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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

THE ELECTION AND AFTER.

THE election has come and gone. It is too early, as yet, to make any lengthy statement upon it or how the results affect the Communist Party. We shall deal with this aspect of the question, in a special article, next month.

One of the most gratifying features of the election was how the rank and file of the Communist Party carried out, to the smallest detail, the policy of a United Labour Front against all avowed capitalist candidates. There was no shuffling and no hesitation in action. The whole organisation swept into line and unanimously carried out the decision of the organisation to return the candidates of the Labour Party. It was a triumph of revolutionary discipline and party loyalty carried out under most trying conditions. We place in contrast the united action of the Communists with that of those Labour Party leaders who repudiated their party's decision on the capital levy and who actually denounced it at a most critical moment in the election struggle. We are not interested, for the moment, with the merits or demerits of a capital levy; what we are interested in is the attitude of the Labour Party in regard to those members who openly flouted its official policy. It will be interesting to note what disciplinary action the Labour Party will take against such people as Mr. Ben Tillett, Mr. Wm. Graham, and the others who refused to stand upon the official election programme of the party, and who actually stabbed it in the back. At the Edinburgh Conference of the Labour Party the Communists were driven out because Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hodges declared that we might turn upon the party at some moment of crisis. These two gentlemen know, better than most people do, that the Communists are absolutely incapable of the crime of weakening the Labour movement in any of its struggles against capitalism. We were cast out of the Labour Party because of deeds of insubordination, which it was claimed, *we might commit in the future*. Very well, then, let us see what the stern disciplinarians of the Labour Party are going to do with those colleagues of Mr. J. R. MacDonald and Mr. Hodges who so contemptuously rejected one of the main issues put forward in the official election programme of the organisation.

The "ratting" of distinguished labourists on the capital levy brings to the front the truth of one or two points to which we have repeatedly drawn attention in our monthly notes. We contended that the reason why the Labour Party delayed the publication of its election programme was because it was afraid it would cause a split in its own ranks, particularly among the moderates. Had the election campaign been continued for a further two weeks many more renegades would have been discovered. Up and down the country a number of the more moderate candidates were getting alarmed at the hostile criticism directed against the capital levy by the capitalist spokesmen of the Press. Even leaders like Clynes were very timid and extremely wobbly on the subject. Thus, the rushed nature of the election was, in many ways, a blessing for the Labour Party so far as the unity of its organisation and candidates were concerned.

It is also interesting to note that the Labour candidates who opposed the capital levy are those who belong to the extreme Right. These are always the first to retreat and to throw the workers into confusion. The reason why they refused to toe the line on the capital levy was because that, thanks to the opposition of the propertied politicians, was the *one item* in the official programme that brought the organisation into open conflict with the class interests of the capitalists. Here, where the Labour Party ought to have been strongest, it was weakest; here, where unity was most essential, in the face of the enemy, was precisely the spot where the moderates created disunity and confusion. And yet it was to pacify these unreliable moderates that the Centrists, led by Mr. J. R. MacDonald and Mr. Hodges, drove the Communists from the Labour Party.

We will make one more prophecy. If the Labour Party does its duty to the workers by making a series of onslaughts upon the massed power of capitalism, it will be compelled to adopt strong measures to force its Right wing into battle. The moderates who are, at present, a source of weakness will become, in moments of class strife, a source of insuperable danger. When that moment comes the best elements inside the Labour Party will then realise the need for the help of the Communists. If, however, the Right wing dominates the policy of the Labour Party and refuses to lead it against the forces of reaction, then the disillusioned masses will see to it that the Communists become the leaders of the workers' movement.

AN OPPORTUNITY.

THE Labour Party, as it is at present made up, may possibly reach its zenith as a parliamentary force so long as it remains in opposition to a Conservative Government. The very ineptitude of the reactionary people who compose the present Government supplies the Labour Party with the ideal conditions for enabling it to appear before the world as a dashing and courageous body. The real courage of a political organisation, however, is not tested while it remains as an opposition to a government; the true depths of courage are tested from the moment a party wields political power.

History has presented the Labour Party with a matchless set of circumstances to work upon. The present head of the capitalist

government, Mr. Bonar Law, has not the dazzling parliamentary genius of Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Bonar Law is crudely honest when he pleads for tranquillity. As a business man who responds only to the highest ideals of capitalism, he yearns for social peace. He is anxious—as is the whole capitalist class—for conditions wherein the masses will go on working peacefully with no ideas of strikes or revolts; wherein the landlords will get their rents and the capitalists their profits peacefully; and wherein the imperialist demands of Great Britain will be granted peacefully. It is the Utopia of capital. It is a dream that was being shattered while the dreamer dreamed. The hunger marchers were enclosing upon London and their sullen determination was an indication how hundreds of thousands of workers were viewing things. Unemployment is going to increase as the months pass into bitter winter. Awakened with the unemployed marching past his very door the dreamer of tranquillity was forced to resort to the old device of frightening the Press with the usual Red Plot. How quickly, in troublous times, does the dream pass into nightmare!

Below and behind the plea for tranquillity is the hope that it is possible to stabilise capitalism. The recovery of the modern system from the ravages of the war and the diseases of the peace is anything but a tranquil process. It means the smashing of Labour down to depths even lower than that into which it has been battered. And the preacher of social peace, surrounded by his "die-hards," has the stomach to tackle such a job. The London Press in warning the hunger-marchers not to persist in their march upon Downing Street, declared that there were machine-guns ready for action. Tranquillity!

The problems which Mr. Lloyd George found were insoluble are no less difficult for Mr. Bonar Law. Indeed, he took over power by admitting as much. But he is not such a clever fumbler as Mr. Lloyd George. The former will focus attention upon his errors, but the latter covered up his blunders behind a smoke screen of parliamentary manipulations. The present Premier will openly defend capitalism and as openly attack Labour. He lacks the cunning of his predecessor who never fought by frontal attacks, but who was brilliant and successful in sapping and undermining and defeating the industrial army of the masses. Mr. Bonar Law would never attempt to wheedle the miners by preparing a Sankey Commission trap for Mr. R. Smillie. He has no use for the Gladstonian and Liberal tactic of blunting the edge of the workers' grievances as a preliminary to defeating them. He is a straightforward defender of capitalism, who has no time for the hypocritical and pretentious artifices of an Asquith. The tactics of Mr. Bonar Law will force the class issue to the front, and this will compel the Labour Party, whether it likes it or not, to fight upon it. We believe the more open character of the class struggle in Parliament will not add to the reputation of some of the old leaders of the Labour Party; but there are several younger and more courageous spirits among the new members, particularly from the Clyde Valley, who can set the pace if they dare to try. History has played into their hands. If they permit the moderates to influence them to become "statesman-like" in their actions, then all is lost. Much is expected from them. If they fail, the workers will be compelled to look elsewhere for courageous leadership.

COMMUNISM AND RACIALISM.

ONE of the most sensational events of the recent General Election was the return of our Indian comrade, Shapurji Saklatvala, to Parliament. His victory in Battersea, as a Labour candidate, was due mainly to the able manner in which he exploded the imperialist fallacy regarding inferior and superior races. As an active member of the Communist Party, comrade Saklatvala was able to prove to the workers that the reactionary dogma of racialism is, in practice, a shibboleth behind which class wars and class plunder are carried out against native populations. He proved that the intensified exploitation of the Indian masses, by British capitalists, would recoil against the proletariat of this country and would create greater unemployment, lower wages and longer hours. He showed, in a word, *the oneness of the interests of the international working class* in its struggle against capitalism; and he won upon that issue.

It is to be hoped that the Labour Party will appreciate the international significance of the victory that our Indian comrade has secured for them. Many of the moderate Labour candidates, in the recent election, had no international policy that could be distinguished from that of Mr. Asquith or Lord R. Cecil. Some of them discussed international questions and displayed a breadth of outlook that would have disgraced a village pump. It would be a good thing if the Labour Party would re-print the speech with which Mr. Philips M. Price opened his campaign at Gloucester; it was a magnificent statement of the world-wide class war and brought out, most clearly, the international responsibility of the working class movement of this country.

We yield to no party in our insistence upon the importance of the immediate, local, concrete needs of the masses; these are the problems which win elections, if handled in a bold manner. This was demonstrated by the sweeping Labour and Communist victories in the Clyde Valley. But questions of unemployment, etc., are not parochial problems. These demand an international policy—not one, however, of meek homage to the League of Nations, but one of struggle against capitalism in its domestic and foreign projects. No candidate during the election dealt with this phase of the problem so ably as our comrade J. T. Walton Newbold.

We must make Labour leaders realise that an assault upon the master class at home makes things much easier for those who are struggling against British imperialism abroad. Many of the most prominent leaders in the Labour movement in this country, are most insular in thought and deed. They do not seem to understand the international responsibilities and implications of the class struggle. Their backwardness, and even their reactionary attitude, is a matter of grave concern to a great number of daring spirits who are active in the workers' movement in other lands. Our modern leaders imagine that they are studying the international Labour situation when, as a matter of fact, they are only looking at the *European* movement. They do not seem to be aware of the terrific class conflict and all that is thereby involved, that is taking place at present in India, in China and Japan. They are unable to appreciate the struggle that is now being put up by the negroes in America. The appalling limitations of the British movement was most clearly seen at the recent Labour Party Conference, held at Edinburgh, when Mr. F. Hodges arrogantly swept aside all discussion upon the tactics

of the Russian Communists as being an attribute of their "Asiatic mind." This is the intolerant insularity that is eating its way into our movement; if it is not checked it is going to render sterile all attempts at international action in the future. It must be met and exposed. We have already devoted a great deal of space to the problem in the *Communist Review*, and in order to drive home our point of view once more, we are publishing a series of important articles in this issue particularly devoted to the development of the class struggle in India, China and Japan. Of equal importance is the splendid statement regarding the nature of the fight at present being put up by the negroes in America.

We must break down the island detachment that pervades the mind and actions of many prominent Labourists. We must compel them to view the struggle against capitalism and imperialism from the international standpoint. This is one of the tasks which the *Communist Review* has set out to accomplish.

A LESSON.

IN Germany the situation has again reached a critical condition. A crisis has been created by the Social Democrats withdrawing from governmental office. In the *Review*, month by month, we have contended that the Social Democrats, who were able to count most of the votes in the Reichstag, were not the real political rulers in Germany. Power, in the political world, is not determined by counting votes; it is rather determined by the amount of pressure a class can exert upon society. The Italian Fascisti have demonstrated this.

In Germany the Social Democrats believed, as many of our Labourists do, that capitalist democracy is a system where a man counts for a man and a vote counts as a vote. This is a very naive view of the present world. Capitalism is a social system based upon the manipulation of private property; that is the fundamental fact of modern society. The social grouping of classes is determined by their relationship to property. And so overwhelming is the influence of property in modern politics that it is, in itself, a political force. It is nonsense to imagine that equality of voting presupposes political equality. Before ever a worker casts his vote, his mind has been influenced by the propertied interests which control hundreds of political forces, beginning with the almighty press which does not end when the luxurious motor carries the voter to the poll. Democracy, within any propertied system, is a machine which operates, ultimately, on behalf of the propertied interests. If the economic power of the industrial and financial magnates breaking amazing political force, is not broken by the workers, it will ultimately dominate and break through any parliamentary majority operated by the Labour Party.

The present state of affairs in Germany has been caused by the economic power of the ministerial and financial magnates breaking through the parliamentary majority of the Social Democrats. We have here a further illustration of the feebleness of parliamentary control when opposed by the unbroken power of the propertied interests. Although the Social Democrats were the parliamentary rulers of Germany, real and vital political initiative still remained with the wealthy industrialists, like Hugo Stinnes, who used their economic prestige to hamper the Social Democrats in a thousand ways. Stinnes and his colleagues were able to create political crisis which the Social Democrats, despite their parliamentary majority,

could not overcome. The course of events in Germany have proved to the whole world that the workers can only attain their political triumph by breaking down the industrial and financial power wielded by the capitalist class. In every social flame where the propertied interests have influence, there must the masses break their power. This leads directly to the tactics adopted by the Russian Communists. The Soviet revolution began by smashing the political and economic control of the capitalist and landlord class. The cry of "All Power to the Workers" was no empty slogan. We now realise that it is the only method and the only way whereby the workers can raise themselves to the position of a ruling class.

The withdrawal of the German Social Democrats from the control of parliament and the triumph of the Fascisti in Italy show that the European masses have suffered defeat at the hands of the reactionaries. After five years of struggle it is only the Russian workers who are able to maintain power and who can meet the enemy with anything like a chance of success. Let British Labour mark and learn the lessons of the past five years in Germany, Italy and at home.

Culmination



THE trumpets of the four winds of the
 world
 From the ends of the earth blow battle;
 the night heaves,
 With breasts palpitating and wings refurled,
 With passion of couched limbs, as one
 who grieves
 Sleeping, and in her sleep she sees uncurled
 Dreams serpent-shapen, such as sickness
 weaves,
 Down the wild wind of vision caught and
 whirled,
 Dead leaves of sleep, thicker than autumn
 leaves,
 Shadows of storm-shaped things,
 Flights of dim tribes of kings,
 The reaping-men that reap men for their
 sheaves,
 And, without grain to yield,
 Their scythe-swept harvest-field
 Thronged thick with men pursuing and
 fugitives,
 Dead foliage of the tree of sleep,
 Leaves, blood-coloured and golden, blown
 from deep to deep.

A. C. Swinburne

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN EUROPE ? *By E.T. Whitehead*

(The author of this article spent some years in Germany, Austria, Russia, and other parts of Europe immediately preceding the war. He has also enjoyed considerable opportunities for studying the situation on the spot, in recent months, especially as regards Germany.)

