

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

THE OLD REVOLUTIONIST & THE NEW

IT is an undoubted fact that the pre-war revolutionary movement, in this country, was unable to attract the masses. Although the old revolutionaries were heroic and painstaking it was only at moments of crisis that they had any perceptible influence over the workers. This failure to win over the proletariat to their side has been attributed to some mystical quality, described by Liberal and Labour democrats, and known as the "British character." The true explanation is, of course, that the British revolutionary movement, in the past, was too fond of spinning out theoretical abstractions, and did not devote sufficient attention to the immediate needs of the masses. The result of this neglect was that the moderate Labourites and Liberals who advocated a long programme of "immediate demands," which never got anywhere, seemed to be closer to the workers and thus won their support. The failure of the old revolutionary movement to win the masses was not due, therefore, to the racial character of the British workers; it was due to the inability of the movement to apply its theories to the every day problems of the proletariat. The advent of the Communist Party in this country marks the beginning of a revolutionary organisation which comprehends that it only marches to success in the measure that it is able to win the confidence and the leadership of the masses by fighting for them every day and everywhere. Not only does the Communist Party eagerly throw itself into every fight of the workers; it also attempts to force every section of the Labour movement into that struggle by demanding a United Front against capitalism and its many problems.

The Communist Party, although a young organisation, opens up a new epoch in the revolutionary struggle between Capital and Labour. It has, as a result of its immaturity, made a number of mistakes and these have hampered its growth. It has learnt, however, many valuable lessons, and these have given it experience and wisdom. Since its inception it has fought savagely for the

workers wherever they were confronted with an enemy. For this reason it has succeeded in earning the undying hatred of the capitalist class, and its scaremongering press, who see in every form of Labour's new activity signs of a "Red Plot." For this reason, too, it has been feared and even denounced by the timid moderates of the Labour movement.

There is one point upon which the Communist Party has scored a most emphatic success, and that has been in its handling of the unemployed. With unerring revolutionary instinct the Party saw in unemployment the greatest danger to capitalism; and it concentrated upon it in order to make it the rallying centre of the discontented masses and of the whole Labour movement. It first of all sought to get the Trade Unions, the Labour Party, and the Trade Union Congress to take the matter up, but these did next to nothing. The I.L.P. middle-class leaders, of course, were too busy concocting plans to get its politicians into Parliament to be able to devote much attention to those unfortunate workers who had been cast upon the industrial scrap heap. As the Communists, in consequence of their activity on behalf of the workers, are the first to be victimised during strikes, lock-outs, or unemployment, it was only natural that they should have been the active ones in urging upon their workless mates the need for building up a National Council of the Unemployed. Thus the young Communist Party was the only influential body in the Labour movement that shouldered the enormous task of organising the unemployed, and of making it a disciplined force instead of permitting it to degenerate into a noisy rabble.

The creation of this Council by local groups, without money, and without the assistance of any of the great official sections of the Labour movement, was a herculean task. It was the ardent Communists in the great industrial centres who planned the great Hunger March and who offered to lead the bold spirits among the unemployed across wintry Britain to London. These Hunger Marchers, who passed through the big industrial centres during the General Election, had a far reaching influence on the great vote that was cast for the Labour Party. That vote, as the result of the Newcastle bye-election proved, would have been much larger had the Labour Party paid heed to the Communists who desired to make unemployment the main issue of the election. The concentration of the Hunger battalions upon London at the very moment that the new Parliament opened, and their determination to compel the Prime Minister to see them, provided the new and younger Labour Members with the most matchless opportunity in the whole of British history to show exactly what the grim horrors of capitalism meant to the masses. When the struggle of the unemployed in the streets, to force an interview with the head of the British State, was taken up by the new Labour Members, the class war, between Labour and Capital, made its first appearance in Parliament. The Hunger Marchers' sweep upon London scored a greater triumph than would have been possible by any interview forced upon the Premier; they compelled the General Council of the Trades Union seriously to take up the question of unemployment nationally; they made the Trades Councils and the Labour Parties throughout the country take action locally. What can be done for the unemployed, so far as

agitation is concerned, was ably shown during Unemployment Sunday, when the whole Labour movement, from Left to Right, created a United Front on behalf of the workless masses. It was the greatest display of Labour's united strength since the Council of Action prevented the Lloyd George Government from declaring war against Russia. When Mr. Lloyd George bowed to the unanimous demand of the Council of Action he thereby gave the moderate Labour leaders an opportunity to quietly wind up that bold movement. But the new agitational campaign on behalf of the unemployed, launched by the joint Labour forces, cannot be so easily swept aside. Firstly, because the demands of the National Council of the Unemployed cannot be accepted by the Bonar Law Government; secondly, because the capitalist system, in its present critical condition, is unable to carry out any far reaching schemes that would satisfy the unemployed masses. Thus we have in the present unemployed movement splendid revolutionary potentialities, and the possibility of driving the whole of the Labour forces to the Left and away from the influence of the timid leaders of the Right wing.

OLD LEADERS & NEW

THE unemployed struggle has been an exposure of the old Right wing leadership. While people like Mr. J. H. Thomas were speaking against the sending of reinforcements to help the Hunger Marchers in London, his colleagues in Parliament, like Mr. J. R. MacDonald, were shocked at the scant respect which the new and younger Labour leaders were showing for the amenities of the House of Commons. Even these younger and earnest leaders in Parliament, while bold and passionate in their protests at the Government's scandalous neglect of the unemployed, were extremely weak and vague when challenged to state practical proposals that would help the workless masses; this weakness is undoubtedly traceable to their being under the influence of Menshevism, which is classically represented in this country by the I.L.P. Menshevism is that part of the Labour movement which weeps and rages at the wrongs of the masses; it is a gesture of despairing protest. It lacks, however, the revolutionary ability to utilise these wrongs and make them the dynamic driving force to end the capitalist system which is the cause of Labour's servitude and which stands in the way of liberation.

It goes without saying that unemployment cannot be solved within the framework of capitalist society. The Prime Minister has admitted as much. The old revolutionary socialist movement clearly understood this too; and when the starving unemployed appealed to it for food they were always given a pamphlet which demonstrated the theoretical impossibility of capitalism being able to guarantee everyone a job. The moderate Labour reformer, on the other hand, could always get the hungry masses on his side by advocating the opening of soup kitchens. The task of the Communist Party is neither to emulate the theoretical aloofness of the old revolutionary movement nor to follow the alleged practical policy of the Liberal-Labour reformer. Our task is to make the question of unemployment one that must be taken up by the whole working class movement; and to be taken up in such a way that the Government and its social system shall be forced either to

furnish adequate maintenance or make room for a Workers' Government and a system that can provide such maintenance. In this way a revolutionary situation is forced upon the ruling class through demanding something which every worker looks upon as an elementary and urgent need. Not only is unemployment a menace which the masses dread; it is one which they are prepared to struggle to overcome even if it means marching over a government or sweeping away a social system. This end can neither be achieved through the soup kitchen of the moderate Labourite nor by the theoretical pamphlet of the revolutionary whose stock-in-trade consists of abstract phrases which the workers do not understand.

Unemployment is only one of the many evils that cruelly affects the workers to-day. Side by side with it there is the housing question. There are also problems of wages, of hours, and of general working conditions. There are international complications regarding Germany, France, Turkey, etc., which are making many workers uneasy regarding the possibility of another war. The attitude of the most important section of the Labour movement, under the guidance of the old leaders, upon all these burning questions has been one of refusal to face the issue. Unemployment was left to the National Council of the Unemployed; housing has been handled only in the West of Scotland; the old leaders have retreated on wages and hours; and the Versailles Treaty has not been repudiated. Were bold and far reaching schemes of social reconstruction put forward, based upon the definite and urgent needs of the unemployed, and based upon the necessity for decent housing for the masses, a new spirit would enthuse the workers. Such schemes, however, must not be vague, and must not be a mere extension of the elusive reform programme of the Liberal Party, which has for its aim the strengthening of the power of capitalism over the wage-workers. The Labour movement always makes the greatest headway where it is audacious and uncompromising; the Municipal and Parliamentary elections of last year proved this up to the hilt. Let Labour prepare a housing programme running into three or four hundred million pounds; let Labour architects produce plans showing how the houses would be built; let Labour town-planners show how the new towns would be laid out; let it be shown how these schemes would cut into the unemployed problem. In the industrial sphere it could be shown that a fight for higher wages and a shorter working day is a part of the struggle against unemployment. In such a policy as this which directly appeals to every working man and woman who have suffered through unemployment, bad houses, low wages, etc., there is nothing that savours of Utopia. It makes its appeal because it is linked up with the every day problems of their lives. And it opens up a prospect for which they would struggle like lions to attain. It may be urged that such a programme could not be attained under the present unstable social system, that it would be resisted by all the constitutional and unconstitutional force of the propertied interests, and that it would only be reached through class struggle and with a Workers' Government in absolute control. This is perfectly true. But it is not our fault that capitalism cannot guarantee an existence of human decency to the masses. It is not our fault if the propertied interests oppose the determination of the workers to uplift themselves. Once Labour

has sufficient courage to prepare its plans and win the support of the masses to struggle for them, everything that stands in the way will be swept aside.

The average worker will never struggle against capitalism because someone preaches that it is destined to be replaced by a system which is theoretically in line with the dynamic forces of history. Such an appeal leaves him cold. He will fight against the system that starves him and his children and deprives them of a decent home; he will fight to defend the movement and the system that can destroy these things. Subject classes have never, in the whole history of humanity, started a struggle for social ends which were clothed in abstract terms. The masses are of the earth earthy. They can be stirred to heroic deeds if the call to action begins in a struggle for bread, for the home, or for control of a job. And when the conflict over these things grows keen and fierce there will also spring into being the glowing idealistic fervour which plays such an important part in the triumphant moment of revolutionary struggle.

The young socialist leaders who so courageously demonstrated in the House of Commons against the treatment which capitalism metes out to the unemployed and homeless masses have now the great chance to pass from the negative protest to that of a bold and positive policy of social reconstruction. To compel the Government to listen to their plans will demand even more determination than that needed to make protests. They will be compelled to force Parliament to place their plans before the House and to give these precedence over every other item of business. And such an emphatic and bold policy will so rouse the workers that the strength of Labour in the streets will rapidly reveal itself and react upon the tranquil occupants of the Government benches. Indeed, the Parliamentary struggle would speedily become something greater than a mere tussle in the House of Commons; its real strength would be outside. All this may mean that the new and young leaders will be opposed by the old and tired leaders who, even in the first session of Parliament, made no secret of their displeasure at the unseemly behaviour of the bolder spirits among the new Labour Members. Having set the pace the new leaders will be expected to renew their activity upon a higher plane. This will demand, as we have pointed out, something stronger than mere gestures and protests; it will involve the creation of a constructive policy. If they go forward the future is theirs; if they fall back and become the silent parliamentary automatons which many of the old leaders desire them to become, they will be pointed to, with deserved scorn, as men who began a glorious fight but who turned and fled into the bourgeois funk holes of parliamentary respectability. We hope they will tread the braver and better path and become something bigger and greater than Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald's good boys.

We have now reached the period in the decadence of capitalism where an agitation for the ordinary comforts of the workers endangers the present social system. This explains why the old-fashioned Labour leaders are afraid to put up a fight for these things. They are terrified at the prospect of bringing a revolutionary situation into being. Thus as the immediate needs of the masses become more urgent the proposals of the old leaders tend

to become ever more and more vague. This situation has created a condition of affairs which has transformed the Liberal-Labour element, which always flattered itself upon its practical policy, into a band of Utopians; it has also thrust forward the socialist and communist "visionaries" as the only people with immediate and concrete proposals.

RUSSIA & THE UNEMPLOYED

WHILE it is perfectly true that unemployment has been greatly extended as a result of the prevailing international chaos, Labour must not and dare not wait until people like Lord Curzon have straightened out the tangled mass into which he and his kind have brought the world. The longer the capitalist imperialists are permitted to control international affairs the greater are the difficulties which they are destined to make. Just as Labour must set forth its own programme of reconstruction at home so also must it be bold in formulating an international policy. It is patent to everyone who can see for himself that Lord Curzon and the class he represents are driving forward to another war. Labour alone can scotch this.

The Workers' movement must make a clean sweep of the Versailles Treaty. The problem is indeed too serious for us to consider those old Labour leaders, who badly compromised themselves by first of all accepting this criminal treaty, who even advocated indemnities, and who, finally, under proletarian pressure, were compelled to retreat to the inept policy of accepting "what Germany can pay." Cruel and relentless experience is forcing the movement to follow the lead of the Communist International, which demanded the scrapping of the Versailles Treaty.

There is, however, an important aspect of the international situation which has a serious relation to unemployment. We refer, of course, to the attitude of the British Government towards Soviet Russia. It is only people like Lord Curzon, Mr. Philip Snowden, and the Fascisti maniacs of the *Morning Post* who view the Bolsheviks as criminals. The best and sanest elements in the Workers' movement now see in Soviet Russia the first victory of the international proletariat. It is not, therefore, our policy merely to demand that the British imperialist State shall recognise Soviet Russia. We must help the Russian masses to get the best possible terms from the capitalists with whom they are at present bargaining regarding the concessions so necessary for the reconstruction of Russian industry. And we can substantially help the Russian workers to win good terms from the industrial magnates who are hoping to so exploit the needs of the Soviet Republic as to make it a second Egypt.

Those who are looking for an international policy that will assist the unemployed may have forgotten the memorandum prepared by the Russian Delegation for the Hague Conference last July. This was a detailed statement showing how the Soviet Government intended to spend the foreign credits which she was asking for, and which were absolutely necessary for her programme of economic reconstruction. Comrade Newbold did splendid work in the large industrial centres by showing how the granting of a big credit to Russia would mean an immediate resumption of work in the heavy industries. It should be an important point of the workers' agitation

on behalf of the unemployed to demand that a credit of three hundred million pounds be immediately granted to Russia. Such a demand, if properly handled, would demonstrate the industrial solidarity of Labour. It would mean that just as the large financiers are able to utilise political pressure in order to enforce ruinous loans upon weak governments, so the Workers' movement would exert all its agitational power to compel the Government to negotiate a big loan with Russia upon the most favourable terms. This would mean that Russia would be able to restore her agriculture and industries; and it would place her squarely on the path of social advancement.

What would it mean to the British workers? According to the Hague memorandum which was based upon a three years' scheme, it would mean an order for £31,000,000 for the building of wharves and ship-building yards. £105,000,000 are needed for railroads and transport, and over £92,000,000 for the restoration of agriculture. Those who imagine that the Soviet Government have been piling up large sums of meaningless figures should note that the hostile critics and experts of the League of Nations have been compelled to admit that the Russian figures, regarding agriculture, are by no means excessive and are probably, if anything, under estimated. For the repair of industry £75,000,000 worth of goods are wanted. These figures, large as they seem, are by no means the limit of what Russia needs. The Soviet Government have *not* included in these figures the supplies in the many branches which they intend to fulfil themselves. The memorandum explicitly states that the above mentioned figures:—

represent only the amounts which are required for the purchase abroad of the necessary machinery, plant, tools, etc., which cannot be purchased in Russia.

Here, we repeat, is a most practical proposal which will at once help the Russian revolution and the unemployed masses of this country.

It may be argued that a Russian loan enforced upon the present Government by an intense agitation of the workers on behalf of the unemployed will have, as a final consequence, the piling up of surplus value for the industrial magnates and assist in the restoring of the stability of British capitalism. We must not forget that the laws of capitalism will not cease to operate in this country even if a loan be granted to Russia. But whatever little added strength capitalism might gain through supplying the needs of the Soviet Republic, this would be more than counter-balanced by the rapid strides that the Russian workers could easily make once the economic foundation of their system has been assured. In any case, from the standpoint of the international proletariat, the security of the Soviet Republic is one of the most indispensable tasks at present confronting us. And above all, it would mark the beginning of direct economic and political relationships between the masses of Britain and of Russia. This contact would be important and vital even though we, at this end, are, in the meantime, compelled to help our comrades in Russia through the diplomatic machinery of capitalist society.

HONOURS & LABOUR

A GREAT deal of needless fuss has been made over the buying and selling of honours. The report that the Commission on this matter has made is the usual whitewash. Even Mr. A. Henderson's minority report does not get anywhere; it just says what any self-respecting Die-Hard—jealous of the number of new rich who are securing titles—would say on the subject. No one denies that capitalist political parties confer honours for ready cash. It is the function of capitalism to reduce all its transactions to the merchandise level of exchange, and this is also true of its conception of honour.

What Mr. Henderson has not pointed out is the additional political power and social prestige conferred on the moneyed interests who lavishly subscribe to the funds of the Liberal and Tory parties. We cannot deal with this important aspect of the problem in the *Review* as we have dealt with it elsewhere. This, however, is the side of the matter that is most interesting to the Labour movement, because the increased political power sold to the plutocracy becomes an important and vital factor in the class struggle.

We can readily appreciate the desire of our democratic and constitutional Labourists to rehabilitate the capitalist code of honour. So long as political parties, like the Liberals and Tories, hand out honours and political prestige to anyone with a big purse, they help to unmask the alleged democracy of capitalism, and to reveal the real ruling force of to-day.

