Engels manuscripts.

This review is a translation of a notice in "Die Internationale," February, 1926.

The Lilt of the Revolution

From the depths of the darkness where poverty dwells,
 'Neath the sheen of this wealth-laden land,
A murmur arises and steadily swells:
 Insistent; with righteous demand.

'Tis the breath of revolt, like a titanic squall,
 On the wings of the wind ever borne;
Surcharged with the stress of a long night of gall,
 But pierced by the radiant morn.

O'er a world which is seething with sorrow and strife,
 Where the sluggards and spoilers hold sway;
While thousands are starving and fighting for life,
 'Midst wealth in abundant array.

Now the signal is seen from each far-distant shore,
 Over forests and black-burning plains;
That slaves who were resting, are rising once more,
 And sullenly shaking their chains.

And the rancorous notes of a great rebel roar,
 Ever break through the pall of despair;
Re-echoed and answered the continent o'er,
 Eclipsed in a great martial air.

Till the walls of old France seem to quiver and quake,
 With the echoes of 'Seventy-one;
And slumbering sons of the Commune awake,
 With mem'ries of duty well done.

While away in the van of the surging array,
 Like a star in the pallid night sky,
Undaunted Russia is leading the way,
 And Freedom, triumphant, is nigh.

While the despots of capital bludgeon and boast,
 And the dungeons are filled with the damned,
The undying squadrons of Labour's great host
 Are charging to take the command.

O'er a path that was patiently laid by the tread
Of those numberless legions now past;
And blazed by the bones of the martyrs, who bled,
Defending the cause to the last.

Ever up from the slough of an age-long despair,
With the blazing red banner unfurled;
Lo, onward unshaken each phalanx and square,
The unconquered heirs of the world.

R. J. STAPLE.