TO return from the scene of the rapidly shifting and developing situation in Central Europe to Britain at the present juncture, and to witness the extraordinary insular and even parochial manner in which Britishers are absorbed in their own domestic elections, gives one a weird feeling of unreality in things that are. It is as if one came in from a house on fire to the one next door, and to find the occupants quietly and prettily playing patience or spillikins. Among all the political organisations that participated in the recent elections, the Communist Party was the only one which correctly analysed the international situation. There is no doubt whatever that developments are at present pursuing their irresistible course in Europe which will have more influence on our future, on the future of British workers, than anything that is likely to occur in the purely local sphere of British politics for some time to come.

The situation brings my mind back to that feeling of mild interest and curiosity we all experienced on that July day in 1914, when the murders at Serajevo were placarded. How many of us then realised, how many members of the British working class had any inkling, that this was the spark that was not to be extinguished until 800,000 of our countrymen had been sacrificed in the bloody conflagration that followed?

And what was true then is doubly true now. If Europe was unstable then, she is doubly unstable now ; and far from the four years of peace having resulted in establishing static and settled conditions, the situation is more turbulent, more fraught with possibilities, more certain of a great crash, than ever it has been since the armistice.

The situation in 1914 might be likened to that of a ball perched on the edge of a table, which might at any time fall off, but which might, on the other hand, quietly remain where it stands for a very considerable time. But the situation to-day is more like that of a boulder rushing down a steep slope, which no power can hope to arrest or stay its course.

The keystone to the whole situation lies naturally in Germany. If Germany crashes, the whole of European bourgeois civilisation, and probably that of our own country, will inevitably follow.

And it is not easy in a few short words to describe the developments in Germany. The mere figures that the mark stood at 300 in September, 1921, and that to-day it stands at 32,000, do not mean much to the casual reader who has no actual experience of the realities that accompany such figures, and give no clue whatever to the actual experiences and conditions suffered by the mil-

lions of human beings who live within the orbit where such changes take place.

Imagine what it must be like when prices of bread, margarine, potatoes, and all staple articles of food rise, not only steadily and regularly, but wildly and madly all days and every day; when the tram fares suddenly rise from 10/- to £1 at a leap, when you give a £5 note as a tip to a railway porter, and a £50 note for a taxi fare. Yet such is the actual experience in Germany to-day. The identical 100 mark note, which was the equivalent of £5 in 1914, is to-day's tip for the man who carries your bag. In many shops the prices rise almost daily, or rather nightly, when all articles must be priced up by the staff corresponding to the changes in the mark as compared with the dollar. What it means to the seller is that unless this is done, the money he takes will not suffice to renew his stocks, and buy fresh supplies, for in the few days that elapse in the turn-over of stocks, wholesale prices will have risen again to undreamt-of heights.

What does this mean to the government and municipal authorities? It means, of course, that the taxes they fix, by the time they collect them, have only the worth of a few pence, and huge supplies of new money must be printed to pay the governmental and municipal services. This new issue of paper, which has now reached the huge total of 4,000,000,000 paper marks per day, again plunges down the currency, and the same circle is gone through.

For the workman, for the housewife, for the children, it means that, as the breadwinner gets paid monthly—15,000 marks per month (or 10/-) was the average monthly wage as I left—that clothes, boots, and the staple foods have risen right outside the paper wage limits, and semi-starvation, or even worse, is the lot of the tens of millions of the German working class.

And what does this mean for the business man, who in old Germany used to conduct affairs with such scrupulous order and regularity and attention to detail? Naturally, it invokes a recklessness and wildness, and tendency to gamble and speculate that was previously quite unknown to the German nature.

Working girls have often told me that it was practically impossible for any of their class to get married nowadays. Very few will risk marriage in such circumstances, even if money and housing accommodation permitted. Fancy trying to save money for furniture, or even for a suit, when the price of it goes up like a skyrocket every week! I have known men trying to scrape together enough money to pay their passage to America, but every month, as they put so much by, the price of the ticket in German marks rises so alarmingly that they are further from their goal than the month before.

The result of all this is that Berlin and the German cities are crowded with prostitutes to a degree that was undreamt of, and you go in a restaurant and find at the first four tables a Swede, a Roumanian, a Japanese, and an Englishman going through the whole bill of fare, each in company with a German girl, and swilling it all down to the accompaniment of champagne at 1/3 a bottle, waited on by German waiters, whilst an orchestra of German musicians plays the latest musical creations. That is the *reality* that lies behind the glib lines that German marks have again slumped. That is the reality of the capitalists' policy of repara-

tions and "settling" Europe. These are the phenomena of the last phases of the collapse of capitalism. Work it out in human suffering, in human anxiety, in human privation and penury, and lay *that* bill at the door of the "first-class brains" that sat round the table at Vervailles.

But the end is not yet. Whilst the succession of conferences, and committees, and improvisations follow, the pace grows ever faster, the whirl to ruin gets ever more giddy, and the sinister spectres, if spectres there be, that gloat over the spectacle of human suffering, may gather yet closer till the final crash.

And what is true of Germany in process, is true of Austria in deed. For in Austria, literally, the bottom of Hell has been reached. Whole types of proletarian and semi-proletarian types, that were known to Vienna, have ceased to exist. Tens of thousands have died. Hundreds of thousands have suffered. None remain untouched.

And what of Italy? There the workers' leaders lie foully murdered, the best and bravest of their class. The workers' halls are burnt, their trade union leaders harried and hunted, all working-class activity savagely repressed and attacked through the "fascist" murder gangs that are the last expedients of a doomed order of society. A whole nation under the heel of a class terrorism worse than anything imagined by the prophetic Jack London.

And what is already the case in Italy, threatens equally in Bavaria and Poland, where the notorious Ehrhardt and Korfanty, respectively, have perfected fascist organisations on the Italian model, and where issues of arms and munitions are known to have taken place.

Even in France the victorious, the franc has depreciated fifty per cent. in the last few weeks, and now regularly follows the mark in the exchanges. With holders of francs selling largely for possession of the more stable currency of the dollar or pound, further falls will follow, and France follow the same mad course to which her victim Germany has been forced.

And in those few remaining parts of Europe, countries such as Switzerland or Czecho-Slovakia, where there was little or no war legacy, a degree of unemployment reigns, and an impoverishment of the workers that is staggering in its immensity. Even in Sweden, no fewer than 25 per cent. of the workers employed in industry were idle this year.

Such, then, are the facts, facts that have been long foreseen and foretold by Marxians. And over against these facts stands that other great fact—that Soviet Russia has turned the corner, that her industry and agriculture are steadily improving, that production is rising, and the standard of living likewise, that her army stands secure and confident.

And from these facts can come but one conclusion—that the future of humanity, the hopes of salvation from the nearing welter of ruin, lies through the path of human co-operation and human brotherhood to Communism. Nowhere outside the ranks of the Communist International can be found those forces and that determination that are capable of grappling with such a chaos and such a ruin. The hope of the toiling masses of the world, the hope of all peoples, lies entrusted to that heroic vanguard who have taken

on themselves the task of leading human society over the morass of capitalism. To all men and women of good heart and good intention in every country there can only be one duty at the present juncture, to take their place in the ranks of the Communist International. It is the leader of the working class in its struggle for emancipation, and freedom from the horrors of the dying pangs of an outlived system ; it will strive unceasingly till the dawn.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN AMERICA



[So great has been the interest taken in the article on the "Asiatic Mind," which appeared in the October REVIEW, that we have received a great many letters and contributions from readers in "backward" countries and from members of "inferior races." Herewith we publish a most important statement written by a distinguished negro who is also an enthusiastic Communist.—ED. COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

THE United States actually exercises a "veiled protectorate" over the Black Belt of the South. This Black Belt, comprising 17 of the Southern States, is virtually a colonial possession of the U.S., existing right within its own territory. Within that district are settled over ten million of negroes, a rich source of cheap, black, unskilled labour available and exploited in the production of cotton and the development of the South. Through this "veiled protectorate" protrude the abuses and agonies of an oppressed race, which expresses itself in racial consciousness. This racial consciousness, the resultant of economic forces and the inspiration of economic hope, has given rise to the Negro Problem of the U.S.

The Negro problem is primarily the unskilled phase of the labour problem in the class struggle, complicated by competition and displacement of white labour, race prejudice, the domination of the "veiled protectorate," and discrimination against the rising coloured middle classes.

Negro labour, an amorphous unorganised mass, presents a fertile and ready means for exploitation, and until recently a meek and very submissive means. But negroes are fast entering industry and acquiring industrial strength which is giving them the courage to answer lynchings with organised and determined resistance. It is the crystallization of the negro industrial strength that is giving a new complexion to the Negro Problem, and is causing alarm and concern among those who instinctively fear the latent potentialities of the negro race.

The negro, notwithstanding two hundred and fifty years of chattel slavery, is by nature no slave. His history is rich with rebellion, insurrection, underground movements, and the struggle for freedom. The strong physical exuberance of the negro, his cheerfulness and his sympathetic nature were factors that aided

his enslavement. The South had to be developed ; King Cotton had to be crowned. The wealth-owning class seized upon the negro, shackled him with slavery, and gathered in its golden harvest.

Bondage was no new institution in America. It existed in the form of indentured service. Slavery found a ready foothold as a continuation and amplification of that form. In the laws regulating the conduct of indentured servants may be discerned the germ of the colonial slave code. Chattel slavery gave to the master complete ownership of the slave while the indentured servant was sold only for a period of five to seven years. The new conditions permitted a richer yield in exploitation, and the indentured white servant gave way to the black chattel slave.

The primitive negro, torn from his African forest, and brought to the Southern States a helpless stranger and sold into slavery, was placed in gangs with others, not infrequently of different and hostile tribes, and driven on by relentless overseers. The institution of slavery for a time proved very profitable, and a potent influence upon that institution was the labour-saving inventions, together with the industrial application of the spinning-jenny, spinning-mule, cotton-jim and steam engine.

The power loom of England created a great demand for raw cotton, and to meet this demand, slave labour was stimulated. The slave crop grew to be as valuable as the cotton crop, and since the slave tasks were essentially agricultural, requiring an ever-expanding area, the slave owners required more slave territory, and therefore contrived for favourable constitutional laws to further their prosperity in the slave crop. Another reason for territorial expansion was that slave labour prevented the South from diversifying their single industry, which was practically limited to the tillage of the soil.

American commerce, which in the early part of the nineteenth century was carrying on a very brisk trade overseas, received a severe set-back through international restrictions and embargoes. Great distress followed. But soon the idle capital of commerce was utilised in the building up of manufacture, which rapidly expanded and developed into modern industrialism. Modern industrialism, based on wage labour, presented itself as an opposing force to the cheaper chattel slave labour. With the expansion of slavery in the South there developed the rapid counter-expansion of modern industrialism in the North, and the clash followed. The position of supremacy occupied by the monied class of the South was now challenged by the rising monied class of the North. The influence of the South began to wane, then followed the fierce struggle for economic and political supremacy between the master classes of the slave and "free" states.

The crisis was intensified by (1) the repeal of certain of the free states of slave-sojournment laws, (2) extraordinary activity of the underground railroad, (3) increasing opposition in the North to the execution of the fugitive slave laws, (4) fierce and obstinate struggle of the South to possess Kansas, exposing its inferiority as a coloniser in competition with modern industrialism (5) growing influence of the abolition movement, (6) slave insurrection. Added to these was Lincoln's election pledge to a policy of uncompromising resistance to the further extension of slavery in the territories.

The hampered territorial expansion of the South, the absorption of political power through industrial developments by the North, compelled the Southern States to secede in order to prevent extinction. The conflicting systems of labour created a rift in the government, which compromises and concessions only widened and intensified.

The secession of the Southern States culminated in the civil war of 1861-1865, and the Emancipation proclamation. The negro was freed! Being propertyless, possessing neither land nor money, the freed negro became again dependent upon the same old master class for the privilege to toil for maintenance. The former slave was now converted into a serf, and cunningly held to the soil by state legislation that not only controlled his labour, but his very life. And as the negro rebelled under slavery, he now rebelled against the cruelties of serfdom. This rebellion the master class answered openly with the power of the State, covertly with such secret organisations as the Ku Klux Klan.

The political freedom granted the negro by the constitution, and championed by the North, was violently opposed by the South, which fostered unscrupulous politicians, mostly white, to demoralise the newly-acquired political power of the negro. This corrupting influence was materially aided by negroes, who themselves were previously owners of slaves.

The negro, wrenched from his old condition of servitude, bewildered and disappointed with his new lot (he was promised "fifty acres and a mule" with emancipation), became the prey of the political sharks of the reconstruction period. Transition periods carry along both the evils of the old regime and the new one. With the breaking up of old restraints and new adjustments as yet not firmly fixed, a reaction ensues that expresses itself in "chaos." The ten frightful years of bayonet rule of the reconstruction period, the heritage of slavery that tore asunder husbands, wives, children, parents, openly violating negro womanhood, the demoralising effect of servitude, all contributed to the "lawlessness." An additional corrupting influence was the crushing of the negro's political power. "In the decade 1870-80 intimidation, theft, suppression or exchange of the ballot boxes; removal of the polls to unknown places, false certification; illegal arrests on the day before election were the chief means used by the South to make the negro vote of little effect." (Brawley.) Such were the moral examples set before the newly-freed negro.

The freed disfranchised negro soon found himself in the grip of the peonage system, possessed of contract labour laws, emigration laws, vagrancy laws, convict leases, plantation leases, credit system, all of which were and still are the whips with which employers lash and spur the negro on, for the possession of the fruit of his labour. The act of 1875 gave to the landlords the right to a first lien on the crop of a tenant for his rent, and the merchant was given a second lien for supplies advanced—with the result that the tenant is generally in perpetual debt to the landlord and merchant, and in a state of peonage. He, like the agricultural worker, is ruthlessly exploited. Helpless, uneducated, superstitious, with insufficient and improper food, abominable housing conditions, with separate street car laws, separate places of amusement, practically shorn of all political power, discriminated against

socially, economically, and lynched for daring to assert his manhood—these are the awards of freedom. And from this freedom the emancipated negroes turned towards the industrial centres of the cities.