There are certain honours which the ruling propertied interests are prepared to distribute to those who may not have cash but who are willing to serve them faithfully in times of need. One of the most critical periods in the history of the capitalist class was between 1914 and 1918; it was also a most critical period for the working class. The safety of British capitalism depended, during those years, to a very great extent, upon the attitude taken up by the most prominent trade union leaders, particularly in the *coal, iron, and transport* industries. We all know what happened. The most influential labour leaders backed up the imperialists in 1914 and assisted them in every way during the war, and also in the troublesome and rebellious days of 1917-18. No one can deny that the propertied interests rewarded their Labour lieutenants; these were given honours usually reserved for the most elect and servile in the bourgeois world. They were actually received into the Privy Council. Mr. J. H. Thomas has truthfully remarked that a Privy Councillorship is one of the few honours that cannot be purchased for money. We readily agree. The Privy Council is such an important part of the capitalist political machine that money alone cannot open its door. The highest qualification to enter its sacred precincts is unswerving loyalty to the propertied interests and a record of good service. In this connection it may be of interest to note that Mr. A. Henderson became a member of the Privy Council in 1915; in 1916 the same honour was conferred upon Messrs. Geo. Barnes, Wm. Brace, W. Bowerman, and John Hodge; in 1917 the great distinction was handed to Mr. J. H. Thomas; and the miners' leaders, Messrs. Thos. Richards and Wm. Adamson, were admitted into the select group in 1918 in company with Mr. J. R. Clynes. The dates speak eloquently

regarding the why and wherefore of these Labour leaders becoming "Right Honourable Gentlemen."

The propertied interests have had many willing servants among the purely parliamentary Labour leaders. Mr. P. Snowden's advocacy of increased production and Mr. J. R. MacDonald's eloquent plea on behalf of indemnities—not to mention their tireless attacks upon Soviet Russia—are examples that leap to one's mind. But the capitalist class, like the Communists, understand that the real power of a Labour leader does not consist in his mere presence or ability to blether in Parliament; it depends rather on the influence he wields among the *industrially* organised masses. This explains why the *trade union* leaders in the Labour Party were singled out for the Privy Council and why the professional politicians of the I.L.P. were passed over. With unerring instinct the ruling class clearly saw that it was the trade union leaders in Parliament, and out of it, who had the greatest influence over the workers. This fact stands true to-day; it is in no way modified by the fact that the I.L.P. group was able to steal a march upon the old trade union leaders by removing Mr. J. R. Clynes from the leadership of the Labour Party in Parliament and by putting Mr. J. R. MacDonald in his place.

WM. PAUL.

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LONDON RESIDENCES OF KARL MARX

BY JOHN T. WINTER

BELIEVING that events create the man rather than man the events, Socialists are but little prone to hero worship. Doubting that man is the maker of his own destiny, but insisting rather that he is largely a creature of circumstances, they are naturally more interested in a study of the factors that have combined to bring about events or changes in society, and are less concerned with the individual who happened to be borne aloft by the tidal wave.

Socrates, Hannibal, Cæsar, Cromwell, Columbus, Shakespeare, James Watt, etc., were each the product of their time, their conditions, their environment. Such an admission does not degrade the personal characters of such men, nor decrease the good or harm each may have wrought in the world, it merely explains how they came into being. It is only the shallow who gape at the inexplicable, and whose admiration declines when the process of creation is discovered. To the intelligent an intricate mechanism, for instance, is appreciated the more when every minute step in its design and manufacture are expounded.

To the Socialist, therefore, the environment, the personal conditions, and the social forces surrounding the great are of paramount concern. To such, unusual interest will attach to a study of the factors which produced Karl Marx, referred to by Engels as the greatest mind of the second half of the last century.

The social factors of his day, Marx himself has analysed as no other man before or since has done, his intimate and personal life has been recorded by abler hands, but it was thought that before their record be entirely lost, a list should be published, available for permanent reference, detailing the dwelling-houses occupied by Marx during his sojourn in England, particularly as it was within his London homes that Marx wrote the more important of his works.

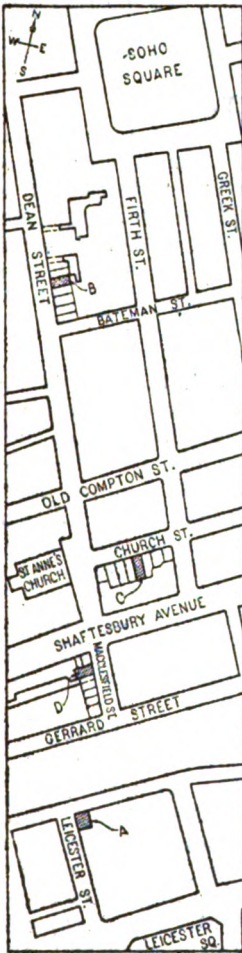
It might be suggested that both Liebknecht in his "Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs," and Spargo in his "Karl Marx: His Life and Work," supply the necessary information, but it is to be regretted that the descriptions given in these are so inaccurate and vague as to be very misleading, rendering definite location of each house difficult without supplementary information. It was, therefore, thought desirable to describe each residence in such a way that it might be readily located without reference to number, the numerical designation of houses in London being frequently altered, a point evidenced in the following notes.

It is both curious and fortunate that the immediate neighbourhood of each of the houses here described remains but little altered since Marx and his associates lived there, although London itself has vastly changed, old streets having been swept away, and new districts built at a rate undreamed of in any previous age.

CAMBERWELL.

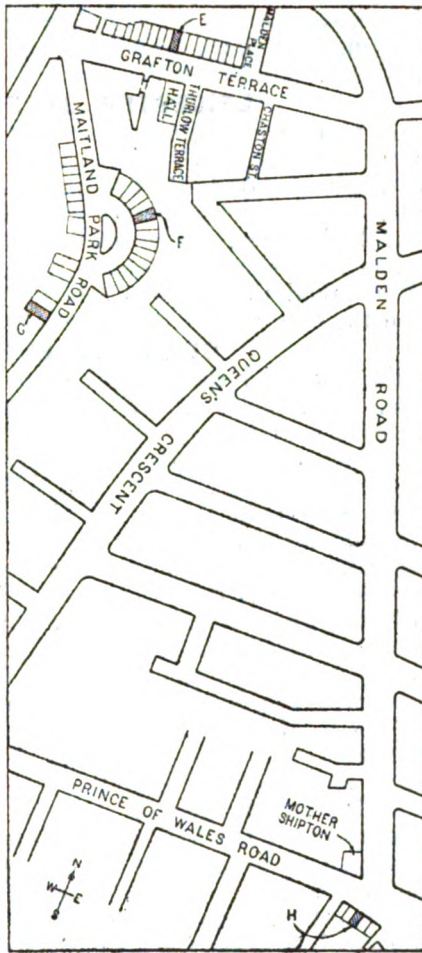
Marx arrived in England in June, 1849, being then 31 years old. He first took furnished lodgings in Camberwell, the exact location of which is not known. While in this house his fourth

PLAN & GUIDE to LONDON RESIDENCES of MARX



SOHO

- A—The German Hotel
- B—28 Dean Street
- C—14 Church Street
- D—6 Macclesfield Street



MAITLAND PARK

- E—46 Grafton Terrace
- F—41 Maitland Park Road
- G—67 Maitland Park Road
- H—3 Roxburgh Terrace

child, a boy, Henry, was born. Here the family suffered the extreme pangs of poverty; the rent was one pound twelve shillings and sixpence per week, and Marx tragically struggled with ill-success to obtain work. The crisis came in the spring of 1850, an unsympathetic landlady, repudiating a previous contract, suddenly demanded the arrears of rent. This not being forthcoming, two constables attached everything in the rooms, even the bedding and the baby's cradle. Practically all they possessed was sold, and they had to leave the house the following day.

While living here Marx edited the six issues of the resuscitated but ill-fated *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

LEICESTER STREET.

Ejected from their lodgings, the Marx family took temporary shelter at the German Hotel, Nos. 1 and 2, Leicester Street, where they were accommodated for five pounds ten shillings per week.

Leicester Street is a short narrow throughfare joining Leicester Square and Lisle Street. The hotel is but little altered, although its name has been changed several times, at the present time of writing it is called the Monte Carlo Restaurant. It is the corner building on the east side of the street where it adjoins Lisle Street.

DEAN STREET.

After the two elder daughters had married, the family moved about June, 1850, into No. 28, Dean Street, where they occupied two small rooms on the second floor. This house is on the east side of the street, nearly opposite the Royalty Theatre (Miss Kelly's Soho Theatre in Marx's time), and is the fifth house north of Bateman Street and the third south of Royalty Mews. Reference to the contemporary London directories confirms that the house number has not been altered since Marx lived there, although Engels once expressed a doubt concerning this.

Recently the ground floor has been completely altered and converted into a restaurant known as the Central Kosher Restaurant, but previously it had two small windows, uniform with those above, a door flush with the front and iron railings.

In this house Marx wrote his "Eighteenth Brumaire," "Mr. Vogt," the articles to the New York Tribune now published as "Revolution and Counter Revolution," "The Eastern Question," "Critique of Political Economy," and the major part of "Capital." It was here also that the fifth child, Franciska, was born in 1851, to be literally slain by poverty the following year, its death preceding by a few weeks that of Henry, the fourth child. On January 16th, 1856, Eleanor, their last child, was born, and in that year they lost their third child, Edgar, nicknamed Moosh, the only surviving son. The three children lie buried in the churchyard of Whitfield Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road. It was mainly the ill-health suffered by the family in Soho that caused their migration to a healthier district.

The landlady of 28, Dean Street, was a Mrs Kavenagh, the mother of a well-known authoress. It may be mentioned in passing that in 1737 Joseph Nollekens, the famous sculptor, was born in this house.

MACCLESFIELD STREET.

During this period Frederick Engels was living at No. 6, Macclesfield Street. The house, however, was demolished at a later date, when King Street was widened and re-named Shaftesbury

Avenue. A new building stands on the site of the old house, and is situated on the west side of the street between the corner public-house and Dansey Yard. The rest of this street has been but little altered.

CHURCH STREET.

William Liebknecht came to London in June, 1850, and resided at No. 14, Church Street, which is the fifth house from the Dean Street corner on the south side.

Interest attaches to the fact that seventy-five years previously Jean Paul Marat lived in this street, where he practised as a physician.

GRAFTON TERRACE.

In 1857 Marx moved to No. 9, Grafton Terrace, Kentish Town. At that time the street was named Fitzroy Road, Grafton Terrace apparently being the row of houses containing that of Marx. A little later, however, the entire street was re-named Grafton Terrace, and No. 9 re-numbered No. 46. It is a street crossing Malden Road, the house in question being on the north side of the western portion of the street, the ninth from Malden Place and the tenth from the public-house at the far corner. It has a little balcony above the bay window from which Mrs. Marx used to greet her three daughters during her recovery from smallpox, which she contracted whilst living here.

ROXBURGH TERRACE.

During this period Liebknecht took lodgings in the neighbourhood, these being situated nearly opposite the well-known "Mother Shipton" public-house. Now forming part of Prince of Wales's Road, the house in question was at that time known as No. 3, Roxburgh Terrace, being the middle house of a block of five facing the end of Malden Road. In 1863 it became No. 93, Prince of Wales's Road, being re-numbered 105 in 1886.

MAITLAND PARK ROAD.

After the two elder daughters had married the family took a smaller house in Maitland Park Road, a turning out of Grafton Terrace. Some divergence of opinion exists concerning the date when Marx made this move, Liebknecht says it was in 1872 or 1873, while Spargo, although in one part of his book he says 1872-73, further on states, "Late in 1870 or 1871, the family moved to a smaller house, 1, Maitland Park Road." Actually it must have been earlier than either biographer states, because a letter from Marx exists, written from this address, and dated 23rd November, 1868. Reference is made to Letter 4 in "Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Fredrich Engels, Karl Marx, A an F. A. Sorge und Andere."

Confusion also exists concerning the number of the house. Spargo gives the address as quoted above; Liebknecht states: "Not far from there is No. 41, Maitland Park Road. Until nine years ago (about 1897) the house had the number 1." Actually the house was never so called. It is the fifth house from the north end of a crescent of fourteen non-detached houses on the east side of the road. All the houses from end to end of the road are shown on the ordnance survey of 1870, and were built prior to Marx taking up his residence there, and Kelly's London Suburban Direc-

tory for 1876, the first issued after the date in question, contains the following entry:—

“ 41, Marx, Karl, Ph.D.”

The letter of Marx referred to above explains the inconsistency, the address there given being 1, Modena Villa, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill, London. Each pair of houses, having a common porch, had a separate name, a practice common in suburban districts, but as the district grew more populous, the postal authorities insisted on the existing street numeration being observed. In Letter 66, dated 4th April, 1876, in the book previously quoted, Marx writes the address, 41, Maitland Park Road, adding, “ Pay attention to the address. It is 41 now, instead of 1, but the same street.” That, however, had been the official postal address since 1869, previous to which it was No. 10, Maitland Park Crescent.

On December 2nd, 1881, Mrs. Marx died, to be followed, all too soon by her husband, who passed away on March 14th, 1883, seated in his study armchair.

On the opposite side of the road, at No. 67, lived Dr. Edward Bibbins Aveling, who married Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor.

REGENT'S PARK ROAD.

While Marx was living at Maitland Park Road, Engels resided at 122, Regent's Park Road, where he was living prior to his visit to America. After his return he lived at No. 41 in the same road. The first house is on the east side of the road in a block of buildings between Rothwell Street and Sharples Hall Street, being the third house from the former, and the eleventh from the latter street. His second residence was near St. Mark's Church, No. 41 being the centre house of a group of seven enclosed by Albert Terrace Mews. The enumeration of the street has not been changed.

HIGHGATE CEMETERY.

Marx was buried in Highgate Cemetery, together with his wife, Jenny von Westphalen, his grandson, Harry Longuet, and their faithful servant-companion, Helene Demuth, called Lenchen by the family.

The grave may be easily located if the following directions be carefully noted:—

It lies in that portion known as the new cemetery, and, entering by the gateway adjacent to Waterlow Park, the main roadway should be followed until a fork is reached. Here the left turn is taken up a slight hill, and continued to the second main path on the right. About 85 paces down this path a large double grave will be seen on the left belonging to a family named Scrimgeour. Immediately behind the headstone of this grave is a narrow path, the ninth grave on the left side being that of Marx, the official number of which is 24,748.

PUSH THE NEW “COMMUNIST”—
NOW

“ The Workers' Weekly ”

HOW TO HELP RUSSIA

BY E. T. WHITEHEAD

(Member of Berlin Central Committee of the Workers' International Russian Relief.)

[The following article shows how the workers may assist Soviet Russia. The subject is so important that another aspect of the case has been dealt with in our "Review of the Month." The one powerful factor in favour of Comrade Whitehead's plea is that the Workers' International Russian Relief Committee, which is made up from all sections of the Labour movement, is in action now and has the requisite organisation to carry out all its plans.—

ED. OF COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

AFTER the four terrible years of the World War, the years of civil war with the attacks by the armies subsidised by capitalist governments, the sufferings from the blockade, and the horrors of the unexampled Volga famine, the first workers' republic has at last won through to a period of comparative peace and tranquillity, in which she can at last devote her energies to the practical realisation of those ideals of brotherhood and co-operation for which the workers' movement stands all the world over.

Even without the terrible record of destruction caused by the ravages of the bands of Koltchak and Denikin, and without the desolation caused by the famine, it would be the most earnest wish of workers everywhere to afford every aid to Soviet Russia to realise her ideals. How much more, then, do we wish to help in the present circumstances? In what way and through what channel can that help best be given?

There are two main tasks that face the first workers' republic. These are the development of production, agriculture and industry, and the care for that legacy of the famine, the many, many thousands of orphan children. Both fields have been covered by the plans of the international organisation known as the Workers' International Russian Relief.

The bare statistics covering orphan children in Russia are such as must cause the most hardened supporters of the system of privilege and exploitation to feel remorse at the results of their hellish efforts to drown the first workers' republic in blood.

To-day, no fewer than 2,150,000 young children are orphaned in Russia and entirely dependent upon State support or private charity. It is a responsibility which the Russian Government gladly shoulders, for there is no country in the world where child life is so cherished and cared for as the land of the Soviets. But it is a task of such immensity and extent that the normal mind can hardly grasp it. If we think of one of Dr. Barnardo's Homes, which perhaps houses some five hundred children, and think of the amount of organisation and charitable effort that has to go on year after year, the amount of administrative work and service given in connection with it, and then multiply this effort by four thousand times, we shall have a slight idea of the magnitude of this task.

At present these little mites are being cared for as follows. Through the establishments of the Russian trade unions and the Red Army, 550,000 children are being looked after. The Soviet Government itself is caring for 880,000, and all foreign organisations combined, the American Relief, the Quakers, and others, are caring for 1,350,000 children. The organisation of the remaining 270,000 waifs from the famine area is also being undertaken by the Soviet Government as fast as willing hands and anxious hearts can manage it.