The great negro migration wave began in 1914, and reached its height in 1916-17. No event since the emancipation of the negro from slavery has so profoundly influenced his economic and social life.

The South, panic-stricken on seeing its cheap labour supply migrating, sought to restrain it through intimidation, arrests, and physical violence. It also instituted an agitational campaign, inciting and fostering race hatred, in order to keep the negro in the South.

The conditions mostly contributing to negro migration were: (1) industrial opportunities resulting from the world war, (2) bad conditions in the South, aggravated by the cotton boll weevil pest and unusual floods, (3) poor educational facilities, (4) legal discrimination, (5) lynchings.

The voice of the negro Communist is as yet inaudible, but capitalism is none the less already making preparations and sending out warnings to safeguard the negro against dangerous agitators. To that end Dr. Geo. E. Haynes, of Washington, is effectively utilising his post in sending out official statements with the following: "There is need to help negro workers to protect themselves against the widespread insidious propaganda of the Bolsheviks, more insidious than German propaganda. There is no evidence that the negro has been affected by such propaganda to any extent, but there is evidence that efforts have been made and are being made to get their attention." The doctor solemnly assures the American people that negroes are law-abiding and loyal. He does not mention the fact that negroes are to a very considerable extent armed. He is equally silent about "the unrest" said to exist in many of the secret benefit societies, and among negro workers generally.

A negro correspondent, answering the question whether conditions are not now better than they were before the war, replies: "Ain't all the judges, all the police and constables, all the juries, white men as ever? Does the word of a negro count for more now than before the war? Don't white men insult our wives, daughters and sisters and get off at it, unless we take the law into our own hands and punish them for it ourselves, and get lynched for protecting our own, just as often as ever?"

The wage labour system which superseded slavery has its gradations, beginning with the technical workers, and ending with the unskilled. Each labour caste division set against the other for the purpose of keeping labour divided in the interests of capitalism. To that end race and national prejudice is precipitated by the servile tools of the master class, who studiously pit negroes against white, and effectively employ this antagonism among the workers.

Negroes suffer even more than the white from the abuses of the corrupt press, prostitute leadership, and stultifying education. And they also have upon them the recently-revived Ku Klux Klan, White Guards of America, who are beginning to make a new use of their terrorisation in intimidation and breaking up negro strikes. The great mass of unskilled negro labour is a vast reserve, utilised

against white labour, and out of which utilisation racial conflict arises.* Race prejudice has its origin in the economic conflict—competition for the possession of property, and among wage workers competition for jobs—this competition in turn again reaches upon race prejudice, enhances it, so is the vicious circle continued.

We can trace in states such as Mississippi, South Carolina, and Arkansas, the recent rise to power of a submerged element of the Southern population, the poor white. This element possesses, in addition to the hereditary antipathies of race, political ambitions and economic needs that bring it into economic conflict with the negro in a way that bodes ill for the future amicable relations of the races in those sections. This numerous class which occupies for the most part the pine hills and creek bottoms along the outskirts of the "black belt," resents the growing inclination on the part of the negro to purchase farms, and enter into direct economic competition with them. They have organised in some Southern communities to prevent the sale of lands to negroes. Where this has failed, they have resorted to intimidation, such as burning the houses of negroes. (*Democracy and Race Friction.*)

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND RACE.

"Students of natural history hold to-day that the human races have evolved in the past from one common root type. In the varying continents coloration is the effect of temperature, climate, alimentation and manner of life. Residence under the equator has produced red-brown, black coloration of the stock, residence in the Mediterranean, the brown colour, so Northern Europe has given origin to the white skin, blond hair and blue eyes. We may consider this beautiful example of the formation and variation of external characters among a section of the human race which from time immemorial has been diffused by migration between the equator and the Arctic circle, and has formed its external characters according to the variations of latitude and the concomitant external conditions." (Sergi.)

Favourable circumstances and surroundings, especially a good environment, a favourable geographic position, trade and traffic, caused one group to advance more quickly than another, while some have continued to remain in a very primitive state of development, but all groups are adapted to their surroundings, according to the law of survival of the fittest. All psychologists are agreed that each one of the mental processes is within the capabilities of every group of mankind. All have the same senses, same instincts and emotions. It is recognised that the human mind the world over is essentially alike, that the mind everywhere acts on the same principles, and that, ignoring the local, incidental and eccentric, we find similar laws of growth among all people. The failure of progress equally is not due to essential unlikeness of mind, but rather to the conditions lying outside of the mind.

"The fundamental explanation of the difference in the mental life of two groups is not that the capacity of brain to do work is different, but because attention is not directed and stimulated along the same lines. Wherever society furnishes stimulation of a certain

* The causes for the Chicago race riots are given by Carl Sandberg: (a) Encroachment of immigrant negroes from the South upon white resident districts (b) antagonism to negro union workmen in the stockyards; (c) hostility arising from the part played by the negro vote in electing an unpopular city administration, and the activities of real estate concerns.

kind, practically all its members are able to work on the plan and scale in vogue there, and the members of an alien race who become acquainted in a real sense with the system can work under it. But when society does not furnish the stimulation, or when it has preconceptions that inhabit attention in given lines, then individuals show no intelligence in these lines." (W. I. Thomas, *Mind of Savage*.)

Our pseudo-scientists and capitalist-conscious historians do not accept this view of the negro, and in lengthy, laborious volumes, in the public Press and on public platforms, insist that he is still a savage to be kept within bounds. "Race measured by race, the negro is inferior, and his past history in Africa and in America leads to the belief that he will remain inferior in race stamina and race achievement" (Prof. Hart). "As an American citizen he is a monstrosity. . . . He is too incompetent and unreliable for any use, as a citizen of the commonwealth he is an unmitigated nuisance, and, judging from the past, he will so remain. . . . He is by nature and habit a servant, not only because of his long period of slavery, but because of his mental inferiority" (H. H. Bancroft). In proof, they still produce the exploded theory that the negro has less brain weight.

They charge the negro with the whole gamut of sexual depravities, and much is made of his "natural" proclivity to rape white women, which charge is often the basis for lynchings. A stronger sex instinct, however, is ascribed to the negro race by some as a probable result of the high mortality rate in Africa owing to wars, slave raids, disease, greater unsanitary conditions, and a debilitating tropical climate. Social conditions have therefore developed a race in which the creative instinct is strong. The morality of the negro, considering his greater restrictions, is no different from that of the white man, unless perhaps it is that the latter is more hypocritical.

The conditions under which the negro lives are certainly not conducive to good conduct or character building. In crowded quarters, a childhood spent unprotected on the streets, practically no home life, roving, uncertain of income, irregular and insufficient food, all of which produce definite results: ill-nourished bodies, vacant minds, craving for stimulants, lack of energy, weak wills, irresponsibility in the relation of life. This is true, not only of this race or that, but wherever poverty abounds. A surplus labour supply that permits of the worker continually being "laid off" developed in the negro an irregularity of conduct and lack of "strictibility" that places him at a disadvantage in competing for a job. Although in the present state of industrial organisation the negro's capabilities, limited or determined by racial inheritance, play a small part. With few exceptions, industries are not so thoroughly organised that slight individual and psychological differences make themselves felt in large-scale production.

The negro has achieved his transition from slavery to civilisation by a short cut, whereas other races enjoyed the disciplinary advantages of travelling a much longer road. The highly-prized attributes, called character, demand as their background a mature industrial, social and political order. The "black belt," the closed "door of hope," race hatred, constrict even "Christian" virtues.

The church is the negro's haven for the gratification of his social cravings. That he has built the institution strong attests to his power of organisation.

The anti-bellum negro was noted for his cheerfulness and gaiety, his genial nature, rich sense of humour, and his continual singing pleasing, joyous songs. The negro to-day is fast losing his cheerfulness, and is not so disposed to gaiety. To-day his songs are mostly in the minor key.

Hemmed in, repressed, the victim of savage hatred, and the accumulative effect of greater hardship and a special kind of environment, produced certain superficial modifications in the negro that are *different* from the white. These differences must be carefully noted. The great mass of undeveloped negroes regard white people with mistrust and fear. The first approach to the psychology of the negro is to disarm him of this mistrust directed against his white fellow-workers, and then to win him with sympathetic understanding of his shortcomings and his needs by appealing through his racial, national and religious emotions.

A COLD INFERNO

BY O. W. KUUSINEN

THE result of the recent elections in Finland may be characterised as an expression of general dissatisfaction. On the one hand the dissatisfaction of the revolutionary proletariat, assumed the form of an energetic revival of the young Workers' Party. On the other hand the reactionary dissatisfaction of the bourgeois voters expressed itself in two forms—in the general decrease in the number of voters and in the considerable loss of the "progressive" Centre.

The revolutionary dissatisfaction of the workers can be understood. But the political discouragement of the bourgeois elements and their reactionary dissatisfaction with the Centre Party, which has, in fact, always pursued a reactionary policy, can only be understood in the light of the present situation of capitalism in Finland and its dark perspectives.

The experience of the last four years shows that the Finnish bourgeoisie is not capable of creating a régime for itself with which it could be satisfied. During this period it has enjoyed complete freedom, and absolute national independence in its most ideal form. What was still lacking? One might have thought that the longed-for paradise had been realised.

But in reality it is something altogether different—even in the opinion of many good patriots.

In the old Finnish popular epic, which is generally sung in Karelia, it is recounted that there were two independent Finnish Empires—the beautiful sunny "Kalevala" (Karyala), where the good heroes live, and the Northern "Pohyola," the Empire of Darkness. This Northern Infernal Kingdom, contrary to the well-heated hell of the Bible, was absolutely cold; even the waterfalls there were frozen, the floating swans were of hoar-frost, and the bounding hares were made of ice. The high personages of Pohyola were professional robbers of the first water. Their real chieftain at home, as well as on

the robbery expeditions, was not the legal master of Pohyola, who was a small good-for-nothing boaster, but rather his wife Louhi. This feminine Satan was in reality a barbarian dragon, and not a polite diplomat. Once she robbed nothing more nor less than the sun from Kalevala, and hid the thing in the caverns of a mountain range in Pohyola. Another time she robbed the magic mill of the poor people of Kalevala.

This mill was a very practical apparatus for production. The talented hero-smith, the engineer Ilmarinen, had constructed it and brought it to completion with the help of many slaves. The mill produced everything that was necessary for the primitive commune of Kalevala of that day—on the first day it produced all the food, on the second day all the objects that were for sale or for exportation, and on the third day the luxuries for festivals and banquets. Such a machine in the hands of the inhabitants of Kalevala gave the envious Louhi no rest. She came at night at the head of the white bandits and robbed the mill.

But what could this barbarian society do with this invention of a highly developed technique? Nothing more than can be expected from the representatives of greed and envy—the valuable machine was buried deep in the earth in the stony hills of Pohyola. Thus the apparatus lay there unused. No one had any use from it or any joy. There are such devils!

The old Karelian minstrels were not bad prophets. The industrial apparatus for production does not thrive in Finland. As much as it is in operation, it brings very little use now to the exploiters, and not the least joy to the slaves. It is not a large apparatus, but it could have been improved and perfected. The process of industrialisation is still in its first stage in the country, and is by far not as yet advanced as, for instance, in Sweden. Indeed, the natural conditions are very bad. The climate is cold, the soil poor and uneven, for the most part either covered with boulders or broken up by extensive swamps. Although 65 per cent. of the population can be considered as being engaged in agriculture, the people are not capable of living on the bread which they themselves produce. About half of the necessary grain for making bread must be imported from outside in normal times. Even most of the agricultural producers (almost all the small peasants and small leasers) are forced to buy a part of the grain for making bread. Cattle raising and dairy activities are in a better situation; nevertheless, they are very backward in comparison with those of Denmark. A large part of the pastures is bad, and the natural meadows are not very fertile. In Finland there is no iron in the ground, and just as little ore, with insignificant exceptions; nor is there any coal, nor any large stretches of forest. Extensive saw-mills and a centralised paper industry have developed as a result of the wood supply. Other branches of industry, such as metallurgy and machine building, textile and leather work, tobacco and food industry are very weak.

Of the entire population (about three and a half millions; seven persons on the average to every square kilometre) about half belong to the group of country proletariat or semi-proletariat. Among these there are about 100,000 servants, about 65,000 so-called lease households (cottagers, small leasers), about 125,000 households on shorter leases, and still another similar large group of shifting proletarian population living in the country. There are about 80,000 to 90,000 independent small peasants, 20,000 to 30,000 middle

peasants, and 2,000 to 3,000 large peasants and large landowners. The entire number of wage workers in constant service of industry is not more than 125,000-150,000, not counting the manual labourers with their apprentices (3,000-5,000), as well as various categories of seasonal workers.

As everyone can deduce from these figures, capitalist development in Finland has advanced the proletarianisation of the peasant population much further than it could have been done by industry. The emigration of country proletariat and small peasants, which before the war was a yearly symptom of proletarianisation, has now been made entirely impossible. The relatively meagre section of the wage workers in the fullest sense of the word, those who are occupied with the most modern labour improvements, cannot, of course, nourish a large section of the idlers with the surplus value which it creates, nor can it support a large government apparatus. The expenses of the capitalist class-rule in Finland, however, is relatively large. Under Russian rule, the government expenditure was much less than now. The government bureaucracy is saddled, for instance, with an expensive foreign representation and a political police system. The country has to support an army now, which swallows up a quarter of the yearly national budget. Furthermore, it maintains a white guardist organisation, which causes very high expenses. The State debts, which in the year 1917 still amounted only to one hundred and seventy million marks, have risen since then to about two billion (if we reckon the gold value of the former debts, for which interest must be paid according to this gold value, the entire sum must be reckoned at $3\frac{1}{2}$ -4 billion Finnish marks, according to the present depreciated value).

The "independence" will cost Finland still dearer because of the loss of the Russian markets. Finland received cheap grain and much raw material from Russia formerly, and as this is now imported from elsewhere, the cost of production for the Finnish industry is much greater now. The entire paper production of Finland was sold in Russia, and a large machine industry could be built up only with Russian orders as a basis. Finland's industry can find a substitute for these markets only with the greatest difficulty. The Finnish machine construction is not capable of competition with the German or the Swedish. The textile industry still less. The great depreciation of the national currency has served as a temporary aid to the Finnish paper industry in its search for possibilities of exploitation. Only this "advantage" has saved Finnish capitalism from a threatening catastrophe in the past year. The capitalists were able to sell considerable stores of timber-goods at a favourable rate, so that the equilibrium of the trade balance was reached. The sale was chiefly to England, where not only the currency stands relatively high, but where the prices for timber-goods are much higher than before the war.

The saw-mill industry is naturally very primitive as a "mode of production," and not very productive as regards national economy. It is true that it provides the raw material for the furniture industry and for construction. In Finland a systematic destruction of woods has been carried on by the lumber capitalists. In South and Middle Finland, which have better transport facilities, the yearly estimate is reckoned at many million cubic cords. An increase of the export to England or to any other country is hardly possible to any great

degree. The same holds true of the present export of Finnish paper and Finnish butter.

In the export of paper and timber goods, Finnish capitalism has Sweden as its nearest competitor; in the butter export it must compete with Denmark. The low currency makes this competition easy for Finland for the time being. It even makes it possible for the moment to export to these neighbouring countries a few articles of such a nature as could not have been sold there before.

In this way it was possible for Finnish capitalism to balance the foreign trade exchange and to stop the depreciation of money. A limitation of imports and a raising of the tariff walls have helped to achieve this end. The many attempts of the government to secure a new foreign loan through the graces of the Entente, in order to stabilise the currency and to consolidate uncertain debts, have failed regularly in the last years. The English Government will not risk a pound more to stabilise Finnish capitalism. Either the risk appears too great, or the stabilisation has gone ahead far enough from the point of view of the English interests.

The uncertainty of the currency is hindering the industrial development as much as it is hindered by the limitation of the export market and the increase in the cost of productions. Besides that the large unproductive expenditure of the government, as well as the municipalities, have made it necessary for the industrial profits to be burdened with taxes. The sacred agrarian exploitation interests have asserted themselves with more success in the matter of taxation than the attempts to protect the industrial profits.

As a result of all these phenomena, there has been a depressed situation, and even a direct retrogression, for many branches of industry. This can be seen in the constant increase of creditors' protests, and in the decrease in the value of industrial shares. The crisis weighs most heavily upon the machine industry. On the other hand, the situation is better for the most backward branch of capitalism, for the stockbrokers, and, of course, also, for the banks and the big trade speculators. The big landowners and most of the richer peasants are also quite satisfied with the high price of butter, and they should also like to see the government change politically even more completely than until now, and become a regular refrigeration plant.

Soviet Russia has also bought a supply of paper and fuel-wood from Finland. This also enabled Finland to protect its mark from falling last year. Commercial relations between the two countries could not be taken up on a great scale. It is also probable that Finnish capitalism has let slip the best season for the resumption of commercial relations with Russia; the revival of the internal Russian industry which has begun, indicates that. All the negotiations for the resumption of commercial relations have failed, principally on account of the contradiction within the ranks of the ruling class in Finland. A large part wanted it, another part opposed it, and the largest part wanted it and opposed it at the same time. It circled around the attractive Russian market, as the cat circles around the hot food. It felt with its paw carefully and burned itself, like the trust of the paper capitalists, which collapsed upon the first commercial venture with Russia. This undecided part of the capitalist class came to have the uncertain feeling that the Russian market was too inflammable for such sensitive materials as

paper, wood, butter. Thereafter, it ran in its blind rage here and there, and took a taste—yesterday in Esthonia, to-day in Olonetz, to-morrow in North Karelia. But each time it turned out to be even a worse commercial venture; and insult and shame into the bargain.

In Kalevala they also recount about an artful scoundrel, Joukabilise the valuta and to consolidate the uncertain debts, have failed hainen, who wanted to murder the powerful demi-god Wäinömöinen, and shot at him from ambush with his bow. The arrow missed its aim, and Wäinömöinen, instead of striking him down, forced him by means of his magic song deeper and deeper into the swamp, up to the lips. The scoundrel could continue to live—he was liberated—but what shame . . . !

That this land is an inferno for its workers is a fact universally known.

The offensive of decaying capital against the wages of the workers is being carried on openly, with the help of the police, the political gendarmes, and the white guardists, who have been let loose. If a strike of the saw-mill workers breaks out in North Finland, for instance, the President of the General Trade Union Central Organisation is arrested in Helsingfors (as was the case recently), and if he is elected to the national parliament, he is simply accused of high treason, and almost certainly sentenced for it.

In no country in the world does the culture of high treason stand so high as in Finland. Very naturally. No one who knows the present housing conditions of the Helsingfors workers (after the last eviction) will not be astonished over it. Even the most loyal citizen, the very Minister of the Interior himself, would have acquired an appetite for government treason in the course of a single week which he would have passed in such a dwelling. These sort of appetites germinate in the dirt of a deep cellar as under the open sky, in the woods, and on the roadside.

But the hundreds of thousands of traitorous proletarians in Finland have no weapons in their hands. For this reason the process of economic disintegration and political decay must advance still further for the present. A dissatisfaction is spreading among the semi-proletarian, petty bourgeois, and small peasant sections of the population, indeed even among the lower and middle officialdom, and the private employees. This dissatisfaction is, indeed, of another kind from that of the proletariat. It does not possess the same conscious character of high treason. It is well behaved, loyal, patriotic, at times reactionary, always innocent and unconscious of its high treason. It is easily frightened away, and is open to bribery. This is also a virtuous dissatisfaction, at least up to the decisive hour. In reality, it is only a symptom, a sign of the disorganisation of the capitalist class rule.

Other symptoms of it are coming up to the surface of bourgeois politics. A reactionary government has difficulties with a loyal opposition of the Centre, a government of the Centre, with a similar loyal opposition of the extreme Right, and a coalition government drives the voters into the opposition. One party hopes for support and money from England; another makes agreements with Poland and France, a third seeks adventures in co-operation with Ludendorff and Co. And the smaller the gain, the larger the friction among the exploiters.

The force of the proletarian revolution is still enchained in Finland, as the sun was imprisoned in Pohyola. The sun had to be liberated in the end. It was too glowing an element for its surroundings. Things went worse with the magic mill. In the struggle for its liberation, it was destroyed. It is a pity about the beautiful mill.

The Revolutionary Nationalist Movement in S. China

BY H. MARING

CHINA to-day presents on the whole a picture of utter confusion. Far off in the interior of the country the Chinese revolution appears to have wrought no alterations in either the political or economic field. The peasantry, making up the overwhelming mass of the population, is taking no part in the political life of the country, and there is no development noticeable in their economic interrelations. The ancient property and family relations still prevail to-day in the village community which presents a self-sufficient economic entity satisfying all its own wants, and entirely isolated from the outside capitalist world. There are no sharp economic contrasts among the peasants, whose lives have not been affected by the development of capitalism in the industrial centres along the coast. These industrial centres have been the arena of mutual conflict among the various foreign Powers in their search for investments for their capital and of markets for their manufactures. The forces of economic imperialism have been undermining China since the time of the Manchus, and the European Powers, as well as Japan and, to a lesser extent, also the United States, saw to it that this process should go on after the formation of the republic. The perennial civil wars in China have been largely fostered by foreign capital acting through the agency of venal generals and politicians. The foreign loans supplying the means for carrying on these wars have been contracted on such terms as to reduce the independence of China to almost nothing. Japan having taken advantage of the world war, and as the European Powers were too involved to interfere with her activities in the Orient, managed to greatly extend her influence upon the political and economic life of China.

In his book on *Economic Imperialism*, Leonard Woolf summarises the present day situation in China as follows: "Civil wars have become epidemic in China. Her government is hopelessly corrupt, and her finances are in a chaotic condition; large portions of Chinese territory are occupied by foreign troops and all the Government's income is pledged in payment of interests on foreign loans which brought the country very little or no benefit, but caused her, on the contrary, an untold amount of harm. By the systematic practice of fraud and violence foreigners got hold of her means of transportation and of a large portion of her mineral resources."

The post-revolutionary period of development following the overthrow of the Manchus has lasted for over ten years now. In

1911 the nationalistic intellectuals, assisted by their friends in the army, succeeded in developing sufficient strength for the overthrow of the Manchus, but owing to the lack of class organisations this political revolution was given no solid or definite content. No sooner had the revolution broken out than the capitalist Powers of Europe were at work thwarting all efforts to consolidate and centralise the country under the leadership of the Southern radicals, who had been instrumental in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. Thanks to the machinations of these foreign Powers the leadership in the revolution got into the hands of the Northern general, Yuan-shi-kai, who served at the same time as the tool of foreign imperial interests. Instead of applying the financial means placed at his disposal by foreign capitalists for the development of the country's economic resources, Yuan-shi-kai used these means to fight the Southerners. Sun-yat-sen was nominated as the first president of the republic, and he was anxious to bring about the unification of China, in opposition to the foreign powers and Yuan-shi-kai. Eventually the nomination of Sun-yat-sen was withdrawn. The consequences of this were that Yuan-shi-kai, having gradually overcome the resistance of the South, shoved aside the elected parliament and the constitution as well. The first conquests of the revolution were gradually reduced to naught, and it became more and more evident that Yuan-shi-kai was aiming to restore the monarchy and to secure the throne for his own family.

He carried on his fight against the Southern revolutionaries till their Party was dissolved, and its leaders were forced to flee abroad. Only after the death of Yuan-shi-kai did the leaders return home and begin to rally their nationalist revolutionary forces. Naturally, Sun-yat-sen and his friends began by concentrating in the South, where they still found a great number of adherents. The overthrow of the Manchus and the further course of events in China, under the rule of Yuan-shi-kai, served to weaken the nationalist movement among the intellectuals. While prior to the revolution the intellectuals could always be rallied around the slogans: "Down with the Manchus," it became rather difficult to arouse them to action for any common cause after the overthrow of the Manchus was accomplished. This was due, firstly, to the inveterate antagonism between the North and South and, secondly, to the varying effects of different foreign influences upon the minds of the intellectuals giving rise to diverse view-points. The same divergence of opinion prevailed also among the bourgeois elements. Chinese intellectuals usually get their education in the various countries of Europe, in Japan, or in the United States. With the exception of those educated in Japan, the intellectuals are as a rule disposed to favour that particular country where they had received their education. This process of influencing the minds of the intellectuals in favour of this or that particular country usually begins to operate in the early years of the Chinese youth through the agency of the missionary schools.

The Chinese capitalists, on the other hand, associating with foreign firms and launching out upon new enterprises in conjunction with foreign capitalists, are naturally also very strongly swayed by foreign influences. The driving forces of Chinese nationalism are, therefore, not to be found among these bourgeois or intellectual elements, whose minds are under foreign sway, but among the

numerous Chinese emigrants in foreign colonies coming chiefly from the southern provinces.

The war years enhanced the development of modern industry in China, and many new industrial establishments were opened by Chinese, but almost always in conjunction with some foreigners. The Chinese emigrants in European colonies, however, were in an altogether different position. The war offered them the opportunity of accumulating big amounts of capital which they invested mostly in banks, plantations, and industrial undertakings, acting on their own behalf and establishing their own connections abroad through the medium of European concerns and banks in the colonies. These native capitalists have not yet brought themselves to place their large accumulations at the disposal of their mother country in order to help build up her economic resources, on account of the conditions of civil war and foreign intrigues, rendering the situation in the country so insecure and precarious. But they have been interested in things Chinese, maintaining relations with their families in China and readily supporting the efforts of the radical intellectuals of the south to consolidate the country and bring about her independence. It has always been the financial assistance of these people, with whom Sun-yat-sen kept up relations through Chinese seamen and special agents, that furnished the revolutionaries with the necessary means for carrying on their work. It must be emphasised, however, that these big capitalists, in spite of their common aspirations, have remained scattered and disunited, manifesting no common political interests and taking no active part in the life of the Party. As a matter of fact, there could be no accord between these big capitalists mercilessly exploiting native labour in the colonies and the radical intellectuals at the hand of the nationalist movement.

It will not be out of place in this connection to characterise these leaders of the nationalist movement. They are almost all under the influence of socialist ideas picked up during their studies in Japan, France or America, and they are inclined to associate the doctrines of modern socialism with the teachings of ancient Chinese philosophy. Immediately after the Chinese revolution Sun-yat-sen stated in an article in "*Le Mouvement Syndicalist*" that the revolutionary nationalists were striving to inaugurate the Socialist mode of production in China. He reiterated this statement and in his work on the economic development of China, published in 1921, he made his view-point more definite by stating that China was going to enter the stage of State capitalism leading to the inauguration of socialist production.

It is evident that such a programme did not accord with the interests and aspirations of the owners of large capital, who were giving the Party of Sun-yat-sen their financial support. The propaganda carried on by Sun-yat-sen had therefore to be directed mainly towards the petty-bourgeois, the artisans, the working men, and the soldiers of his army. The programme of the Sun-yat-sen Party, which was, in essence, like that of one of the underground groups that had brought about the overthrow of the Manchus, did not reveal the economic goal aimed at by the leaders. On the whole, the programme was drawn up in such a manner as to make it possible for very different groups of the Chinese population to join the Party. The only three slogans for which the programme

declared itself were: (1) Unity and independence; (2) a democratic republic, and (3) a decent living for all. For a long time conditions were such as to force the Party to carry on its work illegally, and only the conquest of the province of Khantung in 1920 enabled the Party to conduct its activities undisturbed within that province. Engaged in military preparations for the overthrow of the Peking government, the Party had no opportunity of discussing problems of tactics or of elaborating its programme.