This situation was known to the Workers' Relief at their International Conference held in July last, and a decision was then made to take over the responsibility of 20,000 of these little people. This figure may seem a small number, but, even then, it meant the raising of £20,000 immediately to establish the necessary homes, and a further £8,000 monthly for maintenance. We must remember that these sums were to be raised for the most part from the pennies and sixpences of workers, ground down by exploitation and harassed by unemployment in all lands.

So far, some 14,000 children situated in 34 different homes in different parts of Russia have been taken over, and soon we hope, as the movement gathers way, to have the full quota. Several national committees, in particular the Dutch, French, and German, have their own homes, supervised by women workers of these countries, where not only the rationing, but the education and care of these children is fully looked after in every way. The German Home is *The Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Home*, situated in Tschelijabinsk. We hope soon to be able to announce the foundation of a "Keir Hardie" home, on which the efforts of workers of Britain could be focused.

The quota of children allocated to the British Joint Labour Aid Committee was 500, the greater part of which will be provided for by the general fund for the children's relief. Individuals or groups who desire to "adopt" specific children, can have them arranged for, and names, photographs, and other material supplied so that a direct personal interest may be taken in an individual case.

Useful goods are nearly as important as money in this work, and all gifts in kind in the following categories will be gladly accepted:—Boots and shoes, warm underwear, overcoats, coats, trousers and waistcoats, warm hats (with ear flaps), shawls, warm gloves, stockings, and indeed all woollen goods; blankets, sheets, and towels; knives, forks, spoons, pocket knives, buttons, needles, thread; gifts of tea, sugar, salt, candles, or flour in commercial quantities, and all imperishable foods, such as tinned meats or tinned fruits; bandages, wadding; pens, pencils, and educational requisites; plates, kettles, and saucepans, and all cookery utensils. All gifts in money or kind may be addressed to: Workers' International Russian Relief, 26, Bedford Row, London, W.C.1.

This second field of help for Russia is neither so simple nor so straightforward as the relief work for the orphans.

A start was made in the famine days, when it was found that there was a serious shortage of tools and implements of all kinds, and collections of tools and implements were made in several countries to remedy this shortage.

But a much deeper and more systematic productive help soon developed. This grew naturally from the experiences of the

Workers' Relief in the famine area, who clearly saw that not only was it a case of rationing the starving, but much more of building up a twentieth century system of agriculture for the prevention of future famines. The management of several large estates was taken over, and it was found by the experience that the combination of Western technique, when harnessed to the labour power of the peasant workers, rapidly produced most gratifying improvements. I inspected two of these estates in Kasan, and they compared favourably with the cultivation and good management of English country estates.

A great advantage of this form of productive help for Russia lies in its comparative inexpensiveness, for by the provision of a tractor and a certain amount of agricultural machinery, excellent results may quickly be reached.

A much more serious problem was the question of help in rebuilding the industrial undertakings, where not only is considerable capitalisation required, but difficulties with regard to markets and raw materials are also great, and require the application of unusual business ability.

Fortunately, the Workers' Relief was able to draw upon the services of many German and Hungarian expert workers who had been prisoners of war in Russia, and had learnt something of the language, and in the few months that operations have been carried out in this field, quite satisfactory results were obtained. A boot factory, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, was taken over, fitted with new machinery, and is now functioning well, as also are two smaller factories for the manufacture of spoons, drinking vessels, and different electrical equipment.

In one domain only was it found impossible to operate, that of heavy industry, and in this case the capitalisation required was so great that it has been beyond our powers to do much in this field. Two undertakings deserve especial mention. One of these is the "Remont Colony" in Petrograd, where repairs of buildings, harbour paving, and other work is carried out. Someone has said that "Remont" is the saddest word in Russia to-day. It signifies repairing or remounting, and, indeed, there is so much to be repaired and remounted and put in order after the ravages of the past years that one is filled with pity to think that so much good labour power must be so expended. This worker colony at Petrograd, which comprises 56 workers, has carried through its contracts both punctually and economically, and has earned the high regard of the authorities.

The other undertaking which is deserving of special mention arose through the initiative and energy of the American workers, who, through the "Friends of Soviet Russia," the American branch of the International Workers' Russian Relief, sent out a tractor colony, consisting of twenty tractors, complete with all accessories, in charge of a score of young American farmers. This colony operated in the neighbourhood of Perm, and its work reached such a high value that it was the subject of a special letter of thanks from Lenin himself. This colony has trained forty Russian peasants in running the tractors, and has put 4,000 acres under the plough since its arrival last July. The Russian workers and peasants co-operated with this colony energetically, and it has indeed been a model experiment.

In addition to these undertakings of the Russian relief, there are two other activities in productive help that are noteworthy. One is the "Kuzbas" scheme, where the development of the Kuzbas basin in Siberia is being undertaken by American worker pioneers, led by Rutgers, a well-known Dutch engineer. The Kuzbas organisation stands in close relation to the Workers' Relief, and its amalgamation in the near future is more than probable.

The other activity is that under the leadership of Hillman, of the United Clothing Workers of America. This has reference especially to the clothing industry, and a million dollar loan has been floated and nearly fully subscribed by American workers for developing clothing factories in Russia. The American section of the Workers' Relief has also been energetically assisting this enterprise.

THE FIRST WORKERS' LOAN FOR SOVIET RUSSIA.

The question of how to get to grips with this matter of productive relief was the subject of long and earnest cogitation by the Workers' International Russian Relief, and after consultation with the Russian workers it was finally decided last July to issue a loan for £200,000 to supply the necessary capital to enable a sufficient number of undertakings being acquired, and entering upon the work with that freedom and organisational scope that such a field as productive relief necessitates. The Russian Government agreed to guarantee this loan and 5 per cent. interest, to be repayable in ten years. The full working out of the details of this loan have occupied valuable time, but it has now been launched in Holland, Germany, Sweden, and the issue for the British quota of £20,000 is now ready.

The question of interest was a burning question in regard to this loan, many comrades feeling that all interest was immoral, and that to take profits from the Russian workers in this form was illogical. However, in view of the laws of many countries regarding interest, it was finally decided that the loan should bear 5 per cent. interest, at the same time issuing an invitation that for the first years, at any rate, that subscribers could renounce their claim to interest for the benefit of the Russian Children's Homes.

It is claimed, and with reason, that at the present moment there is no government in Europe so stable and so secure as the government of Soviet Russia, and her guarantee of this loan enables all to place their savings at the service of Russian reconstruction with full confidence.

For the actual flotation of the loan, *The Industrial and Commercial Company of the Workers' International Russian Relief* was founded in Berlin as the most convenient international centre, and the loan is issued in the form of loan shares of this company. The basic capital of the company was fully subscribed by the Berlin Central Committee, and the articles of association further provide that no emoluments or profits shall accrue from this company to any person whatever with the exception of the yearly fixed interest and repayment of capital. All profits are thus to be devoted to the task of rebuilding the industrial and agricultural life of the Soviet Republic.

Shares for Great Britain are issued in denominations of 10s., £2, and £5, and may now be applied for to Robert Stewart,

Secretary, British Joint Labour Aid Committee of the Workers' International Russian Relief, 26, Bedford Row, London, W.C.1.

It should be the earnest endeavour of all workers and of all workers' organisations to subscribe to shares in this loan, and so have a stake in rebuilding Russia. It provides that practical channel through which sympathy for Russia and admiration for her heroic workers may be translated into an active solidarity of deed for Russia.

It affords an unprecedented opportunity for *all* to put their shoulder to the wheel and speed Russia's economic recovery. It aids in the building up of that first stone of the great and glorious Federation of World Workers' Republics which we all hope to see.

To those of us who hold these bonds, our children and our children's children will look back in happier days with pride and honour to think that in the world's darkest moments we were among those in the forefront of the struggle in *helping, by practical means*, the worker-heroes of the first workers' republic to make of this world a paradise of freedom and life for all men and women.

THE CRUCIBLE OF REVOLUTION

BY KARL RADEK

FIVE years of development of world revolution now lie behind us. The period may seem a short one, but it has been one of importance and one of blood and struggle. The Czarist empire, Hohenzollern imperialism, and the Hapsburg dominion—the three ancient fortresses of European reaction—these brightest gems in the crown of the bourgeoisie have been shattered and now lie in ruins. They were symbols. When the German masses in their blind fury tried to storm the brutal junker government that enslaved and mocked them, they were brought to a standstill and dared not go further. They consoled themselves that very soon their Day would come, but this consoling thought was not so much a confession of faith as it was an admittance of their impotence.

The thrones of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanoffs lie rotting in the earth. And although it has been said that the old guard dies but never surrenders, no one lifts a hand to the sword hilt to defend the old luxury and splendour. The revolutionary earthquake which made old thrones topple over also caused the purple mantle, which clothed the bourgeoisie, to slip from its shoulders and revealed a hideous carcase with a distorted body, bowed legs, and distended stomach—a repulsive figure which bred a desire to see it destroyed. The workers of Russia rushed upon the hideous thing, and trampled upon it with their heavy hobnailed boots. And just as a peasant accompanies his blows upon a captured wolf with, "Take that for the goose you stole and this for the crows you killed," so the workers and peasants rained blows upon the bourgeoisie, who, deprived of the support of the middle-class socialist parties which

were too weak to protect their allies, and achieved each blow by exclaiming, "Take that for making me shed my blood in the trenches for the sake of your profits, take that for the century-long slavery of my class, take that for my hunger which you never stilled, take this for my spiritual hunger at which you mocked."

The capitalist world stood as if petrified, hardly believing its eyes. For hundreds of years it had ruled, commanded, enslaved, and suddenly the wheel of fortune turned. Like a scream the news of the revolution rang through the world. The capitalist scribes left hardly a lie untold against the revolution. They lied, as the capitalist class have always lied about revolutions, aimed against them; and they sought to strike terror into the hearts of the workers of other countries. Small wonder the propertied interests trembled; small wonder they stood aghast at the prospect that they would be compelled to yield up their power.

The ruling classes have always lied about the revolts of their slaves. Thousands of years before the birth of Christ, the aristocracy that ruled in ancient Egypt was overthrown. In an inscription recently deciphered by Adolph Erman we read:—"The rolls have been taken away, those who keep tally of the sacks have been annihilated, and each one can take corn as he will. The country houses stand open, the registers have been taken away, and subject people no longer exist. In and out of the court house go the common people, and the House of the Thirty (the highest court of justice) is stripped of its powers. Every town says: We will drive the strong from out our midst, and now the land is turning like a potter's wheel: the high councillors do hunger, and the rich must sit at the grinding mill, the ladies go in rags, they starve and dare not speak: the sons of the gentry are no longer to be recognised, and their children are being thrown on the street and being beaten against the walls.

"Female slaves can play the lady, robbery and murder reigns in the land, towns are being ruined, tombs sacked, and buildings burned, the land is left unploughed, no building is being done, and no timber is being brought into the land. The land is as barren as a gleaned flax-field: there is no more grain, and because of the hunger the swine are being robbed of their fodder. No one any longer pays attention to cleanliness, nobody ploughs, and children are wearied of life. Man is decreasing, births become fewer, and there finally remains but one wish—that everything may go into oblivion. Officials are dismissed and have been driven away, no office-holder is any longer in his place, and the land is robbed of its kingdom by a few senseless people. And now the rule of the rabble is beginning: it is on top and rejoicing over this fact in its own way. The mob wears the finest linen and salves its pate with myrrh, has a large house and eatables, the corn for which, of course, once belonged to another. It has herds and ships, which likewise once belonged to other owners. Before it was at the beck and call of others, now it finds satisfaction in sending others to work. The slave strikes the harp; and his wife, who formerly looked at herself in water, now parades about with a mirror. Even his god, whom he formerly neglected, is now offered the incense which belonged to someone else.

"While those who had nothing have now become rich, the one-time rich ones lie in the wind without a bed, thirsty and in rags..

He who had nothing possesses treasures, and a prince praises him ; even the councillors of the old States in their poverty now count the favours of the new upstarts."

Since the day when the Egyptian aristocrats were forced to witness the confiscation of their lands and flocks during the slave rebellion that took place about a thousand years before Moses ; the ruling propertied interest have dreaded any subject class challenging their power. During hundreds of centuries the nature of the ruling classes has not changed. They lose their power and cherish their riches. It is only natural that they should bewail the loss of these things ; it is only to be expected that they should denounce as murderers and robbers those workers who have dethroned them. But the international proletariat, although it has not yet seen through all the trickery and deceit of the capitalist Press and the orators of the Second International, is in a dull and instinctive way beginning to realise the knavery and deception indulged in by the propertied interests in their attacks upon the workers' revolution.

A wave of unrest surged through the proletarian world, the blood pulsed more rapidly, not only in the veins of the coolies of Canton and Shanghai ; of the peasants on the Ganges ; of the American negroes ever haunted with the fear of lynching—even the Labour aristocracy of England, began to scratch their heads and to regard the gentlemen who exploit them all the week, and who go to church on Sundays in top hats, with distrustful eyes. The workers of Germany and Austria seized the power that had fallen from the hand of their rulers. And where, until quite recently, law and order were the most sacred words, there the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils reigned and nominated the government. And when the leaders of the German Social Democracy, Messrs. Hasse, Ebert, Scheidemann and Dittmann in fear and trembling resolved to rule their country, they took power neither by the grace of God, nor by the grace of the bourgeoisie—they were the rulers of Germany by the grace of the German proletariat. A second time the earth was shaken to its core. A hundred and fifty million Russian peasants and workers and eighty million Germans, including the strong race of the industrial proletarians who know how to raise coal, forge steel, build bridges, who know how to encircle the world in steel rails, iron, coal, bread—a country, an empire of labour stretching from Vladivostok to the Rhine was about to spring into being. And the capitalist world trembled in an agony of fear. Lloyd George, one of the cleverest and most conscientious representatives of the capitalist class, wrote in March, 1919, in his secret memorandum, to the Big Four of the Versailles Conference:—

" Europe is full of revolutionary thought. A deep feeling, not of ill-humour, but of fury and rebelliousness, lives in the breast of the working class against the conditions of life brought by the war. All the present-day arrangements, political, economic and social, are looked at askance by the people in Europe. In some countries, as in Russia, this unrest is pressing forward to open revolt ; and in other countries, in France, England and Italy, this feeling makes itself felt in strikes and in a certain unwillingness to work ; all signs are that they are as much concerned about political and social changes as about increases in wages.

A good part of this unrest is to be gladly welcomed ; we shall never attain an enduring peace if we have as our goal the creating of the same conditions of life as those that existed in 1914. By doing that we only run the danger of driving the mass of the European population into the arms of the extremists, whose sole idea, with regard to a rebirth of humanity, consists in their desire to see the exploiting social order permanently destroyed. In Russia these people have gained the upper hand. But the price for this victory was terrible. Hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants no longer exist. Railways, cities, the entire State structure of Russia is almost completely destroyed ; however, in many respects they succeeded in keeping the mass of the Russian people in hand, and, which is still more significant, they have succeeded in organising a great army which is apparently well led, and held in good discipline and which, for the most part, is ready to sacrifice its life for its ideals. If we allow a year to go by, Russia, imbued with a new spirit, will have forgotten its need for peace, because it has at its disposal the only army having confidence in the ideals for which it will fight.

The danger I perceive in the present situation lies in the fact that Germany would be able to place her fate in the hands of the Bolsheviks, to place her riches and wealth, her spirit, her marvellous powers of organisation, at the disposal of these revolutionary fanatics who dream of conquering the world for Bolshevism, and this, be it added, by the means of armed forces. This danger is no empty phantom. The present German Government is weak ; it commands no respect ; its departure means the calling forth of Spartacism, for which Germany is not yet ripe. But the argument which the Spartacists know how to employ, and which never fails to succeed, is the argument that they alone are capable of freeing Germany from the insupportable condition forced upon her by the war. They want to free Germany from all her obligations to the Allies, from all her obligations to her own wealthy classes. They offer the Germans permanent control over their own affair, they open up to them the prospect of paradise, of a better world. Of course, the price would be high. For two or three years chaos, perhaps bloodshed, would be the order of the day, but at the end the land would have been retained, its man power, the majority of the houses, the factories, railways ; and Germany, freed of her oppressors would be able to go forward to a new era.

If Germany should yield to Spartacism, there is no preventing her closely uniting her fate with that of the Russian Bolsheviks. If this were to happen, the whole of East Europe would be thrown into the whirlpool of the Bolshevik revolution, and in the course of a year we would find ourselves facing over three hundred million human beings who would be schooled and drilled into a gigantic Red Army by German generals, by German instructors, equipped with German artillery, with German machine-guns, ready at any moment to renew the attack upon West Europe. No one can look forward to this prospect with indifference. The news received from Hungary only yesterday proves plainly enough that this danger is no mere phantasy of the imagination. What are the reasons for this great decision? Fear it was, stark fear that a great part of Hungary would be placed under foreign rule. If we were clever

we would offer Germany a peace which, because of its justness, would draw away all rational men from Bolshevism."

Was that not a bad dream of the capitalists? No! It was a real possibility; it was the future casting its shadow before a future soon to be ushered in by the brief present.