The Party's weakest point has all the time been that, acting under the constraint of the foreign Powers, it never put any vigour or energy into its propaganda. Sun-yat-sen and his friends realised well enough that, following the overthrow of the Manchus, all revolutionary-nationalist propaganda would necessarily have to be directed against the ever-increasing encroachments of foreign imperialists. But in spite of all the lessons that might have been learned from the entire course of the post-revolutionary events up to the present time, namely, that there were others besides Chinese responsible for the shaping of Chinese, they still naively cherish the vain hope of being able to eventually accomplish the reconstruction without the interference of foreigners, provided they do not antagonise the latter by hostile propaganda.

Owing to the fact that the classes in Chinese society have not yet sufficiently differentiated themselves, the southern leaders are likewise led to resort to the army, seeking to achieve their aims mainly by military means. But in as far as their propaganda has been making its appeals to the masses, it has been of a more or less socialistic nature, which it had necessary to be if it were to enlist the sympathies of the workers, the artisans and even of the petty-bourgeoisie. It is peculiar that the bourgeoisie belonging to the Kuomintang did not object to such propaganda.

The great popularity of Sun-yat-sen among the artisans and working men of Southern China has come to light after the conquest of the province of Kwantung by General Chen-chun-Ming's troops, when the southern republic was formed, when the Chinese parliament was convened at Canton, and Sun-yat-sen was elected president of the republic. Ever since that time the leaders of Kuomintang were lending their support to Labour organisations and rendered assistance to different strikes, thereby extending their influence among the workers. The trade union movement in the Kwantung province has reached a high stage of development. As a rule, the growth of militant Labour organisations, even in the industrial centres of China is still being hampered by the ancient forms of organisation, namely, the guilds. The workers of the large Shanghai factories, for example, still have their organisations divided into provincial units according to the respective provinces to which they belong. Even the strike movements, in which the workers of different provinces are compelled to act together against their common employer, seldom lead to the formation of trade unions of the modern type.

In the South, however, conditions have been much more favourable. There the sailors, metal workers, and brewery workers already have their trade unions organised on the modern basis, and since 1920 these workers have frequently carried out successful strikes for the improvement of conditions. The Kuomintang leaders supported the striking workers also in such cases when the

strikes were directed against Chinese employers. This policy was being pursued, not only by Sun-yat-sen and his friends, but also by Chen-chun-Ming, who later became the enemy of Sun-yat-sen. Protesting against this policy of favoring the working people the bourgeoisie threatened to resort to the weapon of the general lock-out.

The leaders of the Kuomintang have been favouring the newly-formed Labour organisations in many other ways, as well. In the department of education of the province of Kwantung the Chinese Communist, Chen-Tu-chu, former professor of the Peking University, was put in charge of the organisation of educational institutions. During four years this comrade has been publishing *The Youth*, a periodical whose influence among the young intellectuals was very considerable. This periodical carried on straightforward Communist propaganda, systematically waking the sympathy of its readers for Soviet Russia and for the Russian revolution. It was due to the interest aroused by this periodical that groups of intellectuals in various sections of the country began to unite for the study of social questions. During his stay at Canton Chen-Tu-chu succeeded in getting the administration of the province to open a school for the training of propagandists. In the evening courses opened in this school, many a worker received the necessary training for trade union activity. Such a policy as this carried on under Chen-chun-Ming was possible only because the bourgeois elements within the Party have not yet reached their political maturity.

Chen-chun-Ming was thus in absolute agreement with Sun-yat-sen regarding economic policy, but with reference to the political course to be followed, the disagreements between them gradually assumed such proportions that these two most prominent leaders of the Party became enemies. Chen-chun-Ming had even been planning to introduce State capitalism in the province of Kwantung and took steps to hinder the development of private capital in the province. With that end in view he furthered the growth of Labour organisations, and declared himself in favour of having socialist propaganda carried on among the workers. But as soon as he became governor of the Kwantung province his political attitude changed. At the time of his being general of the revolutionary army at Fukien, Chen-chun-Ming did not differ in his views from Sun-yat-sen, though the latter was more radical and more determined to act. The conquest of Kwantung was taken up by Chen-chun-Ming only after Sun-yat-sen had urged him to do so. Following this event, however, Chen-chun-Ming wished to go on further. He had to be pressed upon to accomplish the conquest of Kwantung in order to get the revolutionaries of the provinces of Yunan, Kwaitchou, Human and Sechuan into touch with Canton. But in proportion as the plans for a military campaign against the South began to mature and Sun-yat-sen started to recruit his troops in the province of Kwailing, preparing to march towards Human, the breach between him and Chen-chun-Ming became more and more apparent. Almost all the leaders of the Kuomintang sided with Sun-yat-sen, but Chen-chun-Ming declined to withdraw from the governorship of Kwantung, and assumed the command of the expeditionary troops. He declared in opposition to the centralisation of China and in favour of the policy of decentralisation

adopted by the northern Tuchun, Wu-Pei-Fu. As a matter of course, all provincial governors are in favour of decentralisation which leaves them the possibility of exercising dictatorial power in their respective provinces. While Sun-yat-sen adopted the idea of Party dictatorship, aiming at the centralisation of China and the realisation of his economic reforms, Chen-chun-Ming came out against dictatorship in any form and in favour of democratic government, while at the same time exercising individual dictatorship in his own province. Sun-yat-sen hesitated a long time before he made up his mind to break with Chen-chun-Ming. For this break meant losing Chen-chun-Ming's troops, i.e., the best part or the Southern army. The assistance from the other provinces was very inadequate, the troops gathered at Kwailing were a conglomerate of men coming from various parts of the country, and fights between individual soldiers from different provinces were matters of daily occurrence. The equipment was very poor, some of the ammunition belonging to the 'eighties of last century. No financial assistance having come from the other provinces, the entire undertaking was to be financed by Kwantung; Sun-yat-sen and his friends carried on political propaganda among the officers, but the old generals frequently forbade the younger officers to carry on propaganda among the soldiers. It was evident that the troops at Kwailing were no match for Wu-Pei-Fu's army, even taking into consideration the few divisions which Sun-yat-sen could have had at his disposal in Hunan. The orders sent by Sun-yat-sen to Canton calling upon Chen-chun-Ming to come to Kwailing were laid aside unheeded. At the same time the foremost councillor of Chen-chun-Ming was assassinated at Canton, which widened the breach between him and Sun-yat-sen still more. It was about the same time, too, that the strained relations between Chang-Tso-Lin and Wu-Pei-Fu reached an acute state, and war broke out between these two high Tuchuns. Chang-Tso-Lin then declared his readiness to assist the southerners in their fight against Wu-Pei-Fu. In this connection Wu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, made a journey to Canton, and an open alliance was concluded between Chang-Tso-Lin and Sun-yat-sen. Now, Chang-Tso-Lin never was in sympathy with the southern revolutionaries. Being the tool of Japan, he naturally could not sympathise with the revolutionary and nationalist aspirations of the Kuomintang. This alliance, which must be attributed merely to the military weakness of Sun-yat-sen, was a kind of staking on the chance that the two northern rivals were going to fight on to their mutual destruction, whereby the leaders of the Kuomintang hoped to gain the opportunity of realising their southern aspirations. There has been no controversy in Party circles on the subject of this alliance, as Sun-yat-sen had been invested by Parliament and by the Party leadership with dictatorial powers for the time of the military expedition. Neither did Chen-chun-Ming make any objection to this alliance. At the same time, however, he began to form secret connections with Wu-Pei-Fu. Then Sun-yat-sen, having arrived at Canton, dismissed Chen-chun-Ming from his post of governor, replacing him by the old revolutionary Wu-Tai-Tang. Whereupon Chen-chun-Ming opened hostilities against Sun-yat-sen, who, having been besieged in the Foreign Office, was forced to seek safety in flight. Chen-chun-Ming then dissolved the southern

government, and declared his adherence to the political platform of Wu-Pei-Fu, involving decentralisation of the government and extensive provincial autonomy. The fight between Chang-Tso-Lin and Wu-Pei-Fu, as is known, ended in the victory of the latter. Chang-Tso-Lin retired to Manchuria, and the Peking government got into the hands of Wu-Pei-Fu. In the south the fight between Sun-yat-Sen and Chen-chun-Ming is still going on. From the point of view of military strength, the advantage is undoubtedly on the side of Chen-chun-Ming, but the old leaders of the Party stand by Sun-yat-sen.

The seamen's big strike in Southern China, which took place last January, stands out as characteristic of the connection between the revolutionary-nationalist movement and the modern Labour movement which is now in the process of development. At the beginning this strike was of an economic nature, aiming at a rise in wages for seamen sailing along the coast and in the Indian Archipelago. Very soon, however, they were joined by their fellow-seamen of the open sea, who came out in a sympathetic strike, thus demonstrating the great feeling of working-class solidarity prevailing among the seamen, and making the strike an event of great moment. The port of Hong Kong rapidly became crowded with steamers left by their Chinese crews. Only the Japanese, with their non-Chinese crews, were able to keep up regular service to a limited extent. When the large shipping companies made an attempt to man their ships with sailors from the north and from the Philippine and Malay islands, the Hong Kong dock workers stopped work. The British authorities naturally took up the cause of the shipping companies, forbidding the Strike Committee to carry on its activity in Hong Kong. This forced the leaders of the seamen to remove their headquarters to Canton, where they were heartily welcomed by the Kuomintang. The Chinese Seamen's Union at Hong Kong was dissolved, and the economic struggle for increased wages was turned into a nationalist struggle against the British authorities in Hong Kong. The leaders of the Kuomintang kept in constant touch with the strikers, providing them with halls for meetings and assisting them in every way. At the same time the opportunity of propagating the views of the Kuomintang among the seamen, which thus presented itself, was by no means neglected. Large processions of striking seamen marched to the graves of those who had fallen in the revolutionary battles, where speeches were delivered by Kuomintang leaders, who exhorted the workers to carry on the struggle against foreign imperialism. This propaganda among the seamen bore very good results, so that the strikers of Canton, Hong Kong, and Swatow all joined the Party. The tactics adopted and carried out by the leaders in this strike resembled in every way those of the revolutionary Labour Unions, and made a strong impression not only upon the seamen, but upon the workers of other trades as well. In consequence of this successful strike, the workers of southern China were drawn into even greater intimacy with the revolutionary-nationalist movement. The British authorities at Hong Kong had to submit to the strikers, and the Seamen's Union were allowed to resume their agitational functions in that city.

The trade unions of the south are now trying to establish connections with the northern workers and to form a central organisa-

tion. In order that the Communists should be able to do fruitful work in these unions we must see to it that the friendly relations between us and the nationalist movement of the south are maintained. In China, where the proletariat is only just beginning to develop, we must carry out the theses adopted by the Second Congress in such a manner as to lend real support to the revolutionary-nationalists of the south. It is our duty to further the consolidation of these revolutionary-nationalist elements and try to give the whole movement a leftward direction.

As has been pointed out, the Communist propaganda carried on by some comrades in China is arousing a lively interest among the young men interested in Socialist doctrines. But this is as far as matters have gone till now. With the only exception of the Young People's organisation at Canton, all young intellectuals, including even those who call themselves Marxists, are strongly disinclined to carry on any political activity. In the north there are only isolated groups of intellectuals trying to get in touch with the workers, assisting in the organisation of Labour unions, and realising the necessity of political co-operation with the revolutionary-nationalists. The Young People's organisation at Canton has already reached a considerable degree of development. On the 15th of January of this year this organisation, in conjunction with some workmen's societies, arranged a Labour demonstration in memory of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Leibknecht. This Young People's organisation has set itself the task of establishing close connections with the trade unions and to train a corps of active workers from among the Labour unions.

China is the battle-ground where the great Powers are fighting one another for hegemony on the Pacific. The Washington Conference did not change the situation in its essentials. The nationalist leaders do not seem to realise that the Washington Conference did not improve China's position, but has in reality aggravated it. The quadruple alliance, aiming to force Japan out of the advantageous positions seized by her during the war, is itself going to pursue an imperialist course. For each of these allies is anxious to get as big a share as possible in the rich booty which is to be had in China. This state of affairs determines the inclination among the leaders of the revolutionary movement to co-operate with Soviet Russia, and furnishes the opportunity for the Communists to carry on important and fruitful work in accord with that movement.

The Contradictions of the Soviet Policy By L. Trotsky

NO one studying French politics, even those following it in the closest detail, need trouble to read *Le Populaire*, the organ of the French reformists and social patriots. The paper offers neither facts nor ideas, and it is a true reflection of its Party. Its articles are written as a general rule by people who devote at least nine-tenths of their attention to questions and affairs which have nothing in common with Socialism. Some of these gentlemen are associated with the socialist movement merely by old habits, others are merely disgruntled over blighted hopes in other spheres, and the third section is associated with it for purely careerist motives. There is not a hint in the paper of socialist thought which from a single standpoint analyses conditions, estimates contending forces and draws revolutionary deductions. It is written in a conventional style, representing a jumble of casually memorised passages from the old speeches of Jaures and Guesdes embellished by the petty culinary talent of a filthy political kitchen. On reading the latest number of the paper, it seems to us that we have read it several times before. Notwithstanding the fact that among the contributors to the paper are people, many of whom enjoy a reputation for cleverness in their own way, and who understand a thing or two, the paper as a whole bears as it were a polish of stupidity which, however, is quite expedient from the standpoint of the principles that *Le Populaire* advocates.

It is not necessary to read this paper, but to glance through it once in a while will do no harm, because in it we find in its purest form the germ which—alas!—is infecting quite a number of well-known representatives and leaders of the French Communist Party. Thus, it is precisely in the pages of *Le Populaire* that you will learn best to appreciate the reason why all these gentlemen, lawyers, journalists and freemason careerists who at labour meetings masquerade as Socialists, attribute so much importance to “liberty of opinion” to “free criticism” and all other higher values indispensably required for the politicians who magnanimously consent to make use of the lever of the proletarian organisation, but absolutely refuse to submit their sublime individuality to its discipline.