The workers of Germany and Austria were enslaved and exploited; the single thing of which they were proud was their culture and education which they had laboriously acquired for themselves. But in the capitalist world there is only a capitalist culture, and the culture which they had won was the bond uniting them with the bourgeoisie. Capital had laid chains upon them, and they had voluntarily strengthened those chains; they were not slaves of capital, they were slaves of their own free choice. And when they got power into their hands, they trembled. What shall we do with the power? Shall we wage war to divert the world on to new paths? And they gazed with fear across the Vistula, where, hungry and bleeding, the proletarian revolution was fighting its battle. "Crucify them!" cried the world bourgeoisie. And the pro-bourgeois leaders of the German working class cried, "Yes, they are being crucified, because they undertook an insane task. Who with calm judgment would dare to raise his hand against the kings of coal, steel, of cotton and corn? It was easy to drive away the crowned puppets, but who will clothe and feed us if we meddle with the mighty ones of the earth. Spartacism means hunger, Spartacism means war, while Wilson stands for peace; he will bring us bread and meat." This was the choice held out by the Social Democrats, by the Scheidemanns and Eberts and Dittmans. And the workers who starved and suffered for four long years under a policy of bloody war for the sake of the bourgeoisie, only held out a few months for socialism, for their own future. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were butchered like brute beasts on the altar of capital, and in March the small outposts of the proletariat were defeated in battle. The rule of the German bourgeoisie was set up in agreement with the wishes of the majority of the German workers.

"Homes for heroes!" So screamed England's bourgeois Press, when, covered with the grime of the battlefields, the coal-hewers of Wales, the engineers of the Clyde, and the Irish crofters returned from the trenches of Flanders. "You have saved democracy, you have saved civilisation," was the cry, and they made fulsome promises to make conditions for a decent human existence for the workers for having saved capital. Thereupon the miners said, "Fly home; the place where I have my being is the deep pit into which the sun never penetrates. The Duke of Northumberland shall no longer make profits out of my labours, out of the coal flecked with my blood, and out of the fears and risks that I stand every day. The mines shall belong to the nation, as I belong to the nation." And Lloyd George and his lackeys answered, "Yes, yes, of course, but do not let us have any unrest or disturbances, or else we close the mines and our fleet will go to rack and ruin, and with that will disappear from our breakfast-table the ham and eggs that sustain you and us. We will appoint a commission to examine the pros and cons of the question in a peaceful and calm atmosphere." In the meantime Winston Churchill held troops in readiness in case the workers refused to be coaxed and cajoled by

the persuasive tongue of Lloyd George. And while the cartridges were being served out to the troops, an innocent wordy battle was being waged at the Sankey Commission. Old Bob Smillie disputed with the Duke of Northumberland, who set the whole working class roaring with laughter at his attempts to prove that he had the right to exploit the workers because a thirteen years old king in the sixteenth century gave his ancestors a piece of parchment with the royal seal attached. The Press gave great publicity to the proceedings of the Commission; and the Right Honourable Labour leaders expressed deep sympathy for the Russian workers, who, poor devils, could never enjoy a peaceful Sankey Commission because they had no democracy, and, therefore, allowed themselves to be misled into class war. Under the wing of British democracy the Duke of Northumberland will, no doubt, be expropriated by the wit of Bob Smillie and the sympathy of Parliament which can be swayed by argument.

Months went, and looms were spinning; day and night the factory chimneys belched forth smoke, while the radios sent broadcast the news of rising prices. The capitalist world appeared to have been brought into order again. What did it matter that Noske's white guards plundered and murdered like Tilly's and Wallenstein's mercenaries during the Thirty Years' War. The democracy in Germany was founded on the bones of 15,000 workers. It had to have some foundation, and blood makes good cement. What did it matter that sixty million Germans had been made the industrial slaves of the Entente? What did it matter that General Dyer, at Amritsar, fired into a peaceful crowd of Hindoos with machine guns? True, the Labour Party and the honourable and humane Englishmen protested, but this did not bring a single Hindoo back to life. Yes, General Dyer was censured, and this, it is true, rarely happens to such high-placed personages.

In America a persecution of Communists began, such as the world had never seen before. A girl was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for wearing a Soviet badge!

After a time, however, a slight tremor shook the Far East. Stocks began to fall on the Tokio Stock Exchange; it spread to America, and then to England. This led to a panic, and bankruptcy followed bankruptcy. The factories in America, Japan, Sweden and Holland began to throw workers on to the streets. The period of great unemployment had begun; millions of the world's workers were deprived of the ham and eggs for which they had sold their birthright of the revolution. The savings accumulated during the war gradually melted away, and the prospect of what faced them when all the savings were gone struck them with fear. Those left in the factories looked with anxiety upon the growing masses gathered outside the factory gate. The factory owners, observing these fearful glances, said, "If you wish to keep your jobs forget your grumblings and your dreams about factory control. Gentlemen, the period of high wages has passed: work at my price, or I will call in the others." And so the miners had to fight a long battle in order to retain the old wages. Smillie is now asked whether the piece of sealing wax of the fifteen years old king in the XVIth century is sufficient reason for piling up wealth for the Duke of Northumberland.

While ten million workers are idle in all other countries there is little unemployment in Germany. German industry has found a new basis worthy of the German people. Germany's position in the world was created by its ability and technique. Now it maintains its position by a new art, acquired by the German workers during the war—the art of starving, the art of living at the level of a coolie. They have learned to produce goods so cheaply that they can be sold even in periods of stagnation. One of the greatest countries in the world, the country that produced Goethe, Kant and Marx, is now beating all records in the cheapness of its products and of its labour power. Not only is it possible out of the profits wrung from the workers to enable the German bourgeoisie to lead the life of parasites and to create a modern Babylon by the number of automobiles, gaming clubs and dens of debauchery, the German workers not only save their own bourgeois fatherland, but it is also preserving the domination of the French bourgeoisie by helping it to meet its budget deficits. The German masses are preserving the domination of world capital which would be shattered the moment they cried, "Enough!" They are heaping up wealth, but the mess of pottage for which they sold the revolution can only be seen on the lofty regions of the mystic currency, the new god who reigns supreme over the monarchy, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie in the secret ark of finance—the Stock Exchange. The German workers are busy creating wealth in the factories. They conduct no class war; they merely look on while the counter-revolution is conducting war against the poor republic which exists by the grace of the almighty dollar. They only looked on while their best leaders, Liebknecht, Jogiches, and Luxemburg, were struck down. But they organised demonstrations of protest when the former imperialist carpet bagger and late democratic pacifist profiteer, his excellency Herr Erzberger, was assassinated by the Whites. They also protested when the ex-Kaiser's favourite millionaire, Rathenau, was murdered because he was a democrat when democracy was no longer verboten in Germany.

It has always been the custom for the German capitalist to don his frock coat and silk hat when he attends a funeral. The German proletarians remember their revolutionary duty—at funerals; they march behind the coffin, swear vengeance—and go home. Over their homes fly the black, red and yellow flag of the republic. It is spat upon by the counter-revolution, and once again the proletarians rise in their wrath. To spite the counter-revolution, they sing their own—their very own—song, conducted by the baton of Herr Ebert, "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles," which goes beautifully to the tune of "God bless and save the Kaiser and his Empire."

The world which at one time trembled at the picture of the tall figure of Noske, with Fritz Ebert, the President of the Republic, standing in quiet self-consciousness by his side, bearing a tablet with the inscription, "Proletarians (retired) by the grace of God," now also sees the picture of Wels, the butcher of the 6th December, and, next to him, Crispen, who in Moscow swore by all he held sacred that he would remain loyal to the revolution if only we would lower the price from 21 to 14 points. This couple gaze benignly upon the world as though to say, "We have united now we do not fear the world revolution." The impression these

smug, cocksure, figures make is so great that all the socialist clowns—the socialists of His most gracious Majesty the King of England, the socialists of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, and the “Shuhl” socialists of Sweden and Copenhagen, and even the brave Mensheviks shout “Hossina! Hossina!” In his ecstasy Crispen calls upon the Russian workers to follow the example of himself and Wels, and unite with the British financiers, the textile baron, Ratoshinsky, and the oil king Nobel, on the just basis of the return of the factories and power that they so unreasonably appropriated to themselves in October, 1917.

“The world revolution is at an end,” they have long lisped hesitatingly. “The world revolution is now at an end!” they now shout with conviction. And “You can at least remain swine,” is the echo that comes from all countries where there are still proletarian leaders tried in the class struggle.

“How beautiful is the world!” sing the social patriots. Lenin is surrendering a kingdom to Urquhart, and will soon have to kowtow to democracy. Lloyd George and Poincaré will have to waive a great part of the reparations, and Uncle Sam will grant Germany a loan, and all that remains for us is to increase, be fruitful and multiply. Fritz Adler and Otto Bauer have already been accepted into the League of Nations: the butcher Horthy sits next to them: and soon Germany will be able to send the leader of the White Guard gangs to diplomatic conferences as the representative of the democratic republic. Meanwhile, the German proletariat works overtime, and the mark, alas! has fallen from 2,000 to 175,000 to the £ and still falls.

But above the sound of rejoicing at the prospect of tranquillity a shrill note of discord is heard. The world Turks, the dear Cato allies of the German social democracy in the war against Czarism, and now infected by the still wilder Bolsheviks, refuse to become reconciled to the Versailles slavery. For three years they fought as the Soviet army fought, in hunger and rags. And behold, they have routed the armies of the Greek rascals of England, they have reached the Dardanelles, and if they do not give way we shall be faced with another European war.

Lord Curzon sends love epistles to the “unspeakable Turk,” and invites him to join the League of Nations just as if he were quite a respectable democrat, or an aristocrat of the type of Horthy the Bloody. By the glare from the flames of Smyrna can be seen the deep rent in the Entente through which the fear of a new world war may break out at any moment. Poincaré, the Napoleon in dressing gown and slippers, true angel of peace, smilingly shows his teeth to Bonar Law, the tranquil one. *Vorwärts* is so eager about the peace of the world that it became quite violent when the Soviet Government refused to ratify the Urquhart agreement; it would have been more the duty of good Social Democrats, so enamoured of their fatherland, to have championed the cause of their own capitalists, and not that of the English. The right honourable gentlemen of the English Labour Party, through their leader, Mr. J. R. Clynes, were also anxious to secure peace in the world by urging upon the Soviet government to endorse the Urquhart agreement.

The crisis in the Orient is not yet over; it is only beginning.

On the horizon there looms the struggle for petroleum; and in the West, too, fresh war clouds are gathering. Uncle Sam who ought to bring balm to the troubled soul of Europe, not only refuses to do so, to grant loans, and cancel debts owing to him. He actually deprives the European bourgeoisie of the last straw by which they could sustain their head above water, by raising his customs duties, and this makes it impossible for his European adopted children to lower the dollar by their exports. Thus the President of the United States received the power to raise or lower customs duties by 50 per cent., i.e., to play at cat and mouse with England, France and Germany. If they become recalcitrant, up go the tariffs. The reparation and war debts question become more acute. The mark has fallen from 14,000 to 44,000 to the dollar, so that the moratorium respite was a gallows reprieve in the literal sense of the word.

In America the miners and railwaymen fought for five long months against the attacks and persecution of the trusts, while the Republican Government stood by helplessly, not daring to balk them of their victory. A feeling of fresh power is sweeping through the American masses. In France the workers have again taken up the fight. The battle of the textile workers in the north was followed by that of the dock workers in Havre. In Italy a section of the workers, after two years of indecision and hesitancy, are returning to the army of the revolution, to the Communist International. A wave of unrest is spreading through Germany. The Communist Party, though still in a minority, is, however, making great progress. The Unity Conference of the Social Democrats, which proposes an alliance with the bourgeoisie, shook its fist at the Communists because they desire to take power. Russia stands fairly on her feet. She has withdrawn the fighting line somewhat, and, being fortified by an alliance with her peasants, turns down all demands for capitulation. At Genoa, the Hague, and at Changchau she said to the English and Japanese capitalists: "If you want political power and the factories in Russia, come and get them." We will see what will happen. During the Eastern crisis, without any sabre-rattling, calmly and confidently she said, "I am here. If you attempt to solve the problem which concerns me without my having a word in them, you will have to deal with me later."

We have in a few lines set out a whirlwind of facts, of ebb and flow and cross currents, the witch's cauldron of the revolution. Victory is followed by defeat, and defeat by victory. There are advances and retreats. The strength of the enemy is underestimated and defeat follows; the enemy over-estimates his strength and suffers in consequence. Hungry and in rags, a part of the working class crawls back to the yoke once again. Another section, hungry and bleeding, remains in the fighting line, and conflicts take place between those who wish to continue the fight and those who want to give it up. Dissensions arise also in the camp of the attacking bourgeoisie. Divisions in the ranks of the proletariat help the bourgeoisie, and dissensions among the bourgeoisie strengthen the proletariat. Thus briefly has been the few years of the world revolution. Jack London, in his novel, *The Iron Heel*, written before the war, has displayed a thousand times profounder insight into the course of the world revolution

than all the theoreticians of the Second International put together. The great revolutionary novelist foreshadowed the Proletariat's march to liberty during the next three hundred years. He describes three centuries, not of peaceful, slumbering evolution into the state of Socialism, but of severe struggles with alternating victory and defeat. Broken up into an exploited mass on the one hand, and into aristocracy of labour and skilled murderers on the other, the wave of proletarian upheaval now and again meets with defeat, and is drowned in its own blood under the iron heel of world capitalism.

This has been the experience that fell to the lot of the Russian proletarians in the Ukraine and Siberia. The workers of Finland, Hungary and Germany, too, have learnt this lesson. But the last five years have shown the working-class capable of emerging from under the iron heel, from under the reign of cruel oppression and gallows to new fights and new ways of resistance. In Hungary, the protest of the working-class against the Horthy tyranny found its expression in voting for the Social Democrats, although it was on the backs of the latter that Horthy climbed to power. In Finland the protest against the reaction matured to such an extent that it now fights directly under the Communist banner. In Russia the working class valiantly maintained its ground, standing to-day erect and formidable as the fortress of the world's proletariat. The older generation of Russian workers are tired and worn: they are counting their wounds and asking themselves how long the struggle will yet have to be endured. They look westward with deep misgivings and ask, "When will aid arrive?" But a younger generation is already upon the scene and declaring, "Come what may, we will hold the positions!" Five years is an eternity to those who have to fight while starving and starve while fighting, yet it is only an instant in the long history of the greatest revolution the world is witnessing. The dethroning of the golden calf will of necessity be a long process, not only because the enemy is strong and relentless, but also because the working class is only beginning to assimilate the idea and the need for vanquishing the enemy. Take the history of the Italian working class in 1920: the bourgeoisie were in a state of collapse; the working class in a position to seize the factories. The factories were seized, but they were returned because the reformist leaders promised to advance the workers' cause through conciliation and without fighting. A part of the working class broke away from the Communist International to avoid breaking with its reformist leaders. Two years have elapsed. The positions abandoned by the working class were seized by the enemy, who organised the Fascisti and ushered in the very civil war which the working class had sought to avoid. Now it is not the working class but the bourgeoisie who are armed. The victims who fall are of the working class.

In the Italian villages and townships, where neither the agricultural nor the industrial workers were able to defend themselves, they looked wistfully around as though hoping to be saved by a miracle. The reformists say to them: "Yes, you can be saved by co-operating with the bourgeoisists: vote for us and send us to represent you in the Government, and we will force the bourgeoisie to disarm the Fascisti troops. The reformists who two years ago were a handful, now gather around them nearly half of the orga-

nised workers of Italy, anxious to surrender to the capitalists, because they are scared by the fighting which besets them on all sides. But the proletariat of the larger cities, feeling sufficiently strong to fight, are breaking with the moderates, and are coming back to the ranks of the Communist International. Two years—but a brief instant in the history of mankind and the working class—yet every day is replete with momentous lessons. Two years—730 days—were necessary in order that 50,000 Italian proletarians might learn the A.B.C. of Communism, not by pamphlets, but by the blows of the enemy.

At the same time the French Party, having joined the Communist International on the retirement of the avowed reformists, cannot be said, even now, to be entirely free from the reformist spirit. While these lines are written we do not know as yet how many splits and inner struggles the French Party will have to go through before it becomes, even spiritually, fit for the fight against the bourgeoisie.

In Germany, after forty years of cheering the class-conscious social democracy—after forty years of proletarian pilgrimage from all countries to the congress of the German Social Democrats—they were still only learning the A.B.C. of the class struggle when framing the resolutions of the German Social Democratic Party. Then the war broke out, and with it the collapse of the old International, and the great crash of the German Social Democrats, who had their place at the head of the International Proletariat. For four years the German Social Democrats dragged the workers behind the chariot of the bourgeoisie from one battlefield to another, sparing no whitewash, even for the most outrageous deeds of German imperialism. Then suddenly they turned pacifist, democratic and republican; anything that one could wish for. And there followed another four years of betrayal in the name of pacifism, socialism, republicanism, democratism, and all the other "isms." Yet one "ism" they failed to mention—capitalism—in whose interest they have been labouring all along. Even now they have the presumption to say to the workers, "Before you slay the fatted calf of capitalism, you should allow her to get fatter under the good care of capitalism." Even to-day the Social Democratic Party is the strongest party of the proletariat in Germany. This may cause disappointment and uneasiness, but it is nevertheless a fact to which one attitude or another has to be taken. One might follow Levi, the betrayer of the proletariat, in his march from the grave of Rosa Luxemburg to the *Vorwärts*, or one might take up arms against the traitors and be defeated, as happened to the German Communist Party in March, 1921. One may also fight against this infamous fact day by day by educating the proletariat, mobilising the proletarian ranks. Preliminary spade work must be done before the word of command, "Forward to the assault," is given to the troops. When the supreme moment arrives the Social democratic banner can be hauled down and torn to shreds.