Just now we would like to deal with what might be considered a classical article written by M. Leon Blum, the actual leader of the dissidents—on the policy of the Russian Communists towards France and the French Communist Party. Basing himself on reports in the bourgeois press of M. Heriot’s visit to Russia, Leon Blum proceeds to draw conclusions and make generalisations which excellently reveal, not the policy of the Russian Communists, but the unprecedented confusion reigning in the heads not only of M. Blum, but the members of his party. Blum states that the Soviet Government offers France “everything or nearly everything”; not only the recognition of the pre-war debts, but even more—“an alliance: an economic, intellectual, moral and even, if necessary, political and diplomatic alliance.” Much as M. Blum considers peaceful relations between France and Russia desirable, he emphatically protests

—in anticipation, *i.e.*, very timely and sagaciously—against the restoration . . . of the old Franco-Russian alliance which would be directed against Germany. Nobody, of course, doubted for a moment that the Party of Renaudel, Boncour and Blum would be at its post as soon as the security of Germany was endangered by a new Franco-Russian alliance. Yesterday's actions of this party are a sufficient guarantee of this!

But is it really proven—you may ask—that Soviet Russia is ready to help capitalist France to strangle Germany? But can there be any doubt about it?

“M. Heriot was cordially received as an honoured guest, while Verfeuil and his friends were expelled from the Communist Party, and the same fate awaits others. M. Poincaré and the French capitalists are offered all kinds of alliances, but the adherents of Tours* are censured for not submitting to absolute discipline, and refusing to be absolutely orthodox. Concessions are to be given to capitalists while social-revolutionaries are kept in prison.” . . . These words fully embrace the philosophy not only of Blum, and of the expelled Verfeuil, but also of those of his bashful sympathisers who remain in the French Communist Party.

But, is it not a howling contradiction to cordially receive M. Heriot and unceremoniously expel Verfeuil from the party; to grant concessions to capitalists and at the same time to insist upon the carrying out of communist resolutions in their entirety? It is an obvious and monstrous contradiction! It is quite useless to tell Blum that the Council of People's Commissaries and the Comintern are two different institutions; he knows that the leading Russian Communists are members of the one and the other, and, therefore, he exposes their duplicity: their extreme practical opportunism which goes hand in hand with an extreme theoretical irresponsibility.

Difficult as our position is, we shall still attempt to explain it. We shall endeavour to write as simply as possible, since the charges against us emanate from lawyers, journalists, deputies, freemasons, *i.e.*, from a most hidebound, narrow-minded and politically stupid crowd. It is necessary, therefore, to begin with the plainest facts and nail the lies to the counter.

At the *Reno Works* two workers are employed side by side; one is a revolutionary, a Communist, the other is a catholic. But the Communist submits to the same rules of the factory routine as the catholic, executes the orders of the foreman and observes the regulations of the management. Is not the practical “opportunism” of this worker in monstrous contradiction with his theoretical irreconcilability? Here is a theme to ponder over. We confess that to our mind there is no contradiction here, the worker voluntarily joined the Communist Party; he voluntarily undertook to submit to its discipline; he uses all the strength of his will power and consciousness to make his party the medium for the overthrow of capitalist slavery. But this slavery still exists; the Communist is compelled to sell his labour power in order not to die of starvation; he must submit to the rules laid down by his exploiters. The more hostile he is to this régime, the more irreconcilability does he demand of his party.

When Manuilsky bought some tobacco in one of M. Poincaré's tobacco stores, he, a delegate of the Comintern, furnished a definite

* At the Tours Congress in 1920 the majority of the old French Socialist Party joined the III. International.

profit to the bourgeois republic and thus defrayed to some extent its expenditure on militarism. Is not this practical "concession" of Manuisky in contradiction with his theoretical irreconcilability? Moreover, if the lady who owns the tobacco store were told that the gentleman who a moment ago so politely said "merci, Madame," is no other than the Bolshevik Manuisky, she would immediately write an editorial on the subject of: "Why this polite gentleman demanded the expulsion of Verfeuil from the Party."

So far we have quoted individual examples. We shall now attempt with the utmost caution—bearing in mind the character of our opponents—to widen the scope of our analysis.

In order to issue *l'Humanité* the French Communist Party is forced to buy paper from a capitalist firm and thus facilitate capitalist accumulation. Is not this a monstrous contradiction to the avowed revolutionary aims of the party? We think not. If it were possible not to submit to the laws of capitalist relations—market, legislature, international and other—there would be no need for a proletarian revolution.

After these preliminary remarks, we shall pass directly to the contradictions which have aroused the sensitive socialist conscience of M. Blum. The Bolsheviks received M. Heriot as a guest. At the same time they voted for the expulsion of Verfeuil from the party. But M. Heriot was not admitted to the party, nor did he apply for membership. He came to Russia as an unofficial but authoritative representative of that section of the ruling class of France which is in favour of resuming normal trade and diplomatic relations with us. We did everything in our power to help M. Heriot gain a most accurate knowledge of the true position of the country. M. Heriot appeared to us as a possible bourgeois business agent. By way of analogy we might compare our negotiations with M. Heriot, a prominent political representative of the country which during five years opposed us with arms and blockaded us, to the negotiations carried on by locked-out workmen with the representatives of that section of the capitalists willing to discuss terms. Such negotiations between the workers and capitalist magnates are only an episode in the class struggle, just as any strike or lock-out is. But Verfeuil is in our ranks as a member of the party which should maintain unity and discipline under all conditions, either in civil war or during the respite; during attack or retreat; during a strike, a lock-out, negotiations or compromise. Verfeuil in our ranks was in the position of a *strike breaker*. He weakened us from within during our struggle with the class enemy. Is there any contradiction in the workers, forced to effect a compromise with the capitalists, not hesitating to drive all strike breakers from their ranks? The Russian workers carry on negotiations with the capitalists not through the medium of the labour unions or the party, but through the Soviet Government. This is the result of the fact that five years ago the Russian workers seized political power.

Following the methods of M. Blum, we could say of him:— "Here is a Socialist who obeys the bell of the President of the Chamber, *Paul Peret*, pays taxes to the capitalist republic, submits to its laws, its courts and police, and at the same time refuses to obey the bell of the President of the Comintern, *Zinoviev*, pays no dues to the funds of the Communist International, and violates its rules.

But no! We would not lay the charge of inconsistency against

M. Blum. He could not choose what parliament or republic he could belong to, but he chose his party, which is to his own heart.

Just as the Communist workmen at the Reno works cannot ignore the conditions of capitalist production, of the market and the sale of labour power, so the Russian Workers' Republic cannot artificially isolate itself from the International conditions of capitalist production. The capitalist foremen at the Reno works and the bourgeois governments the world over still represent an important and indisputable fact. We are compelled to reckon with this fact, *i.e.*, to enter into relations with the existing governments, conclude agreements with the capitalists, and buy and sell. Of the individual Communist working at the Reno works we should demand that in his dealings with the capitalists he shall not undermine the solidarity of the working class, shall not act as a strike breaker, but, on the contrary, that he combat all forms of strike-breaking. The same is required of the Soviet Government in its dealings with the bourgeois governments. In this respect we can offer no guarantees, other than those inherent in the nature of our party and of the Communist International of which it forms a part. In our opinion this is sufficient. As for the solemn declaration of Leon Blum, Renaudel and Boncourt, of their intention to uphold the interests of oppressed Germany against the aggression of a Franco-Russian alliance—we shall remain silent. This theme is worthy of the pen of Gassier.* His arguments will be incomparably more convincing than ours.

Parallel with the hypothesis of the imperialist Franco-Soviet alliance, M. Blum constructs another hypothesis which is not less brilliant: that the Russian Soviet Government joining hands, through M. Heriot, with the left bloc in France, will on the next day exhort the French Communists to support the French radicals, and even to conclude an alliance with them. To our knowledge, this hypothesis, had some influence upon certain elements in the Communist Party. It was from this point of view that some French comrades attempted to judge the policy of the United Front. On this point, too, we will attempt to explain ourselves in the plainest possible manner.

We believe that the substitution of the national bloc, increasingly less capable of supporting the domination of the French bourgeoisie, by the left bloc will signify a step forward, provided that at the same time the party of the working class maintains an absolutely independent, critical, and irreconcilably revolutionary line of policy. The new epoch of reformist pacific illusions, after the illusions of the war and of victory, is inevitably arriving in France, and this should be the prologue of the proletarian revolution. The triumph of the revolution will be achieved by the party which is not in the least guilty of disseminating reformist-pacifist illusions; for the disappointment of the working class with the illusions of the left bloc will be converted, above all, into hatred and contempt for democratic-pacifist socialism. Only the Party which, while recognising the historically, relatively "progressive" character (in the sense outlined above) of the left bloc as compared with the nationalist bloc, carries an unremitting struggle against it and strives to array the proletariat as a class against all bourgeois parties—only such a party, no matter what temporary vacillations may occur in the workers' ranks, will at the critical moment, gain a controlling influence upon the working class and consequently in the life of the

* A French Communist Cartoonist.

country. We have no reason to doubt for a moment that when M. Heriot and his friends will be at the helm of State, M. Blum and his friends will be wholly at the disposal of the left bloc and at the decisive moment will, as formerly, support all international alliances of their bourgeoisie—of course, under the mask of reformist-pacifist phrases, deluding a certain section of the working class and partially even themselves.

The entrance of Renaudel, Boncourt and Blum into the Heriot ministry is a greater probability than a bloc of the radicals with the Communists. We admit that such a prospect does not frighten us. M. Blum in the capacity of "socialist" minister of bourgeois France would be incomparably more in his place than as a publicist defending socialist principles of international policy against Soviet Russia. At any rate, he would render a more valuable service to the cause of Socialism by showing what a minister should not be, as Tseretely and Kerensky did in their time. All this will be possible on the condition that the Communist Party maintains its fighting spirit, and purges its ranks of the followers of Blum.

There have been radical ministers in France before now. Their disappearance from the scene and substitution by other bourgeois combinations, was caused by the fact that at the time the power of the bourgeois state was much stronger, whereas the proletariat had not yet organised a truly revolutionary party. Now, in the post-bellum France a left bloc should appear on the scene as the last political standard-bearer of a shattered régime. The policy of the International in regard to the French Communist Party is dictated by the desire that the left bloc, whose star is rising over France, shall be inscribed in the annals of history as the last Government of the French bourgeoisie.

Even after M. Blum's accusations, we shall continue to politely receive every French bourgeois who approaches us, for establishing normal relations, and to arrange for the exportation of hog bristles—either now or after the triumph of the left bloc.

At the same time the Comintern will as heretofore expel from its ranks every renegade who attempts to preach Left Blocism to the French workers. Will the adherents of M. Blum fail to grasp the logic of this policy? All the more inexorable will the consequences be for them.

The Class War in Japan

BY G. VOYTINSKY

THE main background of the political life of modern Japan is provided by the struggle between the landed aristocracy and the youthful energetic bourgeoisie. On this background can be traced all the other forms of political struggle in the country: the Labour movement, the tenant farmers' movement, the conflict of political parties in parliament, and the struggle between the two military cliques of Satsum and Tsiotsi.

One can form a clear picture of the struggle between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie by studying the parliamentary election campaigns of last year and this year. In their campaigns each side endeavoured to secure a parliamentary majority—the one to retain the existing political régime favourable for the feudal

landowners, and the other to destroy this régime and to remove old and obsolete forms from the political system of the country.

These obsolete political forms retard the efforts of the industrial bourgeoisie, who grew up with particular rapidity during the world war, to create a political and administrative State apparatus to serve its vital interests and needs.

The demands put forward by the liberal bourgeoisie through its party, Kenseikai, are directed mainly against the political power of the agrarians and militarists. The heated struggles, which are waged around each of these demands, give witness to the fact that the national bourgeoisie has reached a stage in its development when the forms of political power now existing in Japan can no longer serve its interest; it must therefore destroy them.

On the other hand, the feudal aristocracy, working almost continually in alliance with the powerful militarist clique, still represents a strong social and political force. For that reason, the struggle between the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie must bear a revolutionary character.

We will examine the demands which the Japanese bourgeoisie inscribed on its banners in the recent election campaign, and which were calculated to bring over to its side the masses of the workers in its struggle against the feudal landowners.

One of the principal demands recently put forward by the national bourgeoisie is for a reduction of the army. The economic motive underlying this is the incredibly large sum now expended on the army. No less than 58 per cent. of the State Budget is appropriated for military needs, and this represents that part of surplus value which should have been used for expanding industry. The Japanese bourgeoisie began to feel the weight of the military burden most particularly after the conclusion of the world war and after the majority of privileges they had secured in the East as commercial agents for the belligerent European countries had disappeared.

The demand for the reduction of the army, of course, has its political side, which aims at the reduction of the political power of the agrarians and the militarists. From this demand there follow other demands of secondary importance for which the bourgeoisie fight with no less energy. One of these is the plea for the extension of the railway system and its adaptation to industrial and commercial functions, instead of the military purposes which the railways up till now were mainly calculated to serve. The desire of the bourgeoisie for peace, which has lately found its expression in the demand for the evacuation of the Japanese troops from Siberia, and of non-intervention in the conflicts between the Tuchuns in China, can be explained by the same desire to reduce expenditure upon the army. Reference should be made here to the tendency which has arisen among the progressive bourgeoisie in Japan for the peaceful economic conquest of the markets of China and Siberia. Of course, this is only one of the factors influencing the Japanese bourgeoisie in its imperialistic strivings.

Another demand put forward by the bourgeoisie is that of the extensions of education in the country. This is resisted by the governing clique, mainly on the ground of the expenditure which it would entail. But the bourgeoisie is compelled to insist upon it, not merely in order to cut off a part of the budget of the existing

government, not even in order to win the sympathies of the mass of the Japanese workers, but exclusively as a means of solving the vital problem of improving the quality of the products of national industry.