The short history of the Communist International, of this vanguard of the future great army of the world revolution, is nothing else but the history of the crushing of social democratic illusions, of the crystallisation of Communist knowledge and the application of this knowledge by the growing proletarian masses to their struggle. From the point of view of historic organisation, the Communist

International might appear as a child when compared with the Social Democratic Parties. Yet the short history of the Comintern is so instructive that an understanding of its history tells a secret of the victory to some. The Comintern was born in the second year of the struggle of Soviet Russia. It took fifty years of socialism, two years of a heroic struggle unprecedented in the whole history of mankind, to gather tens of thousands of workers of the world, outside of Russia to the banner of Communism.

At the time of the opening of the First Congress of the Communist International, the Soviet Republic was engaged in a life and death struggle. In Western Europe and America we had only a few scores of thousands of adherents. When I got the manifesto of the First Congress of the Comintern, in my cell at the Moabiter prison in Germany, I recollected the words of Michael Beer in his *History of English Socialism*: "Revolutions are only programmes written in blood for future generations." There were many indeed who saw in this manifesto the exhaustion of the Russian revolution before succumbing in the uneven fight against world capitalism. We who were at that time compulsorily absent from the battle front could only wish that the struggle might go on at all costs. Under those circumstances the work of the first Congress was like the cry of a new-born babe announcing to the world the fact of its arrival. The work of the First Congress tore away the democratic mask from the capitalist world, along with the social-patriotic and pacifist masks of the Social Democrats; it lit a torch for the final battle, sending forth its mighty clarion call to the workers of all countries, "Get rid of your bondage!"

Another year of bitter struggle has passed. Soviet Russia has not only chased the White Guards from her borders and compelled the Entente to open peace negotiations; Russia now assumes a counter-offensive. The Second Congress took place at the time when the Red Army was marching upon Warsaw. In the great Congress Hall the Communist International was discussing the principles of preparing for the struggle; of winning the adherence of the trade unions and the working masses that are associated with them; of utilising Parliament for the purpose of educating these working masses; of all the ways and means of organising the workers into a strong Communist Party; of attracting the aid of the oppressed revolutionary peasant-workers in the proletarian fight for liberty against world capitalism. While these discussions and debates were going on, groups of comrades would stand in the lobbies of the Congress Hall watching the large map of the Western front of the Soviet's struggle, where a red line marked the daily progress of the Red Army towards the West. Now and then one of these comrades would ask if this sort of spade work was necessary. Would it not be possible, even without extensive artillery preparation, to storm the enemy trenches? Although the Red Army was beaten before Warsaw (just because of the lack of artillery preparation), the lines of policy of the Communist International were not mapped out with sufficient clearness. Some of the comrades, oppressed by the defeat, hung their heads when they saw how this defeat was followed by the advance of the enemy in all countries, by ever-increasing unemployment, which weakens the proletariat. They asked themselves whether it would not be advisable to abandon the fight and seek cover until more propitious times

for resuming the struggle of the working class. Other comrades were saying history must be forced into a more rapid course. The days of March, 1921, were days of momentous lessons to the International proletariat. They warned the Communists of two dangers—the danger of sinking in the mire of social democracy, of obliterating our aims and concealing our banners, and thus losing our powers of winning recruits; and, on the other hand, the danger of defeat and annihilation of the advanced ranks before they had time to win the support, or at least the sympathy, of the majority of the proletariat.

The Third Congress of the Third International had to maintain its line or policy in a struggle with the right and with the left. It had to resist the compromising tendencies of the Levi-Dauming group, which in practice amounted to nothing else but the tendency to unite with the Social Democrats. At the same time it had to tell its best elements, those most eager to fight, that it would be harmful to engage in decisive struggles before a majority of the proletariat had been won. The decisions of the Third Congress were the cause of great rejoicings amongst our enemies. They shouted with great satisfaction to themselves, "This is the end of the Communist International!" And loudest amongst those shouters were the soft-boiled eggs of the Two-and-a-half International, who already imagined themselves the unifiers of the whole proletariat under the banner of the miscellaneous show of Leipzig.

Another year passed. The correctness of our line of policy towards the Right was demonstrated with mathematical precision. When we were denouncing the reformists who were trying to remain in the Communist International, that they were doing it in order to destroy the International from the inside, when we put the 21 conditions in order to compel them to show their colours, there was a great outcry by Turati and Modigliani, by Hilferding, Christien, Longuet, Blum, McDonald, Snowden, etc., that Moscow was issuing "Ukazés," that opposition and free thought were being suppressed, without which socialism was impossible. And now the venerable D'Aragona declares and swears, by his patriarchal beard, that he wished to stay in the Communist International *merely to hold the Italian working class back from the revolution!* "My reformists are not like the others," was the plea of Serrati when we asked him to break with the reformists. To-day he *has been compelled* to break with them. In Germany the Crispiens and Hilfoerdings have not only renounced the struggle for the dictatorship, but have even gone back to Millerandism, to coalition with the bourgeoisie. The tame Longuet party in France feeds from the hand of Vandervelde, of the opportunistic Belgian Labour Party, and is a zealous advocate of the union of the Second and the Two-and-a-half Internationals. The Two-and-a-half International has capitulated to the Second International. At the Unity Congress of the strongest party in the Second International and the Two-and-a-half International (at the Congress of Nuernberg) Levi took his seat below Scheideman. Our friend Smeral was arguing at the inaugural Congress of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party, in the spring of last year, that the Centrists were merely slow-developing future Communists; history has proven the contrary, that they are very quick developing social democrats. The struggle in our ranks against the Right has already brought

definite results; an immovable barrier has been placed against the parties of proletarian betrayal; to the Left, the lessons of the March days were fruitful, and the German Party has paid a heavy price for their lesson. These experiences have given the German Communist Party strength and accelerated its growth. If the Italian Communist Party appears to fail to understand fully these lessons, it will be the opportunity of the Communist International at this Congress to educate the Italian and other young parties in this respect. This will be achieved through a fundamental thrashing out of the questions dealing with the United Front. The Third Congress has accepted the theses on the tactics of the United Front wherein it laid down the rule that the road to the mobilisation of the working masses lies in the struggle for their immediate interests. If this is true, and it doubtlessly is true, then the question of the United Front is merely a question of the easiest way to mobilise the masses; whether by fighting independently for their vital necessities, without attempting to demonstrate to them clearly that the social democrats do not wish to fight; or whether it would not be ten times better if we force the social democratic parties, by a persistent Press campaign, to declare frankly and openly to their members whether they intended to fight against the reaction and in defence of the standard of living or not. The best proof of the correctness of these tactics is the fear which seized the gentlemen of the Second International at the prospect of a round-table conference. It must be the task of this Congress to deal exhaustively with the whole of the experiences of the past year, and to study the question of the United Front in its bearings upon the International economic and political situation. If the Congress will discuss, in detail, these fundamental questions, the road to victory will be clearly and completely open to us. To outline this in its general, i.e., theoretical, form, is the purpose for drawing up a programme of the Communist International. We know not whether this Congress will fully accomplish this task. It is a very difficult one, because it requires a testing of practical lines for the Communist parties on the basis of their special circumstances, and at the same time an adaptation to the development of the entire world. The development of the world revolution, however, takes different forms in the various countries in view of the different structures of the respective industrial countries. The world revolution offers a simple picture of streams rushing in the same direction only when the waters are swollen and are pressing forward in broad currents of revolutionary struggle. This was what happened until the close of 1920: afterwards the world revolution entered into a new preparatory, organising phase. It draws together thousands of rivulets whose direction is not quite obvious at a first glance. Therein lies the difficulty of constructing a programme, a difficulty which is capable of solution, because, after all, the small rivulets inevitably flow in one direction. It requires penetrative spiritual activity, a comparing of notes, a theoretical process of hewing and adapting, but previously the practice of the Communist parties upon this question took the crudest forms. If the Congress frames the principal theses on the construction of the programme, it will have achieved a great work for the struggles that are yet to come. The essence of this work, from whatever point of view, amounts to one thing: the creating

of proletarian Communist Parties for the purpose of leading the struggle of the working masses, a struggle which is already acute and daily becomes more so.

At the First Congress, the Communist International was a power of the masses only in one country—in Russia. In all other countries it was just a spiritual direction. At the Second Congress we saw the incoming streams of big but yet undefined masses. While we welcomed them gladly, we had to erect sluices to run off the reformist elements who were streaming in along with the masses that came to support us. The twenty-one conditions were the barriers to reformism. In the interval between the Second and Third Congresses, the reformists assured an openly hostile position against us. Semi-reformist elements, who managed to creep into our midst in spite of all barriers, have either retired from our ranks or were expelled by us. The period between the Third and Fourth Congresses is marked by the creation of a number of proletarian Communist Parties and their partial probation. Besides Russian, we now have mass parties in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Norway, and we will have one in Italy. In all these countries, the political line of the Communist International is just evolving. It must be the task of this Congress to accelerate their process of consolidation, to increase their recruiting power and the recruiting power of the entire International. The union of the Second and the Two-and-a-half Internationals will create a wide recruiting ground for the Communist International. Since we are preparing a fighting programme for the future, this recruiting power will be even more increased. The Fourth Congress will perform an arduous work, which will be accomplished with a consciousness of growing strength, of assurance of being on the right track, of confidence that we are doing work of the greatest significance for the future decisive struggle.

Soviet Russia is now celebrating the fifth year of its existence, and every one of us understand this much: Soviet Russia exists, and will continue to exist, because it was preceded by a long history of struggle and is backed by a strong and great Communist Party. In so far as we take further steps at the Fourth Congress towards the creation of strong Communist parties in other countries, so we shall thereby lay down the foundations for the future Soviet Republics of Western Europe.

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The Re-birth of the French Communist Party

By E. Verney

[In the November COMMUNIST REVIEW we gave a comprehensive survey of the inner struggles of the French Communist Party. In the following article our contributor shows how the problems were discussed at the Party Conference in Paris and then taken to the International Congress in Moscow.—ED.]

THE CENTRE-LEFT RESOLUTIONS.

CO-OPERATION between Centre and Left having resulted in the adoption by the Seine Federation of the projects for revision of the Party organisation and control of the Press, the Left was encouraged to continue the work of making triumph the theses and recommendations of the Comintern concerning the French Party. Consequently, the Comité Directeur presented the Party with certain resolutions for the Paris Conference on general policy and the united front. These were christened the Frossard-Souvarine resolutions, but in point of fact, were a good deal more Souvarine than Frossard.

The faction, Dondicol-Renoult (an offspring of the Centre, approaching sometimes to the Right and sometimes to the Extreme Left), also presented resolutions on general policy and the united front, which, however, contained no constructive solution of the Party crisis, and were charged with polemics against the Left. There was also a general resolution on the trade union question signed by all the tendencies on the Comité Directeur. The Right deposited a resolution in the name of Verfeuil, supposed to be on general policy, but really consisting in attacks against the Left, and the International. Besides these resolutions before the Party, there were also two independent "Centre" motions signed by Ch. Rappoport and Renaud Jean. It is admitted that both these comrades are good Communists, Rappoport being a brilliant Marxist scholar, and R. Jean (who is much more to the Right) a capable agriculturalist. But, unfortunately, they have a curious habit of forming their own personal theses, projects, and arguments on policy which, although in most cases not basically differing from those of the International, tend to show that these comrades are still struggling in the myopic quagmire of their own individualistic and indefinite conceptions.

Here we will only examine the Frossard-Souvarine resolutions, and that on trade union policy, these having the support of the majority of the Party.

The Centre-Left resolution on general policy included a modified résumé of the Comintern's criticism of the French crisis. The resolution defined the origin of this crisis in the Social-Democratic spirit inherited from the old Socialist Party*, and to the lack of proper application of the theses of the Second Comintern Congress.

* To comrades reading French, I can recommend as worth perusal a brilliant article by Vaillant-Couturier appearing in the first December number of the bi-monthly proletcult review, *Clarté*, on the origin of the French crisis. He traces the component factors of French Socialism from Babeuf and Jaurès to Raymond Lefèbvre.

It recognised the necessity for strict adherence to the 21 conditions and condemned the pseudo-federalist, anarcho-syndicalist and pacifist-anti-militarist conceptions that had been permitted to penetrate and endanger the Party. The resolution also indicated the necessity for the creation of a "Præsidium," or Political Bureau, for the efficient direction of Party activities, and called for the moulding of the Party into a specifically working-class organisation. The Party was to be simply the French section of an International Communist Party. It is important to note that some of the Centre, including Paul Louis, signed this resolution with reservations.

The Frossard-Souvarine resolution on the united front traced the evolution of the class struggle in Europe from the revolutionary effervescence of 1919 to the political reaction of 1920-21, the latter resulting from the treason of the Social-Democrats and the apathy of the working class. The plethora of capitalist reaction, culminating in the White Terrors in Poland, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia and the U.S.A., and the Fascist Terror in Italy, was accompanied by corresponding economic defeats of the workers. Economic reaction followed political reaction. Owing to the post-war period of industrial depression the bourgeoisie attacked the 8-hours' day and the general wage standards of the workers. The toiling masses divided and betrayed by the fakirs of the Second International, were sceptical and discouraged.

The sole means of regaining the confidence of the workers being by unity of interest and action, the Communist International launched the watchword of the united front. The Communists, the advance-guard of the struggling masses, *had to take the initiative* by bringing this into being. The resolution correctly indicated that the reasons for the necessity of the united front in all countries were equally applicable in France, and that the difficulties should be conquered and not feared.

The French opposition to the united front being based on a miscomprehension of the most obvious aims of this policy, the resolution explained that the united front did not mean unity with the bourgeois parties, but a worker's government. One of the immediate tasks of the Party was to work for the reconstruction of trade union unity.

The Centre, together with the Dondicol-Renoult group, had previously exploited the revolutionary syndicalists against the Left by prejudicing them against the united front policy. This was very simple, especially in view of the Unitary C.G.T. having recently broken away from the reformist unions. Thus the support of the above resolution by the Centre constituted an unexpected volte-face—and certainly a turn for the better.

The resolution on the syndicalist movement confirmed and enlarged on the Marseilles resolution, pointing out the need for and methods of obtaining combined action between the Party and the unions and demonstrating how the anarchists and "pure" syndicalists had almost been allowed to wreck the C.G.T.U. The need for Communist penetration (*noyautage*) in the revolutionary unions, and even the formation of nuclei in the reformist unions when necessary was clearly emphasized.

The resolution also supported the C.G.T.U. propaganda for

factory and workers' councils, and accepted the programme of the R.I.L.U as the basis for the Party's trade union activities.

BACKSLIDING OF THE CENTRE.

Optimistic students of the French Party really thought that the collaboration of the Centre with the Left was sincere, and not mere opportunism. Even most of the Left were themselves deceived into thinking so. However, those who were sceptical at the support given by Frossard and his Centre satellites to such Left-inspired resolutions as cited above were soon justified.

Not long after the submission of the joint resolutions to the Party, the Centre issued a declaration signed by Cachin, Frossard, etc., stating that the signatories had adhered to the resolutions in considering them "the essential lines of a basis for discussion." The declaration, although disclosing no evident *raison d'être*, was interwoven with malignant insinuations against the Left, and also condemned the classification of the party into tendencies. It is significant that the main tune of the Dondical-Renoult resolution on general policy had also hovered round this objection. As this classification was based on the Executive's message to the Paris Congress, the objection in the declaration once again demonstrated the conflict of views between the Centre and the Comintern.

Following the so-called Centre-Left unity, the very fact of this declaration on the eve of the Party Congress tended to spread confusion and uneasiness in the ranks, and disclosed how the Centre had only adhered to the Frossard-Souvarine resolutions by way of lip service in order to win the support of the majority of the Party. The very issuing of the declaration (which amounted to a "Centre" resolution on general policy) proved their hypocrisy in complaining about being classified into factions.

Simultaneously with this coup, Marcel Cachin, one of the principal signatories of the Frossard-Souvarine resolutions, published in the "Bulletin de la Presse Communiste" (an informatory organ circulated among the provincial party publications) an article attacking these resolutions. At the same time Paul Louis attacked an original Left resolution (drafted by Rosmer), which had served as the basis of the resolution already voted unanimously by the Comité Directeur. The fact that the Left had accepted the terms of the Frossard-Souvarine resolution was because they considered it as simply a modified form of their own project. Therefore, Paul Louis's violent attack against the original Left resolution on the ground of its "threatening Syndicalist autonomy," proved that he was also in opposition to the C.D. resolution, there being scarcely any difference between the two. It also shows how the Centre was prejudicing the Revolutionary Syndicalists against the Left and the International, by playing to their "autonomy" prejudices.

A further example of the mischief caused by the inopportune "Declaration" of the Centre was that the Dondical-Renoult group was encouraged to issue a counter-declaration, violently attacking the Left and the United Front policy, supporting those comrades of the Centre who had signed the Frossard-Souvarine resolutions, with reservations, and blackguarding Frossard in general for having even condescended to formulate the resolutions in conjunction with the Left.

The Left, in reply to the treacherous declaration of the Frossardites categorically insisted that the Centre, having adhered to

the Frossard-Souvarine resolutions, and afterwards made reservations, should declare definitely before the Party, whether they intended to respect their signature by adhering to the terms of the resolutions, or only meant to retain the "essential lines."

Another Centre manoeuvre was to refer the case Verfeuil before the Party Congress, in spite of his exclusion from the Party by an overwhelming majority of the Seine Federal Congress. The Comintern Executive endorsed the exclusion, thus condemning the policy of the Centre-Right wire-pullers.

We may conclude from the facts cited above, that the policy of the Centre was to secure the adoption of the Left policy (i.e., that of the Executive), in order to retain a good name in the eyes of the Comintern and the party rank and file, and to obtain credit for solving the party crises. At the same time, the Centre did all it could to discredit the individual comrades of the Left who were really responsible for the Frossard-Souvarine resolutions, and had acted as the true apostles of the International within the Party. One can understand the audacity of such machiavellianism when one realises that the Centre was more than any other fraction responsible for the Party's deplorable condition.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE—AND AFTER.

The Paris Conference, which was to have solved the party crisis, was a complete fiasco, discord, confusion and contradiction being the outstanding features. It was more a brawl than a Communist Congress, and the reformist and bourgeois press raised a unanimous howl of contempt, ridicule and satire which was not without logical foundation. The Centre, following up their previous tactics, brought about the fore-planned rupture with the Left, and almost landed the Party into a direct conflict with the International.

The Centre and Right brought about this situation in order to win the votes of the Congress, and score a victory over the Left. From the very commencement they engaged on all kinds of manoeuvres and subterfuges, using the worst methods of vulgar demagoguery and malicious accusations in order to calumniate and discredit Souvarine and his group of comrades of the Left who had fought the International's fight in France since Kienthal.

The Congress was so badly organised by the centre manipulators that there was no method in the discussions or order in the work. It was only after the heckling of the Left that Agenda and Resolutions Committees were appointed. The Centre had already prepared to sabotage the Left, by nominating all the chairmen from their own faction.

Although the Centre had supported the Frossard-Souvarine Resolutions when the question of the partition of Party posts arose there was immediate disagreement. In view of the Centre's reservations and particularly Paul Louis' and Cachin's attacks on those resolutions, the Left naturally concluded that even if carried by the Centre, in order to ensure the application of the Policy of the Left and of the International, guarantees were necessary. The only feasible guarantee was for the Left to hold the majority of the seven votes on the Political Bureau. The Left also obviously could not agree to let Cachin and Paul Louis retain prominent positions on *l'Humanité* and the Party Press.

As no agreement could be reached on those lines, the representatives of the Comintern Executive, Comrades Humbert-Droz

and Manouilsky undertook to act as arbitrators between the Centre and Left, but without success.

The delegation proposed that Cachin be member of the Comité-Directeur, and that the post of Director of *l'Humanité* be abolished, the paper to come under the direct control of the Political Bureau. This the Left accepted, but the Centre rejected. The delegation then addressed a second sentence of arbitration yet more conciliatory, by which the proportion of the two factions on the C.D. would be 12 : 12 and on the Political Bureau 3 : 3, with a dual direction of *l'Humanité*—Cachin-Rosmer, and Frossard as Secretary. This also was accepted by the Left and refused by the Centre. Ker denounced these pourparlers before the Congress as intrigues on the part of the Left. This was strange, as Ker himself had sought the arbitration of the Executive Delegation. Ker also lamented loudly and lachrimosely before the Conference over the Left attacks on the sacrosanct Cachin, putting them down to mere "personal" spite against a valiant victim of Bourgeois persecution, in fact, the keynote of the whole of the Centre's onslaughts on the Left during the Conference was tuned to the song about the "personal" attacks on Cachin and other of the politicians. The Left replied by disclosing to the Conference the true nature of the pourparlers, and explaining how, in spite of all efforts of conciliation on the part of the Left and the Delegation, the Centre had continued to lead for a rupture.

Souvarine submitted to the Congress vote, the arbitration proposed by the delegation and accepted by the Left (i.e., parity on the Party Direction and dual control of the press with Frossard as Secretary).

By the aid of astute political manoeuvring and with the support of the votes of the Right, the Centre managed to defeat the resolution by a bare 150 votes. To avoid a rupture with the Left, and therefore the International, Manouilsky made a final attempt at reconciliation. Vaillant-Couturier read a letter from him requesting the Left even to accept the former Centre conditions, viz.: Parity on the C.D. Majority Centre on the Political Bureau, and *l'Humanité*, and Secretariat also under Centre control. This supreme concession was accorded by the Left, but Cachin, on behalf of his faction, announced that the Centre alone would take over the direction of the Party awaiting the final decision of the Fourth World Congress. The Centre carried this motion by a meagre majority of 180 votes. Thus the rupture came about: All tendencies agreed, however, to abide by the decisions of the Fourth Comintern Congress.

The voting of the Frossard-Souvarine Resolutions and the exclusion of Verfeuil Mayoux, H. Sellier, etc., by the Congress at least meant the triumph of the Left Policy in spite of the fact that it was the Centre who had carried off the laurels. The Left had insisted that the policies outlined in these resolutions be carried out in practice, and the action in the Unions efficiently taken up. The Centre could not forgive the Left for this, and that is why they excluded them from the Comité Directeur and laid their hands on *l'Humanité*, and the Party Press and organisation.

In order to influence the sentiment of the Congress against the Left, and hasten a pretext for rupture, Frossard had meanly ex-

ploited a reference to Jaurès in the conflicts Commission as being a desire of the Left to exclude Jaurès.

We thus have the ridiculous position of the Left being deprived of a voice in the direction of a Party whose Congress had adopted the Left Resolutions. Manouilsky realising that the Centre's rejection of their arbitration, followed by a rupture with the Left foreshadowed a break with the International, addressed the following letter to the Party :

TO THE FRENCH PARTY.

"The Delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at Paris in the presence of the 'fait accompli' of the Constitution of a Comité Directeur by the Centre faction alone, which only obtained 150 votes majority (1,608 votes against, 1,516 for the Left, and 814 abstentions) which further aggravates the crisis, declares :

"On several occasions, in conformity with the instructions of the Executive, the delegation has made attempts at conciliation between the two factions. On the eve of the Congress it encountered the resistance of the Centre which continually presented new conditions in seeing that the Delegation of the Executive accepted them.

"All the efforts of the delegation had been exerted to find before the Party Congress a proper solution satisfactory to the Party, to spare it the painful spectacle presented by the Congress, and to permit it to solve the crisis without the intervention of the world Congress. At the last moment, after having affirmed that the arbitration of the Executive had been rejected by a small majority, the delegation which had kept to the outskirts of the Conference, attempted a final effort by requesting the Left to accept the conditions of the Centre so as to avoid the menace of a scission. The Left accepted this proposition which the Centre had caused to fail.

"Before the whole Party, the delegation of the Executive and the representatives of the brother parties are unanimous in affirming that all the responsibility for the situation created falls on the Centre faction. It is this impartial testimony that the delegation from the Executive will bring before the Fourth World Congress, and that it considers as its duty immediately to acquaint the Party.

For the Delegation of the Executive,

D. MANOUILSKY.

PARIS, 21 Octobre, 1922.

Members of the Left, such as A. Dunois, General Secretary of *l'Humanité*, Souvarine, Treint, Tommasi, Marcel Martinet, and many others, who held journalistic or organising positions in the Party, feeling themselves unable to collaborate with these comrades of the Centre who had brought about the rupture with the Executive, and therefore the Russian Revolution decided to resign their posts. Pierre Monatte, the syndicalist leader, and other non-party Communists in the syndicalist movement also resigned their posts on *l'Humanité* in solidarity with the Left.

With the aid of the whole Party Press which it now controlled, the new Centrist Comité-Directeur continued its campaign against the Left, and declared that the resignations of the latter were sabotage. As a matter of fact those of the Left members who

had indispensable technical positions on *l'Humanité* offered voluntarily to remain at their posts until such time as they should be replaced. But Cachin refused to publish the letter containing this offer, and would not even insert an appeal for financial aid in favour of the families of the resigned comrades.

The Centre had also filched from the Left the "Bulletin Communiste," which from the very first had secured the adhesion of the Party to the International. Boris Souvarine was replaced by the bourgeois Paul Louis, contributor to the anti-Bolshevik periodical *Revue de l'Enseignement primaire*, and to many radical and other bourgeois journals.

But the Left was not vanquished; although its voice was stifled in the Press, it had a strong backing in the Party. It must be remembered that the Centre appropriated the Party Direction by a negligible majority of votes. The Left also had the moral support of the Delegates from the Executive, and Comrades Dahlem, of the German Party, our own delegate, Tom Bell, and other foreign representatives, all confirmed the full agreement between the policy of the Left and that of the Comintern. The best Syndicalist elements also supported the Left. In spite of desperate Centre opposition, the Left succeeded in producing a final issue of the *Bulletin Communiste*, renamed the *Bulletin Communiste International*, and which contained the true history of the Congress and the party crisis. Rejection of the Executive arbitration showed the Centre still to be imbued with the spirit of Second International "autonomy," instead of Comintern discipline, and therefore the Left considered it necessary to continue the publication of a really Communist organ supporting the unadulterated policy of the Comintern. They consequently inaugurated *Les Cahiers Communistes*, to pursue the Left propaganda.

THE CRISES BEFORE THE MOSCOW CONGRESS.

Following the decisions of the Paris Congress, all the tendencies sent delegates to Moscow. The Left was represented by Souvarine and Rosmer, the Centre by Cachin and six others. The Dondical-Renoult faction had four delegates, and Renaud Jean represented himself. (It is strange that Rappoport, who also constitutes a faction, did not go to Moscow to represent himself!)

As most readers will probably have read Zinoviev's report, which included a résumé of the French crisis, it is not necessary to enlarge on same here.* Zinoviev criticised the attitude of the Party towards the United Front, and pointed out how the latter policy is dictated by events. He also criticised the Party's action in connection with the Havre strikes in having supported the movement for a general strike at a time when the Party was totally unprepared for such an undertaking. Zinoviev remarked that it had been a great mistake of the Third World Congress to have so little examined and decided on the French question. He pointed out that in spite of the decision of the Paris Congress to adhere to the 21 conditions, *l'Humanité* was still not a really Communist paper.

The resolution adopting Zinoviev's report included paragraphs confirming the right of the Executive, according to the Article 9, to exclude individuals or groups between two World Congresses. This was accepted by all the factions, including Duret, on behalf

* This appeared in the Jan.-Feb. number of *The Communist Review*.

of the Dondical-Renoult group, to whom the Article 9 had been one of the main bones of contention.

Committees were formed to deal with all the controversial questions before the Conference, and Trotzky and Lenin were among those nominated on the committee for the French question.

Trotzky, in reporting the work and decision of the committee, gave a detailed survey of all the aspects of the crisis from its origin. He indicated the grave defects of the Party's policy in the trade unions. He brought Frossard severely to book for having disclosed sentiments oscillating between duty to the Comintern and to the Party. He reiterated how the Party's failure to realise that it was simply part and parcel of the Comintern, and the Executive nothing more than its centralised directive machinery was one of the chief causes of the crisis. The resolution of the Commission presented by Trotzky condemned the faults of the Centre. Then after having equally censured the faults of the Renoult group, it affirmed that the Left, in spite of minor errors, had well defended the policy of the International. Trotzky condemned the action of the Centre at the Paris Congress in having rejected the Executive's arbitration, and, having charged the Left with being responsible. Regarding the Jaurès incident, he declared: "The memory of Jaurès is the inheritance of all oppressed peoples and classes, and not of that of the dissidents. Jaurès was the greatest spirit within the Second International. We are inspired only by his faith and revolutionary ardour, and not his faults." The resolution proposed a proportional distribution of the Party posts. It underlined the necessity of exterminating freemasonry within the Party and the withdrawal of Party members from the *Ligue des Droits de l'homme*. Nine-tenths of the Communist seats in Parliament and the municipalities, as well as on the directive organisations of the Party should be assigned to workers in the factories.

All the factions of the Party present at the Congress accepted the resolution unconditionally, except Renaud Jean, who made reservations. This decision of all elements of the Party to put an end to the internal dissensions, foreshadowed the adoption by the Party National Council in January of the Congress resolutions, which would thus finally liquidate the crisis.

Another welcome sign was that the French Delegates at the Congress adopted unanimously a Programme of Action (formulated by the Left) which would more than anything help in the building up of a strong and united proletarian Party.

However, as soon as the Fourth Congress decisions were made known to the Party, certain Centre elements, such as Soutif,* Administrative Secretary, commenced intriguing with a view to bringing about a rupture with the International, and laying their hands on the Party Headquarters and Press. Soutif and Co. almost succeeded in using the weak and ever-hesitating Frossard as their tool.

Meanwhile the two months' control of the Party by the Centre was valuable time wasted. No campaign for definite working-class action was undertaken by the Party Press, Frossard being content with writing letters to the Socialist Party for a United Front on the question of Amnesty for Marty and the other Class-War prisoners.

* Unless I am mistaken, this same Soutif denounced Trotsky to the Paris Police during the early days of the War—E.V.

After criticisms from the Left explaining that the United Front did not mean polemics between *l'Humanité* and the *Populaire*, the Party Direction at last started a campaign for the general application of the United Front policy in accordance with the resolutions of the Paris Congress.

When Cachin and the delegates to the Moscow Congress returned it became clear that the members of all factions who had seriously accepted the Executive decisions really meant to put them into operation. After the Left had confirmed their adhesion to the terms of the Comintern resolution, the Centre also did so, passing a resolution in the name of the Comité Directeur expressing loyalty to the International, and determination to bring to an end the Party crisis. Soutif, Paul Louis, and R. Tourly voted against, not forgiving the Executive for excluding them from the candidates for the new Comité Directeur. The C.D. also ordered the withdrawal of all Party members from the freemasonry, and the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme. The rank-and-file masses of the Party endorsed this order, but many lawyers, poets, journalists and various bourgeois elements effected by the resolution, raised a howl of protest, using their objection on this point as a cloak for their general disapproval of the Comintern decisions.

By now events were rapidly moving towards an automatic solution of the Party crisis. Paul Louis resigned from the staff of *l'Humanité*, and the Seine Federation excluded Soutif (at the Fourth Congress Lozovsky expressed surprise that Soutif had ever been tolerated in the Party) for his intrigues, and the Deputy, Nadi, for openly attacking the Executive decisions. The C.D. endorsed these exclusions. Amédée Dunois, the General Secretary of *l'Humanité*, and other Left members, having resumed their posts on the paper, a good start was made by sacking various bourgeois and Right wing journalists such as Victor Meric (contributor to *Le Merle Blanc*), G. Pioch, and R. Tourly. These gentry fumed with rage at the thought of losing their salaries. Associating themselves with Nadi and the incaltrant freemasons, and with Lafont and Ferdinand Faure, rigid opponents of the Comintern decisions, Meric and other of these sacked journalists issued a declaration resigning from the Party, and anathematising Moscow "dictatorship." The exposure of these bourgeois elements in their true colours proved once again the correct policy of the Left, who had long ago advocated their exclusion along with Fabre, Verfeuil, etc.

Following these events, Frossard, being able to hesitate no longer, resigned from his post as Secretary and from the Party membership. Declaring himself "free at last," he explained his action by the criticism of the Left, and their "personal revenge" in having banished his friends from *l'Humanité*. Referring to Vaillant-Couturier's remark that after the Fourth Congress everyone would have to decide *je peux* or *je ne peux pas*, Frossard declared *je ne peux pas*. Thus, although expressing his fidelity to the Russian Revolution, he ranged himself with the new dissidents. The latter are speaking of forming an "Independent Communist Party," but this would inevitably unite with the Fabre-Verfeuil "Socialist Unity" Federation, and eventually drift back to the Reformist Socialist Party and the Second International.

THE 4th CONGRESS

A SPECIAL REPORT ON THE RECENT WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN

BY J. T. MURPHY

IN the midst of unexampled enthusiasm on the part of the masses of Petrograd and Moscow the Fourth Congress of the Communist International began its work on the fifth anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. The Second and Third Congresses had been wonderfully popular, but the Fourth Congress was accompanied by scenes which surprised friend and foe.

The Narodin Dom of Petrograd was crowded. Our veteran comrade, Clara Zetkin speaks: "Comrades, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International I declare the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International open. The Congress is opened on the fifth anniversary of the greatest historic event of our time, on the day of the fifth anniversary of the decisive and victorious attack of the world proletarian revolution, which, through the Russian Revolution, inflicted the first defeat upon the international bourgeoisie. I declare the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International open."