The fact is that the Japanese bourgeoisie cannot now put forward the demands it put forward when it entered the market during the world war at a time when it had no competitors. Even in China, the Germans, English and Americans are able successfully to compete with Japan in spite of its favourable geographic position. One of the means by which the Japanese bourgeoisie hope to improve their industry is to train a skilled, technical staff by raising the general level of education of the workers. For this purpose, it is, of course, necessary to have schools all over the country, and to remove the obstacles between the elementary and the higher schools which exist in Japan as relics of the old caste system.

During the election campaign to the 45th Session of Parliament, at the end of last January, the Japanese bourgeoisie widely popularised all the above mentioned demands in their Press throughout the whole country. In this campaign it sought the support mainly of tenant farmers, the intelligenzia, and also of the workers. In order to attract these classes and groups of the population the bourgeois liberal Kansakai, Kakumento and Kakoshinskla parties for a period of six months carried on an intense agitation for the extension of the franchise.

After the reforms of 1908, which established a 10 yen property qualification for the franchise, there were 1,582,676 electors in the country, out of a population of 49 millions. In 1920, however, after an intense campaign carried on by the bourgeoisie for the extension of the franchise, during which huge demonstrations took place all over the country, accompanied in places by conflicts with the police, the Hara Government was compelled to introduce electoral reforms, dissolve parliament and appoint new elections on the basis of the new electoral law. The new law reduced the property qualification from 10 yen to 3, and thus increased the number of electors to 3,085,628. But the liberal bourgeoisie were deceived by this reform, for it caused an increase of votes among the well-to-do class of peasants who are under the influence of the agrarians and their political party, the Sei-u-Kai. The newly-elected parliament, therefore, merely served as an instrument in the hands of the Japanese agrarians and militarists.

After this defeat the bourgeoisie entered on a fresh franchise campaign with even greater energy. They had been taught that they must seek allies mainly among the intelligenzia, the landless tenant farmers, and the urban proletariat. Indeed, in 1921, the Left Wing of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Kokuminto, succeeded in establishing considerable connections with the tenant farmers, the petty officials and artisans, and at the opening of the 45th Session of Parliament in February, 1921, it presented a petition in the name of half a million of the working population of the country for an extension of the franchise. On the day of opening Parliament, 10,000 peasants came into Tokyo for the purpose of presenting the petition to the Government. The liberal bourgeoisie further succeeded in drawing into this struggle a section of the workers who had become convinced of the futility of an economic struggle

while political power was in the hands of their class enemy. A great factor in attracting the workers to the political struggle was the strike which took place in Koba at the end of 1921. The workers of Japan are gradually beginning to understand the necessity for taking part in the political struggle of the present moment, to democratise the country, to abolish the relics of feudalism, and to secure universal suffrage.

The struggle for universal suffrage during the elections to the 45th Session of Parliament bore a much more acute character than that of 1920-21. The bourgeoisie strengthened its position by securing the support of the minor officials of the government service, the intelligenzia and the tenant farmers. The Christian Socialist, Kahava, who had resigned from the U-Ai-Kai, the Federation of Labour, travelled into the heart of the country and visited the most remote villages in connection with the election campaign. In the beginning of January, a number of societies and individuals organised mass meetings, demonstrations, got up petitions, etc., under the auspices of the opposition parties in favour of universal suffrage.

The Universal Suffrage Bill proposed by the bourgeoisie clearly indicates that they intend to take this weapon of political power out of the hands of their opponents. The following are the points of the Bill:—

(1) All male persons over the age of 25 have the right to elect and be elected; (2) all property qualifications existing hitherto to be removed; (3) directors of companies under the protection or under the management of the government are deprived of the right to be elected; (4) canvassing is prohibited; (5) all election propaganda on the day of the election is prohibited; (6) the opening of places of amusement by candidates is prohibited; (7) breaches of points (4), (5) and (6) are to be punishable by fines not exceeding 200 yen; (8) election meetings may be held without having to go through the formality of applying for permission; (9) public schools must be placed at the disposal of candidates for the holding of election meetings.

The fight for this Bill between the government and the opposition took place in the red-hot atmosphere of mass excitement and demonstrations outside the windows of Parliament. On February 23, the Bill was thrown out by a vote of 243 against 147. This aroused a storm of indignation among the masses of the workers. In spite of the precautionary measures taken by the police, and the numerous arrests, which made demonstrations impossible, huge crowds gathered in various parts of the town to discuss the event of the day. In the Shiba Park members of the Opposition addressed a huge meeting of 5,000 people. The intervention of the police led to disturbances, and only the appeals of the deputies succeeded in inducing the crowd to disperse. After this, mass arrests were made which included Opposition members of Parliament.

In spite of the defeat of the Franchise Bill by the majority party, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the agrarians has not abated in the slightest degree. The demands of the bourgeoisie have become more numerous, and its methods are more determined. In spite of the fact that the masses had lost all confidence in the opposition bourgeoisie parties, owing to their

cowardice and vacillations, nevertheless, the struggle for the democratisation of the country will continue to be strongly supported by the toiling masses, particularly of the urban proletariat, which will impose its stamp upon the bourgeois demands, extend their scope, and use the democratic liberties secured against those who are at present inspiring them—the national bourgeoisie.

In order to understand why the present struggle between the Japanese bourgeoisie and the feudal agrarians assumed its present form and why this struggle will create the conditions favourable for the organisation of the forces of the growing proletariat, it is necessary to make several references to history, which will show that right up to the end of the war the bourgeoisie were in the leading strings of the feudals and the militarists, who thus represented a united front against the rising proletariat, and who for that reason was unable to organise its forces for the class struggle.

THE FEUDALS AND THE BOURGEOISIE.

Until the revolution of 1868 political power in Japan was entirely in the hands of the Shogun, the representative of the military caste, and formally recognised as the commander-in-chief of the troops responsible only to the Mikado. As a matter of fact, the Shogun was completely independent of the Mikado, and, moreover, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were frequent cases when the Shogun exiled the Mikado to distant parts of the kingdom as a punishment for disobedience, and placed the young son of the Mikado on the throne in his stead.

The rule of the Shogun expressed the most perfect form of feudalism and the most powerful of the Daimio—the feudal princes. The Mikado was revered as a divine being; he was called Son of the Heaven, but he had no influence on either internal, foreign policy, or even on the State apparatus.

From the end of the twelfth century until the restoration, the country was divided into principalities, each under the rule of a Daimio. At that time there existed an absolutely independent force in the country in the shape of the Samurai, who at first served the Daimio as mercenaries to defend their lands, and later were converted into a military aristocracy composed of several grades. Sometimes the Samurai united to defend, not the lands of one or other Daimio, but the country as a whole against invasions of alien peoples, as was the case against the Chinese, Koreans, and even the Mongols in the '70's of the thirteenth century.

The Samurai were eventually compelled to introduce a "sub-division of labour" in their work; the land defence of the country was entrusted to the clan of Tsiosu and the naval defence to Saksuma. These two clans subsequently played a great rôle in the period of the restoration in 1868, and secured enormous influence after the restoration.

The revolution of 1868 was undoubtedly the result of the development of mercantile capital in Japan, which, being hampered by the divided character of the country, strove to sweep away all feudal obstacles. The subjective factors of the revolution were the clans hostile to the Shogun, the Mikado and his Court, who all the time strove to secure power, and the intelligenzia which had arisen out of the Samurai and expressed the tendencies of the time. They stood for contact with the outside world and for internal reforms. The dissatisfaction with the Shogun and the struggle

against him took the form of various clan revolts. It would naturally follow that the factors which played the main rôle in the preparation of the revolution, and which actually overthrew the Shogun, would play a great part in the political life of the country after the revolution.

It is clear why the ideological expression of the strivings of the bourgeoisie took the form of the idea of Imperial restoration. In the person of the Mikado, both the rising bourgeoisie and the clans hostile to the Shogun saw the possibility of centralising the administration of the country and preventing power falling into the hands of the Daimio. The merchant capitalists of those days, not having sufficiently established themselves in the economy of the country, could not, of course, become the bearers of political power. On the other hand, the military aristocracy as a caste, bound neither to trade nor industry, nor to the land, could merely serve as a factor influencing the State, as an organ executing its desires, but could not create the State apparatus.

Thus, as a result of the revolution of 1868, political supremacy actually remained in the hands of the agrarian aristocracy; although as an outcome of the centralisation of the country and the administrative reforms, the mercantile bourgeoisie obtained wide possibilities of developing their productive powers. At the same time, the Tsiosu and Saksuma classes, which were active in the period of the Restoration, began to exercise considerable influence upon the internal and foreign politics of the country.

The whole of the period between the revolution of 1868 and up to the outbreak of the world war, from the political point of view, should be regarded as a period of alliance among the feudal agrarians, the military aristocracy and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. If any friction did exist among them, it was expressed merely in the form of influence brought to bear in the Court of the Mikado, or upon his Cabinet; never did it take the form of a struggle of classes. The bourgeoisie was in complete agreement with the foreign policy of the feudal militarist government, which in the '90's of the nineteenth century strove to extend its territory at the expense of neighbouring States. At the outbreak of the Japano-Chinese war in 1894, the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie supported the striving of the agrarians to seize the territory of China and Korea, and for the acquisition of Formosa, the stepping-stone to Korea; and the indemnities which came as a result of that war served as an impetus to the further development of capitalism in Japan and as strengthening the ties between the commercial bourgeoisie and the Government.

The armed intervention of Czarist Russia, Germany and France, who feared that Japan would seize China and Korea, upon which they themselves had calculated, compelled the Japanese militarists, by the Shiman Treaty, to retreat to the islands. This served as a reason for a more close alliance between the Japanese Government of agrarians and militarists, with the national bourgeoisie, as the former protected the latter by extending its industrial basis, by expanding the war industry, by granting it monopolies in various branches of industry, and by the introduction of protective tariffs.

At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese bourgeoisie wholeheartedly supported its government. The result of the war, which ended in a victory for Japanese militarism, gave the

bourgeoisie considerable territory in Korea and Southern Manchuria which contained enormous natural wealth and served as the starting-point for the intensive development of capitalism in Japan. By protective tariffs and the nationalisation and extension of the railway system, the Japanese Government greatly facilitated the expansion of capitalist industry and thus tied the bourgeoisie to its chariot.

With the development of capitalist production, there also developed an industrial proletariat which, from the very beginning, found itself in the clutches of a twofold enemy—the feudal agrarians and the bourgeoisie. Whereas in Western European countries, at the moment of the rise of the proletariat, the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the landed aristocracy gave it the possibility, to some extent, of organising its forces, the unity of the bourgeoisie and the agrarians in Japan prevented the Japanese proletariat from doing so. Nevertheless, in spite of considerable difficulties, Japanese Labour organised and found its expression in the Socialist movement. Both were cruelly and treacherously suppressed by Japanese militarism in 1911.

The world war of 1914 marked a turning point in the history of the development of Japanese capitalism and the conclusion of it marked the end of the alliance between the agrarians and militarists on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie on the other. The incredible growth of the economic power of the Japanese bourgeoisie during the war caused it to be a great political factor. On the other hand, its political power did not correspond to its economic power owing to the political system of the country, which still bore a strong feudal character.

The enormous demand of the belligerent powers for war material caused an unparalleled expansion of the metallurgical and textile industries of Japan. The demand for food enabled the commercial bourgeoisie to act as agents between Asia and the countries of Europe. The need of the belligerent imperialists for means of transport, which was rendered still more acute by the submarine war, facilitated the development of the Japanese ship-building industry. All this enabled Japanese industry to grow to a hitherto unparalleled degree. Existing branches of industry expanded and new industries arose. Between 1914 and 1918 the number of industrial companies increased from 5,266 to 8,221. In 1914 the capital of the companies then existing was 944,145,000 yen; in 1918 this had increased to 2,019,407,000. The tonnage of Japanese steamers in 1915 was 1,604,900; in 1918 it was 2,310,959 tons. These figures show to what extent the Japanese bourgeoisie had grown and consolidated itself during the period of the war. The agrarian militarist government, which had facilitated this growth, found at the end of the war that its protégé had become a mighty factor in the country and no longer desired to be held in its leading strings. The Japanese bourgeoisie realised its strength and began to demand, not merely protection at the hands of the governing clique, but the adaptation of the whole of the State apparatus to its needs. Since the end of the war, which also brought an end to the privileges of the bourgeoisie, and since the financial and industrial crises that followed it, the struggle between the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the agrarians and militarists

on the other, is unfolding more and more, and has assumed the acute forms we mentioned at the beginning of this article.

The character of the economic crisis and the political struggle between the bourgeoisie and the governing class, which is connected with the former, as effect is to cause, renders it possible for the Japanese toilers and particularly the urban proletariat to develop its struggle and gather its forces.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT,

The 1st of May demonstration of the Japanese workers this year serves as an illustration of the growth of the labour and revolutionary movement. For the first time, the demands, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "Recognition of Soviet Russia," were inscribed on the banners of the demonstrators. In addition, the workers put forward demands for an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, and threateningly warned capital that "we will improve our condition by our own efforts and not wait for the magnanimity of the government."

For the first time, tens of thousands of organised workers took part in demonstrations in Tokyo, Osaka, Koba, and other towns. Only two years ago the Japanese workers celebrated May Day, not on May 1st, but, as in Britain, on the first Sunday in May. This year, they celebrated it on May 1st, and not only did the workers in private industries take part in it, but also those employed in Government enterprises.

The number of women who took part in this year's demonstration was very considerable. Women's labour in Japan is very important. In the textile industry, which developed most during the war, women's labour comprises the greater part of the labour employed. It should be observed that last year only 10 per cent. of the workers, men and women, were organised in this industry (of 700,000, about 70,000 were organised). This year the May Day demonstration brought the mass of the rank and file of the workers into the streets of the principal industrial towns of the country.