Thus our work began.

Comrade Zinovief was then elected chairman of the Congress. The delegations nominated their members to the Presidium. The Presidium was elected and the machinery of the Congress prepared for the four weeks' hard work ahead. Then we passed from Red Petrograd to old Moscow and its Kremlin.

It is necessary in order to appraise the full significance and importance of this congress to determine first of all its place historically. The First Congress of the Communist International came forth from the flames of the Russian Revolution. The revolutionary wave throughout Europe was in the ascendant. Its organisational tasks were therefore elementary and simple. It was principally a rallying centre for the revolutionary forces of the working class movement of the world. Its rôle was declamatory; to scare the fearful, to trumpet the rallying cry of the revolution throughout the world, to draw together the new vanguard of the working class.

The Second Congress met some sixteen months later on the crest of the revolutionary wave, but with all the signs that the highest point had passed. A wonderful response to the calls of the First Congress had now to be assimilated. Old parties and new parties had rallied to the call. The fabric of the old international was in ruins. Even the so-called centre parties were affected, and threw up, as camouflage, the skeleton of another international. The bourgeoisie were rallying, and the old social democratic leaders were coming to their aid. It was a stupendous situation. This congress had to lay the foundations of the Communist International as an organisation, and to hammer out its policy, to guard itself from the Utopias of the "revolutionary left," to ensure itself as an instrument of revolution from the vagaries of reformism from the "right," and to pave the way to an International Mass Party of Revolution—the International Communist Party.

The succeeding twelve months revealed how thoroughly this work was tackled. It was a year of splits in the old parties and the rallying of new masses to the Communist International. It was a year wherein "leftism" received heavy defeats in the struggles of the masses in Europe, and wherein the Levism of the "right" received its mortal blow within the ranks of the International. The Third Congress met with large mass parties affiliated to our International, with another year's revolutionary experience in Europe and a deep depression looming close ahead. The fight with "leftism" was over. The period of splits in the old parties, which had been shaken to their foundations by the revolution, was for the moment at an end. The special problems of the Third Congress were problems of self-examination and the consolidation of the organisation, plus the great task of appraising the international situation correctly and indicating the means of action throughout the depression. The following months were to prove the testing-time of the International. An unprecedented period of economic depression had started throughout the world, and the capitalist class had begun its savage offensive. If the Communist International could survive this period and prove to have a policy commensurate with the objective demands of the slump, as well as one applicable to periods of revolutionary fervour, its future was assured.

The Fourth Congress met, only to reveal the International more powerful and influential than at any time since its birth. It had stood the test of a defensive struggle, and again began to take the measure of its experience in order to the more ably fulfil its historic rôle in the liberation war of the working class against capitalism.

The work of the Congress can be most conveniently divided into five divisions, as follows:—(1) Executive Committee's report surveying the experiences of the year and indicating the next steps to be taken. (2) Perspectives of the world revolution, five years of the Russian Revolution, the decline of capitalism, the capitalist offensive, the struggle against the Versailles Treaty, etc. (3) Tactical problems, work within the unions, the Red International of Labour Unions, the agrarian problems, the Oriental question, etc. (4) An examination of the parties of the International in action. (5) Progress towards the International Communist Party: (a) Organisational developments, (b) the programme of the International.

THE EXECUTIVE REPORT.

The organisational growth and work of the central organs of the International reveal the magnitude of the task of building an international party. The problem is not simply one of counting heads and proclaiming the figures of membership. Without a centralised international party acting in unison throughout all its organs the working class cannot hope to conquer. Numbers have flocked to the Communist International, but they have come trailing the democratic traditions of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trades Unions across the path of the internal progress of the Third International as it grows into a centralised party. Nevertheless, the leaders of the International have made it clear in word and deed that the central authority in the International of

revolution has no intention of operating simply as a recording instrument of the national parties.

The International now consists of more than fifty parties. Within the last fifteen months the Executive Committee has held thirty meetings. One hundred and forty-four questions have been discussed, ninety-seven being political questions and forty-seven organisational and administrative. The attendance at these meetings has totalled 1,032. Thirty-one commissions consisting of seven to nine members have dealt with special questions. In addition, the Presidium has met 75 times and discussed 735 questions. There have been two sessions of the enlarged Executive Committee wherein each party had double representation. Fifty-four delegates have been sent to various countries, and 129 commissions appointed according to the decisions of the Presidium and the Executive Committee. During the year, parties have been established in Japan, India, China, Turkey and Persia.

In addition, the Executive Committee has been working closely with the Red International of Labour Unions, the Young Communist International, the Co-operatives and the Women's Secretariat. So much for the organisational aspects of the work done.

The outstanding political events of the last fifteen months have provided severe tests from which we can say with confidence we have emerged successfully. The capitalist offensive has been severe; the diagnosis of the condition of capitalism throughout the world made at the Third Congress has proven correct, and we see no reason to depart from the conclusions arrived at in the Trotsky-Varga thesis on the world's economic crisis. Indeed, this condition of capitalism is likely to intensify the offensive for some time rather than to modify it. We can say more definitely than ever that we are now in the epoch of the decline of capitalism. Only Russia moves upward. All other countries are suffering the economic and social defections of a dying system.

No one can deny the advance of the Soviet Republic to the position of a great power in world politics. Contrary to all the predictions and desires of her enemies, month by month she has advanced. The introduction of what is known as the new economic policy marks an important stage in the development of the revolution. We are now able to measure the importance and significance of this policy. The problems of the proletariat in the countries where the workers have taken power are obviously different to the problems of that section of the International where power has yet to be achieved. It was one of the most important tasks of this congress to get to grips with this new economic policy and its rôle in the Soviet Republic and its place in the world revolution.

At the moment of its introduction there were many fears and misgivings in the ranks of the International, whilst our enemies proclaimed it to be the reversion to capitalism and the collapse of Communism. Twelve months' actual experience has proven its value and revealed it as a very necessary part of the revolutionary development of the Soviet Republic, not an accidental part, but a necessary part, applicable in varying degrees to practically all countries after the taking of power by the proletariat.

The all-important task of the workers outside Russia was still the conquest of power. The period under review, however, was a period of universal and continuous retreat, of great losses in the membership of the trades unions, of the alliance of the Social Demo-

crats with the bourgeoisie against the workers and the Communist International. In spite of these things, and although both the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats have used even the famine in Russia as a weapon against the Communist International, and had spoken with a single voice in favour of the Social Revolutionary terrorists, the Communist International had done more than hold its own. It had made marked progress in a time when its enemies were predicting its decline and disruption.

Several outstanding political events of the year vindicated and proclaimed the Communist International as the real leader of the working class of the world. In 1921, at the Halle Congress, Comrade Zinovief declared to the German Right Independents that, in view of their refusal to accept the 21 conditions of the Communist International, they had thereby gone over to the bourgeoisie and to Noske. This declaration created an uproar among the Right Independents. But 1922 had seen the fusion of the Right Independents with the party of Noske. A swift and dramatic fulfilment of the prediction of 1921.

A further analogous and classic test of the tactics of the Communist International has been seen in Italy, a country now in the limelight of international events by virtue of its recent counter-revolutionary history. At the time of the Leghorn split in the Italian Socialist Party we warned those who turned away from the Comintern that they had the choice of two roads—either they follow the Reformist International and find themselves in the camp of the bourgeoisie; or they will confess their error and return to the Communist International. After terrible experiences and bitter defeats, the recent Rome conference of the Italian Socialist Party fulfilled the prediction of the Comintern, confessed their error, declared the Comintern to be right, and asked to be re-admitted to our ranks.

A further important event again fulfilling the prediction of the Comintern is the amalgamation of the Second and the Two-and-a-half Internationals. It is important, because it unifies to a greater degree the activities of the counter-revolution. Comrade Zinovief declared that this amalgamation signifies a new period of White terror against the workers, the artillery preparation for a new onslaught of the international bourgeoisie. It paves the way to a new Gallifet, Noske, Mussolini, for new executioners of the working class. As if to immediately fulfil this prediction, the Hague Conference of "Peace" openly united with the bourgeoisie against the Communists, and the Ruhr crisis has found them in the camp of the imperialists denouncing the Communists.

In the midst of these dramatic events, the Communist International has attempted three important international campaigns, one in connection with famine relief in Russia, one in connection with the trial of the Social Revolutionaries, and the specially important campaign for the United Front. This campaign for the United Front did not proceed without hindrance from within the International. The experience has revealed how far we have rid ourselves of the practices of the Second International, how far the Communist International has progressed towards an International Communist Party.

It is fortunate for the International that this campaign did not involve the fate of hundreds of thousands of our comrades. Had the issue been more serious and the same inner resistance.

occurred in the ranks of the International, one hesitates to think of the magnitude of the tragedy which would have followed. Two parties, the French and the Italian, have hindered the International in action. To debate the issue at the hour of crisis when the call has gone forth from the central authority of the organisation is simply to turn the Communist International into a replica of the Second International. Debate as much as we like up to the time of decision, but when the decision is taken the International must act as one man. The French Party and the Italian one, along with the other parties of the International, have repeatedly affirmed their adherence to the 21 conditions of membership of the Communist International. Why, then, this failure to put them into practice?

A long list of details could be given from the debates arising out of the examination of the parties, but in the main practically all of them arise from the fact that the Communist International, as in the case of all other organisations, has not tumbled down from above fully equipped according to some fore-ordained plan, but is made up of the raw material history has offered with much of its past experience and habits of the pre-revolutionary epoch, hampering its efforts to carry through the tasks of the era of revolution. In the clarifying process through which the elements coming into the International of Revolution have to pass, it is of interest and significance to observe that it is only as they pass through the fire of revolutionary experience that they finally rid themselves of the illusions of the past. The best equipped section of the International is certainly the Russian Communist Party, and can we wonder when we remember the colossal problems they have had to tackle or perish, and the marvellous feats they have accomplished. It was not until the German party had passed through great trials and suffered terrible punishment that it ceased to be in a state of crisis and a first-class problem for the International. It is through struggle and defeats that the Italian comrades are solving their problems. It will be through struggle that the French and other parties will emerge to become real sections of the International Communist Party. At the same time, it must not be thought that their problems are purely French problems or that the Italian problems are purely Italian, and that the International must wait until every section has suffered defeats and bitter awakenings ere the Central Executive or the Congress of the International strives to bring them into line. Not by these means can we build an international party. It is through the daily effort to operate as an international party that we shall succeed in becoming such. Hence the importance of the survey of the year's experience of the campaign for the United Front and the critical examination of the parties in their attempted application of it.

One thing is quite certain now. There is no opposition to the policy of the United Front in the International, although there are very few parties that have not come under the fire of criticism for actions which either submerged the identity of the International or placed it in the position of the Utopians of the Left. The application of the policy is not simple. It is full of complexities. The fight against the policy is over, and there is no need to dwell on it. The problems of its application cannot be so hurriedly dismissed. The principal danger throughout is that of the submergence of the party on the plea of unity.

This danger arises from a lack of thorough understanding the rôle of the party, and it is one to which we have to give especial attention. The Communist Party of Great Britain came in for a little rough handling on this question by Comrade Radek, on behalf of the Executive Committee. The general election here has provided us with a fund of experience to test how far the party and its leaders have grasped the implications of the policy. Running throughout the party there appears to be the notion that the party exists only to become a Left Wing of the Labour Party, that we ought not even to criticise its leaders, that everything should be submerged to the idea of getting the Labour Party into power via Parliament. In addition, there are many pursuing a policy of hiding the fact that it is the Communist Party which is giving a lead; they object to programmes for the unions or other labour organisations going forth in the name of the party. I have heard since my return from the Congress the following expression repeated at meeting after meeting, "We are prepared to support any party standing for so and so," which seems to indicate an attitude which completely obscures the independent rôle of the Party. I have looked through the election material of members of the Party, and in some cases it would be difficult to discover from the printed matter issued that they were members of the Party. Had the Executive Committee of the Communist International received this election data before the Congress I am convinced that the criticism the Party received would have been much more stringent. We should neither aim at being a subterranean party existing to draft programmes on the quiet, or a Party which has for its goal the election of a Labour Government through a hush-hush policy. These things are not the application of the United Front policy, but political confusion.

It is to be regretted that our party is not the only one suffering from these defects. The debates on the Executive report and the capitalist offensive made that perfectly clear. Again and again, throughout the debates on the unions, the agrarian question, the problems of the parties, there was a recurrence to this central theme and its many manifestations. The essential conclusions of the debates were as follows:—(1) The opponents of the United Front Policy in the International were wrong in assuming they could carry out the tasks of the International without winning the majority of the masses to their support. (2) It was wrong for any of the supporters of the policy of the United Front Policy to assume that it meant that the Party had to lose its identity in the cry for unity. These parties were directed again to the theses issued by the Executive Committee, especially to paragraph 18, which reads:—

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International counts as a primary and fundamental condition, of general application to the Communist Parties of all countries, that every Communist Party which enters into any agreement with the parties of the Second or Two-and-a-half International should retain absolute independence for the expression of its views and the criticism of its opponents. . . . While supporting the watchword of the maximum unity of the working class organisations, Communists, in every practical action taken against the capitalist front, must not on any account refrain from putting forward their views, which are only the logical expression of the defence of the interests of the working class as a whole."

(3) In order to make clear the policy of the International to the masses, and to rally them to our side in the struggle, we have to utilise every means of approach, both the direct and the indirect appeal, to approach their present leaders at the same time as the masses with our proposals for the defence and prosecution of the interests of the workers both as a means to rally the masses and to expose clearly the character of their leadership. The demand for a Workers' Government is not a demand which should smother the Communist Parties, but a slogan to rally the masses against capitalism by means of which the Parties can reveal the true character of the conquest the workers have to achieve. (4) The demand for the Workers' Government is not of universal application. The Workers' Government is not an historical necessity, but an historical possibility. Nor is the Labour Government a pseudonym for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but a possible means leading to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (5) The form of a Workers' Government is not necessarily the Parliamentary form, nor does it follow that a Soviet Government is necessarily a true Workers' Government. We must not be confused by forms or labels. Our aim is the Dictatorship of the proletariat and the defeat of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Zinovief summed up the situation admirably as follows: "We will say to the workers: Do you want a Workers' Government, if so, well and good, we are ready to come to an agreement even with the social democrats, though we warn you that they are going to betray you. We favour a Workers' Government, but under the one condition that you be ready to fight with us against the bourgeoisie. If this is your wish, then we will take up the fight against the bourgeoisie; and if the Workers' Government results from the struggle, it will stand on sound principles, and will be a real beginning to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

There is nothing here which justifies reformist opportunism or the lowering of the Communist standard for the purpose of getting a seat in Parliament either as an unemployed candidate or a Labour Party candidate.

One other important phase of the struggle which has a direct bearing upon the condition of our Party, as well as upon many others in the International, is the struggle for the factory committees. At the moment they are in the forefront of the German movement. Comrade Zinovief stated in his report that no Communist Party could be a bona-fide Communist Party without it had succeeded in establishing nuclei in the factories, the mines, etc.; no movement could be considered a bona-fide workers' movement that did not succeed in establishing factory councils."

To this statement I took exception, not so much with regard to its assertion concerning the parties, but with regard to the creation of factory councils. With nearly 2,000,000 unemployed in Great Britain, among whom are the best elements upon whom we had to depend for the formation of factory councils, it was not to be expected that the factory committees would be the natural outlet for those who were left in the factories. The very attempt to form factory committees would lead to dismissal. Only when Germany was free from unemployment or the situation very revolutionary did we find factory councils playing an important rôle. Comrade Zinovief admitted the difficulties, but insisted that they must be overcome.

The need for making the factories and workshops the most important centres for our Communist activity and the importance of establishing Party nuclei within them cannot be over estimated. I am inclined to think, after several weeks' renewal of contact with the Party and an examination of its election records, along with the records of other party activities, that the party has lost contact in this direction. There are no party nuclei in the factories. We must ponder over this part of the report and ask ourselves whether this lack of contact with the factories has not something to do with the marked tendencies towards formal democracy in our ranks. The attitude of "We are prepared to support any party which stands for, etc. . . ." haunts me. We have got to have those party nuclei in the factories, and pave the way to the factory councils.

The same issues were raised in the debate on our work within the unions, and again let it be understood that it is not a question of formal organisation, but of the means to revolutionise the masses. Even when allowance is made for unemployment, there are far more workers in the factories, etc., than there are unemployed, or even than in the trades unions. This issue was raised as sharply in the Red International Congress as in the Comintern Congress. And here let me dispose of the notion which has been running through the minds of many party members in this country as in others—that there is any intention or ever was any intention of winding up the Red International of Labour Unions. The Red International is necessary to the international working class movement. It has increased its influence, and will increase its influence the more sharply the revolutionary issues are brought to the forefront of the experiences of the masses. It is a necessary rallying centre for the revolutionary unions of the world in their struggle against Amsterdam and their progress towards Communism.