If we bear in mind that this took place in a feudal militarist country, where meetings of all kinds are prohibited, where it is difficult for a dozen or so Socialists to meet in one place, where long before May 1st precautionary measures were taken by the police to prevent it, it will be clear that demonstrations of tens of thousands of workers and working women is a fact of extreme importance in the present period of ferment and acute class antagonism in Japan.

No less characteristic of this period of financial and economic crises is the strike movement and the methods adopted by the organised workers of Japan in their struggle.

The following phases of the movement are worth pointing out: The reconciliation movement expressing itself in the formation of societies for promoting harmony between capital and labour; sabotage; direct action; mass strikes, including political demands; and, finally, the last great wave of opinion affecting nearly 300,000 organised and a large number of unorganised workers in favour of organising a single federation of labour unions capable of expressing the will of the Japanese proletariat in its struggle against capital.

Each one of these phases may be indicated as an interesting fact in the life of the young labour movement.

We will not hark back to the period of the '90's of the last century, when a network of small labour organisations was spread over the industrial towns of Japan as the result of the intensified development of the country after the Japano-Chinese war in 1894. Neither shall we enter into the details of the Socialist organisation which arose as a result of the growth of the labour movement and which at first expressed itself in the formation of the Socialist Society in 1900, and in the Socialist Party in 1906. The Socialist Society conducted propaganda among the workers and also an anti-militarist agitation during 1903-4, prior to the Russo-Japanese war. The Socialist Party continued the work of the Socialist Society mainly in propaganda among the workers by concentrating attention upon all the important social and political facts in the country. As is known, this movement was suppressed in 1911, when twenty-four men were condemned to death (of whom twelve were executed). Even after this, individual Socialists continued their work mainly in the Trade Union and strike movements. A new period of agitation began when the world war commenced.

From the end of 1914, when the results of the development of the war industry and commerce began to affect the workers by increasing their wages and securing them constant work, the idea of the co-operation of classes entered the heads of the workers. At that time, the tendency began for the bourgeoisie to take the labour movement under its protection and make it subordinate to its own interest. The notorious Society for the Promotion of Harmony between Labour and Capital was organised in the most flourishing moments of Japanese trade and industry; but this period of prosperity did not last long. The encouragement given by the Government to all forms of exports, including that of agricultural produce, particularly of the main article of consumption—rice, caused tremendous speculation in the country and an incredible rise of prices of articles of consumption. This, as is known, caused the rice riots in 1918, which were spontaneous mass movements of the workers and served as the starting point of labour demonstrations in various towns of the country throughout the last few years.

During 1918-20 the labour movement expanded, embraced elements which hitherto had remained outside of it, and drew them into the class struggle. A number of new labour organisations were formed. What had most influence during that time was the Federation of Labour, the U-Ai-Kai, which was organised in 1912, and which had an affiliated membership of 200,000, consisting mainly of metal and textile workers, miners, printers and a small organisation of seamen. The most radical of the organisations belonging to the U-Ai-Kai was the Radosha, consisting mainly of the Miners' Union and engineers. Prior to 1918, the U-Ai-Kai was powerfully influenced by the idea of harmony between capital and labour, but after the rice riots, when the masses rapidly became revolutionary, undoubtedly as a result of the influence of the Russian revolution, the Left Wing began to acquire the dominant position, and the spirit of the class struggle began to pervade the organisation.

From this period the Japanese began for the first time to apply the method of mass sabotage. On September 18th, 1919,

20,000 workers in certain factories, after the employers had refused to grant the demands put to them, decided to sabotage. In the first place, they decided to reduce the driving power of the factory from 800 to 400 horse power, which made it impossible to start all the machinery. All the workers turned up at work every morning, but not one of them started work. This lasted ten days. Other forms of sabotage have also been known. The tramway workers, on one occasion, did not dally over their work or waste time, but worked with such great zeal that they rushed the cars down the road and refused to stop at the regular stopping places.

However, these methods could not produce the required results. The financial crisis in 1920 caused many factories to close down and unemployment was increased all over the country. After the staffs of many factories had been reduced they were re-started, but in those places where the eight-hour day had been gained, a twelve, and even fourteen-hour day, was introduced.

Meanwhile, the prices of necessities continued to increase. In 1920 the price of rice was 360 per cent. above pre-war prices, the price of sugar 500 per cent., tea 150 per cent., and textiles 400 per cent. A great wave of strikes spread over the country. According to the returns of the Ministry for Home Affairs, in 1920 there were 185 strikes affecting 170,000 workers. The chief demands put forward during these strikes were for increased wages and the eight-hour day, but demands were also put forward for the recognition of the trade unions. This period is characteristic also for the fact that the workers began to take a part in the political struggle, and the U-Ai-Kai included in its programme the demand for universal suffrage. During the election campaign for the 45th Session of Parliament, when the struggle between the agrarians and the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie assumed an acute form, the workers supported the progressive action of the bourgeoisie who stood for the democratisation of the country and peace with neighbouring States. But the cowardly and irresolute bourgeoisie repelled the young labour movement in its efforts to co-operate in the struggle against absolutism. This flung it to the other extreme, and hostility to the political struggle in general gave rise to the demand for direct action. While the workers were disgusted with politics, the growing economic crisis enabled the capitalists to drive their offensive still further forward and to withdraw the concessions they made when their pockets were overflowing with the profits plundered during the war. Another wave of strikes spread over the country, during which the demands put forward assumed more and more the spirit of the class struggle. The famous strike at Koba in the Autumn can be taken as characteristic of the temper of the Japanese workers at that time. The main demands put forward were the recognition of the Trade Unions and the Factory Committees, the eight-hour day, increased wages and social insurance. It should be observed that in these strikes the Syndicalists played an important rôle, and the fact that the workers did not secure half of what might have been secured if these strikes had been ably conducted by real labour revolutionary class organisation should be attributed to the opportunist leaders.

The beginning of this year was marked by a number of strikes and demonstrations against the Government. Of these, the largest and most important was the strike in the Government enterprises.

As a consequence of the Washington Agreement to reduce naval armaments, many workers employed in the naval construction works and arsenals stood in danger of being thrown out of work. This compelled them to make hasty preparations and to defend themselves against the threatening danger. From February of this year even the most privileged workers employed in the naval arsenals and shipyards began to see the necessity of organising and closing up their ranks.

Anticipating the forthcoming dismissals, the workers in the Government works, in March of this year, organised a number of demonstrations of protest and put forward demands for the maintenance of the workers dismissed out of the funds obtained from the reductions of expenditure on armaments and threatening "resolute measures against the Government" in the event of this being refused. The dismissals of the workers, however, took place. According to the *Times*, 33,000 workers were dismissed in Kure. The Ministry for War and Marine were also arranging to dismiss 13,000 workers, and a further 30,000 were dismissed from the Yavato and Hokaido works. During these dismissals, the Government also dismissed the members of the Central Committee of the Osaki Arsenal Workers' Union, which immediately caused a strike. The Government dispatched troops to the place and declared the arsenal in a state of war. At the same time, a strike broke out in the Yokohama Shipyards as a protest against the forthcoming dismissals, during which a number of conflicts took place between the workers and the police.

All these facts, and a number of others, which it is not possible to quote here, served as lessons to the Japanese workers and compelled them to organise their forces and stand up, against the Government and the attacking capitalist class, as a united class organisation.

Indeed, from that moment we observe a strong tendency among the workers towards federation. A number of small labour unions joined together (according to official Government returns there are at the present moment 800 labour unions with a membership of 260,000). In March of this year, a Federation of Transport Workers was formed, in Osaki, of several local unions. In April, one large Metal Workers' Union was formed in Canto, North-East Japan, from a number of small unions with a membership of 10,000. At the end of April, 19 unions in Osaki formed a federation and affiliated to the Rodo-Kumai-Domikai, which formed the Left Wing of the U-Ai-Kai. This federation included engine-drivers, dyers, boat builders, printers and woodworkers. This striving towards unification found its main expression in the formation of the General Federation of Labour of Japan, which in May of this year had an approximate membership of 300,000. The Federation was originally formed two years ago, but in 1921, the U-Ai-Kai broke off from it because of the radical character of several small unions affiliated. This year, however, the U-Ai-Kai, as a consequence of the pressure from its more revolutionary members, was compelled once again to come to an understanding with the Left Wing. At the same time, the old reformist leaders, Suzuki and Kahara, who had recently begun to incline more and more towards the farmers' movement, which is acquiring consider-

able importance in the country, began to lose influence upon the labour movement.

In summarising the labour movement of Japan during recent times, it is impossible to avoid referring to the hostility of the majority of the labour organisations to political action. It should be observed that, until recently, the syndicalists exercised the main influence over the workers and principally upon the more revolutionary workers, precisely because of their hostility to the political struggle. This is explained by the immutability of the bureaucratic government clique which preserves its feudal and caste hold upon the country, thus preventing the toiling masses from securing the most elementary rights of participation in the political life of the country; the cowardice displayed by the bourgeoisie in the struggle for the democratisation of the country, and its treacherous conduct towards the workers; the venality of the politicians and the futility of parliamentary chatter, and also the training which the masses had received at the hands of the non-political opportunist trade union leaders, who restrained the workers from taking part in the political struggle for fear of placing the unions at the mercy of the governing clique.

Nevertheless, the workers at every possible opportunity spontaneously expressed their attitude to the existing political system of the country. Now, in the ever-growing struggle between the bourgeoisie and the agrarians, the labour masses are beginning to understand more and more the necessity for taking part in the political struggle for the immediate conquest of such political rights as will enable them to consolidate their power in the State, and thus be in a position to make use of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the agrarians in the interests of Labour.

Such a tendency undoubtedly already exists among the masses of the workers. Nevertheless, the young Communist Party of Japan is still faced with the great work of drawing the broad masses into the struggle for the democratisation of the country and the establishment of conditions favourable for the rallying and consolidation of the forces of labour for the forthcoming decisive battles with the bourgeoisie.

CONCLUSION.

The moment for the final breach and the open struggle among the agrarians, the bureaucrats and the militarists on the one hand, and the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie on the other, is surely approaching.

Disintegration has taken place in the ranks of the feudal agrarian group, the Sai-U-Kai, the purely bourgeois elements which hitherto belonged to this party are now leaving it, and this is hastening its collapse.

An opposition has arisen within the militarist party, composed of intellectuals and officers, which expresses the tendency towards adaption to the new epoch in Japan. This is evidenced by such publications as the *Yorutsu* and the *Kokumin*, which up till now have been the organs of the militarists, but which now, in dealing with foreign and home politics, are speaking the same language as the opposition parties, *Kenseikai* and *Kokumentu*. These militarist publications not only advocate the cessation of intervention in the Russian Far East, but also in China. They are also hostile to the new cabinet of Admiral Kato, which took the place of

the cabinet of Takahashi, and declare that power should be transferred to the latter.

The very fact of the formation of the Kato Cabinet, which the Sai-U-Kai does not yet dare openly to control, proves that in the struggle among the Japanese bourgeoisie and the agrarians and the bureaucrats the initiative has passed into the hands of the former, and the fact that the bourgeoisie is not satisfied with the new cabinet shows that it intends to continue its offensive:

The growth of the farmers' movement, which acquired particular prominence in the early part of this year (there were 1,600 conflicts between tenant farmers and landowners), is in reality a movement directed against the agrarians, and therefore strengthens the position of the bourgeoisie and broadens the social basis in the country for the reception of its ideas.

The labour movement in Japan during recent times is more and more assuming an organised character and under the pressure of the capitalist offensive is growing.

The striving of the labour organisations towards centralisation expressed in the formation of the General Federation of Labour in May of this year, in spite of the opposition of the opportunist leaders of the U-Ai-Kai, proves that the masses of Japan have recognised the necessity to rally and organise its forces. The abandonment of the syndicalist groups by the advanced revolutionary workers and their entry into the ranks of the young Communist Party of Japan is indicative of the recognition by the labour vanguard of the urgency of forming its political mass party.

The advanced elements of the revolutionary workers of Japan are beginning to understand that only by having a proletarian political party which can rally under its banner the broad masses of the workers, and at the same time put forward watchwords which will call forth the response of the tenant farmers and agricultural labourers, and show to the oppressed tribes of the Japanese population that only an emancipated working class can free them—only in this way can the Japanese proletariat acquire the upper hand in the present struggle against absolutism and the relics of feudalism, and be able to make use of the victory over the old order in the interests of the working class.

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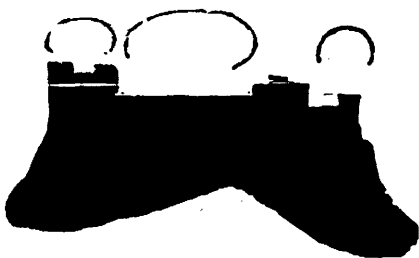
Messidor

LO, this one, is not it ours,
Now the ruin of dead things rattle
As dead men's bones in the pit,
Now the kings wax lean as they sit
Girt round with memories of powers,
With musters counted as cattle
And armies folded as sheep
Till the red blind husbandman Battle
Put in the sickles and reap ?

Now the kings wax lean as they sit,
The people grow strong to stand ;
The men they trod on and spat,
The dumb dread people that sat
As corpses cast in a pit,
Rise up with God at their hand,
And thrones are hurled on a heap,
And strong men, sons of the land,
Put in the sickles and reap.

The dumb dread people that sat
All night without screen for the night,
All day without food for the day,
They shall give not their harvest away,
They shall eat of its fruit and wax fat :
They shall see the desire of their sight,
Though the ways of the seasons be steep,
They shall climb with face to the light,
Put in the sickles and reap.

A. C. SWINBURNE.
(Songs before Sunrise)



Strongholds

of olden were taken by storm and leaguer. ¶ Serfs in those "good old days" wore visible bonds o' serfdom.

¶ The strongholds of to-day and our bonds of serfdom are less material, but not less effective. ¶ To achieve our emancipation we must arm ourselves with efficient weapons. ¶ Of such is *The Communist*, your weekly.

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