In order to overcome the prejudices of the syndicalists of France a concession was made by the R.I.L.U. Congress. Instead of insisting upon the unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. having an organisational contact with the Communist Party in the respective countries, this is now optional. This has been taken by some to mean *no* contact with the Communist parties whatever. This notion we must combat with all our might. The best way of ensuring the unity of action between the two organisations is for the Party membership to push ahead with its nuclei organisation within the Red International, as in every other organisation, demonstrating by organised work that the Communist International is the actual leader of the proletariat in all its struggles.

The debates on the Executive report covered briefly practically all the tactical problems of the parties of the international. The essentials of the debates which I have indicated formed the basis of all the discussions concerning the parties for which there is not space to deal in detail. The Executive Committee's report was agreed upon as confirming the leadership during the interval between the Third and Fourth Congresses and the Decisions of the Third Congress.

The reports on this section of the Congress proceedings were the most interesting of all. The leaders of the International took the floor, and how gladly we greeted our Comrade Lenin's return. In his usual business-like way he proceeded straight to the subject to hand, though warning us that he intended to limit himself to

only one part of the subject under discussion, viz., The New Economic Policy in Russia. In his speech to the Fourth Congress he disposed of the critics of the Russian Revolution in such a way that we feel that any subsequent attack can only be the result of an absolute refusal to face facts. Comrade Lenin's speech along with the speeches of Comrades Clara Zetkin, Trotsky and Bela Kun constitute a masterly survey which leaves little more to be said about the fundamental features and the unfolding of the Russian Revolution.

Comrade Zetkin's speech* ought to have come first. She gave the historical setting of the revolution in relation to the European working class movement. She illustrated the effect of the development of imperialism during the latter part of the nineteenth century, showing how it had created a new political orientation within the ranks of labour away from the path of revolution to reformism; and how it propounded the theory that revolution was *not* necessary to secure the emancipation of labour. Then came its collapse with the imperialist war of 1914-18 and its revival under the banner of capitalist reconstruction, holding out hopes of better times for the workers by peaceful collaboration with the capitalists. Throughout the whole of its history it had been actively eliminating the will to revolution.

Into this atmosphere the Russian Revolution came like a thunderbolt to begin the process of liquidating throughout the world the revisionism and reformism which had so long ensnared the workers. The Russian proletariat struck the first mighty blow of the world revolution against capitalism. Its progress through the varying tempos of the world revolutionary developments had provided the working class with tremendous lessons, demonstrated the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the use of force, the supreme need of the party of revolution, the necessity of knowing how to use the peasantry to aid the proletarian revolution, how to advance and how to retreat.

Comrade Lenin took up the theme of the New Economic Policy, and placed it once and for all in its correct revolutionary setting. He referred to his analysis of the Russian situation in 1918, when he declared that for Russia to advance to State capitalism under the dictatorship of the Proletariat would be a marked advance for that country. And here he incidentally referred to the discussion of the programme of the International and the necessity for all parties not only to consider plans of advance, but also plans of retreat. The volition of the revolution had taken them further than it was possible for them to consolidate. In February, 1921, they were nearer a rupture with the masses of the population than at any time since the beginning of the Revolution. They had gone too far. The masses had sensed that before they had taken the measure of the situation. Hence the New Economic Policy.

The fundamentals of the economic situation had not altered since 1918, and they took up the theses enunciated then, and elaborated them with a greater certainty and completeness. They were now witness to an all-round revival. The famine had been a terrible blow. Nevertheless, with the introduction of this policy the peasants had liquidated the famine and paid their taxes. The

* A verbatim report of this magnificent speech by Clara Zetkin appeared in last month's REVIEW.

light industries had made and were making rapid progress. The revival of the heavy industry was their greatest problem. Without substantial State aid these could not revive. There had been much talk concerning the concessions. But these concessions up to now existed mainly on paper. There was much cry, but little wool. Capitalism refused its loans, the workers and peasants of Russia were culturally backward—they were isolated. Yet they were winning in spite of errors.

There has been much talk about our errors, and apparently by people who have little reason to be noisy concerning errors. There is one great difference between the errors of the Bolsheviki and the errors of the bourgeoisie and their followers in the Second and Two and a-Half Internationals. The Bolsheviki say 2 plus 2 equals 5. Now, that is an error that can be corrected. But our opponents say 2 plus 2 equals a burning candle.

Much has been said about our famous rouble. Very well. Since the introduction of our New Economic Policy we stabilised the rouble for a period of three months. In 1922 we have stabilised it for a period of five months. The progress is in the right direction and compares very favourably indeed with the dancing exchanges of the capitalist countries of the West. We shall stabilise the rouble, and we shall revive the heavy industry, even if there be no loans from the capitalist countries, although it may take a longer period. Already we have saved 20,000,000 gold roubles for our heavy industries. We need many millions more. We shall get them by persistent work and economy. By these means the proletarian State will be strengthened, and the path to Communism assured.

The rôle of the New Economic Policy is therefore perfectly clear as a transition measure for securing the willing co-operation of the peasantry with the town proletariat in those countries where agriculture is backward or has assumed forms of a peasant proprietary character. It is therefore not simply a measure forced upon Russia, but an historical necessity in many countries, if not, indeed, for every country, pending the growth within the new social order of the economic foundations of higher forms of agricultural or industrial organisation leading on to Communism.

Comrade Trotsky developed this theme as follows. He said: "The possibilities of the upbuilding of the socialist economic system, when the essential conquest of political power has been achieved, are limited by the degree to which the productive forms have been developed, the general cultural level of the proletariat, and the political situation, national and international."

On the international situation there arose an interesting controversy. The subject of the capitalist offensive can hardly be dissociated from the international crisis of capitalism, nor can the struggle against the Versailles Treaty. Comrade Trotsky, in a too-brief survey of the international situation (having devoted the greater part of his speech to the Russian revolution), argued that capitalism is in a state of constant crisis, whilst the working class is not ready to end the crisis by seizing power. The crisis is not maintained at the same tempo. It had its ups and downs which would continue for some time. Within that period we should witness a period of Wilsonism in Europe under the pacific leadership of the Social Democratic Labour Parties, either in alliance

with Liberals or without such an alliance. During this period we should have to guard against this social pacifism entering the ranks of the Communist International. The dangers from the Right were more pressing under these circumstances than any danger from the left. This does not mean that capitalism is finding a solution to its problems. The nineteenth century was the epoch of concessions to the working class. 1914 ushered in the epoch when these concessions could no longer be made. The forces of production had outgrown the old framework and the capitalists could find no solution to their problems. The period of pacifism could only be short lived. It was the last flicker of a candle burning itself out.

Comrades Friedlander, of Austria, and Ravenstein, of Holland, challenged this diagnosis of the situation, and argued that, rather than a period of pacifism, the whole tempo of the revolution would be quickened by the violent action of the reactionary movements which had manifested themselves most powerfully in recent days. The rise of Facism in Italy, Germany, and other countries, the aggressive attitude of the French Government, the ascendancy of the reactionaries in Britain in the form of the Conservative government, etc. Everything, they declared pointed to more violent actions and crises rather than to the possibilities of any pacific period.

Comrade Radek, who gave a masterly survey of the international situation, said that these comrades were looking too closely at the immediate situation. Comrade Trotsky looked over a much longer period, and he did not differ with him. It is true that the capitalist offensive is extending and intensifying along the whole political and economic front, and its climax has not yet been reached. The question arises: What prospect of success has such an offensive? This wave of counter-revolution is not the outcome of a period of general economic revival, but represents an attempt to effect the forcible arrest of economic decay. The counter-revolution cannot bring bread and peace. We have, therefore, to do now with an offensive, which has no prospect of victory, however ruthless it may be. The social basis of this counter-revolution is very narrow. It lacks the élan, it lacks the affiliations, and it lacks the foundation which would render possible a long and victorious campaign."

Comrade Trotsky followed the discussion with a long article in the Congress paper, called the *Bolshevik*, in which he answered that there is hardly any ground for the categorical assertion that the proletarian revolution in Germany will be victorious before the internal and external difficulties of France will bring about a governmental and parliamentary crisis. Elections would return the Left bloc. The repercussion would deal a heavy blow at the conservative government in England, strengthen the opposition of the Labour Party, and in all probability lead to a crisis, elections, and a victory for the Labour Party, either alone or in league with the Independent Liberals. The social democrats of Germany would immediately quit their semi-opposition, and begin the "linking up of the great democracies of the West," bring Scheideman back to power, etc. That such a regime could only be short-lived was obvious. To us the bourgeoisie is not a mere stone precipitated into the abyss, but a live historical force which struggles and resorts

to manoeuvres, and we must be prepared to grasp all the methods they employ, and understand all the measures they adopt if we would finally precipitate them into the abyss.

Following on this diagnosis of the situation Comrade Radek again developed the application of the policy of the United Front, and analysed again the demand for a Workers' government, and in the process making perfectly clear that we had to face the situation as stated in the words of Clara Zetkin: "The aims and trends of any historical development are plainly to be seen. But the tempo depends mainly upon the subjective energies of the historical process, upon the revolutionary consciousness and activities of the proletarian masses." "In the estimate of this factor so many imponderabilities are concerned that it is impossible to prophesy confidently concerning the tempo of the world revolution." But whether slow or quick, it is the duty of the Communist International to be in the forefront of the fight leading to the conquest of power.

I do not propose to deal with these questions in this survey of the Congress. With regard to the first problems, in no case was there the introduction of entirely new issues. The theses presented were in the main an elaboration of the theses of the Second and Third Congresses, more especially the Second Congress. To attempt to summarise them here would take too much space. An abridged edition of the Congress proceedings is prepared, and it will be better to follow the reports therein than to attempt to further condense them into an article.

With regard to an examination of the parties, many came under close scrutiny, chief of which were the French and Italian parties. In both cases agreements were arrived at with the delegations to bring the parties more in line with the requirements of the Communist International, the constitution of which both parties had repeatedly affirmed. In both cases there were questions of political confusion, the ridding of the parties of social democratic notions carried forward from the parties of the Second International. In the case of the Italian party, led by Bordiga, who had not yet rid himself of the absentee philosophy arising from his earlier anti-parliamentary outlook. The full story of the Italian and French party developments are worthy of special articles for the study of every member of the party here.

Comrade Schuler, on behalf of the Y.C.I., gave an interesting report of the struggles of the Youth to build up their International. And it should be mentioned that our party did not shine in that report. We were told that the Youth had to work hard to persuade the party of the necessity of developing the Youth movement, and that it had been impossible to get an article in our party organs dealing with the organisation of the Youth.* This attitude

§ Readers of the REVIEW are advised to study the inner struggles of the French party which have been ably dealt with by E. Verney. See the November number and a special article which appears in this issue. We shall deal with the Italian party in a future number.—Ed.

* This sweeping statement, which appeared in the report submitted by Comrade Schuler, is not true so far as the COMMUNIST REVIEW is concerned. And the E.C. of the Y.C.L. in Britain have already written to the Editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW to assure him that he is not involved in the charge put forward by their international delegate. Although the COMMUNIST REVIEW has never received one single article from the Y.C.L., we were able to procure a splendid historical outline of the growth of the

of indifference to the Youth has been a characteristic of quite a number of the parties of the adult international. Nevertheless, the Youth International has established itself and grown in power. Its tasks were defined at its second congress as follows: (1) To defend the economic needs of the Youth; (2) To educate the Youth systematically in the Marxian doctrine; (3) To carry on anti-militarist campaigns among the young workers in and outside the bourgeois armies.

Since the Second Congress great strides had been made in these tasks. The Young Communist Press reflected better to-day than at any time previous, the daily struggles of the young workers, whilst we can safely say that the Young Communist Leagues of Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Denmark are becoming real militant organisations. It is interesting to note that the Communist Youth organisations in France and Czecho-Slovakia have been suppressed by the State, whilst the adult parties have remained quite legal.

The time is urgent as never before for the closest working arrangements between the Youth organisations and the adult parties. The Communist International therefore declares, "That the United Front of the young and the adult workers for a common struggle against capitalism and reaction is an absolute necessity, and calls upon its parties and the entire working class to stand for the interest and demands of the working class youth as well as for their own, and to make them the subject of their daily struggle."

Four comrades, led by Comrade Zetkin, reported on this question of work amongst women, and again our party came in for severe criticism. But first let Comrade Zetkin address a few words as introduction, for she says the work of the Women's Secretariat is misunderstood by our own comrades in the International.

"They misunderstand the work of the Communist among the women and the tasks of the national sections and of the International in this connection. This, with some, the remains of an old view, with others it is wilful prejudice because they do not sympathise with our cause and even partly oppose it.

The International Women's Secretariat is not, as many believe, the union of independent organisations of the women's movements, but a branch of the Executive of the Communist International. It conducts the activity not only in constant co-operation with the Executive, but under its immediate leadership. It has nothing to do with any feminist tendencies. It exists for systematic Communist propaganda amongst women."

Having made the position clear as to the task of the women's section, it will be well for us to reflect on the criticism of our party.

"In England, organisation for conducting systematic agitation among the feminine proletariat is altogether lacking. The Communist Party of England excused itself by its weakness, and has continually refused or postponed the setting up

Youth Movement by Comrade Leontieff. This lengthy article was published in the REVIEW and the type was offered to the Y.C.L., free of charge, to enable them to issue it as a pamphlet. This offer, for some reason, was not accepted. Our readers also know that the REVIEW, of its own accord, helps to push the sale of the *Young Communist* by publishing a free advertisement every month.—Editor of COMMUNIST REVIEW.

of a special body for systematic agitation among the women. All the exhortations of the International Women's Secretariat have been in vain. No Women's Secretariat was established; the only thing that was done was to appoint a woman comrade as general party agitator. Our women comrades have organised various meetings for the political education of women out of their own feeble means. . . . The British section of the International cannot remain indifferent to the fact that millions of proletarian women are organised in suffrage societies, trades unions of the old type, in consumers' co-operatives and in the Labour Party."

Need I quote more? Comrade Hertha Stern supplemented these observations, and there is no doubt that we have to be up and doing. Without the women, no revolution can hope to be successful. There are big possibilities here. Time and again the working women of this country have shown themselves capable of great actions, in rent strikes, in evictions, in strikes and in general agitation. Harnessed to the party they can be a power not to be despised. We are striving to make amends for our shortcomings. Since the Congress, the Party Executive has appointed a comrade to immediately get to work with the formation of the Women's Secretariat of the Party.

The discussion on the programme of the International revealed a sharp division in the ranks of the leaders of the International on the question as to whether temporary measures should appear in the programme of the International. In this discussion, Bukharin opposed Varga and Thalheimer of Germany. This is an issue upon which every party will have to make itself clear during the ensuing months. So far, only a few parties have submitted programmes for consideration and incorporation in the International programme. All parties are now instructed to have their programmes in the hands of the Executive Committee of the International three months before the next Congress, when the complete programme of the International will be formulated. Meanwhile, the programmes that have been submitted will be printed and issued throughout the International for discussion.

I will content myself, therefore, with a statement of the most important difference. Bukharin takes the following position with regard to the insertion of temporary demands in the programme: "Temporary measures, such as the policy of the United Front, the slogan of the Workers' Government, should not be put in our programme. These slogans are required by the present defensive situation of the proletariat; to put them in our programme is a retreat from our offensive." Thalheimer opposed as follows: "The present period of transformation is one of the most important on the way to revolution. In this period the Comintern must not fail in its duty. The inclusion of immediate demands is theoretically admissible so long as the theories upon which the demands are made are correct. Shortly before the October revolution, Comrade Lenin himself favoured the adoption of a programme of minimum demands.

These are the starting points for the development of the arguments of the respective positions. We shall have to return to this subject again, sufficient for the moment to set the party thinking on these issues.

THE BUILDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL PARTY.

Probably the most important development arising out of the Congress arises from the decisions taken concerning the Executive Committee. It was decided that the time had arrived to make a further stride in the direction of the International Communist Party. This consists in the reorganisation of the Central Executive on the basis of a centralised party. Instead of the Executive consisting of a number of representatives of various parties, the Executive has now to be elected by the International Congress. "It shall consist of the President, 24 members and 10 substitutes." This is the most important blow at the federalistic notions in the International, which is followed up by the ruling that "no binding mandates are permitted, and such will be declared invalid, because such mandates contradict the spirit of an international, centralised, proletarian world party."

In future, delegates sent from the various countries will go to the Congress, not simply to express the point of view of a particular party, but to be members of an international congress surveying and contributing to the solution of the problems of the International as a whole. It has been a habit of the majority of the delegates to survey the International from a national point of view rather than the reverse, just as it is a habit here for members of the party to start off their observations, "Well, so far as we on the Clyde are concerned. . . ." "We in the provinces are of the opinion, etc. . . ." I for one shall be glad when we can drop the name Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Russia, etc., and we can speak clearly and act in the name of an International Communist Party. But even in this case it is "a long way to Tipperary." We have to grow into it and step by step eliminate the things which impede our steps and take such measures as will positively build the organisation we require as the most effective instrument of the international working class.

By centralisation the International does not mean losing contact, and the experience of the last year has seen the development of means for more lively contact than hitherto. During the year the E.C. convened what were called enlarged executive committees. Their value has been thoroughly appreciated, and the Fourth Congress determined that there should be regular meetings of the enlarged Executive every four months. This enlarged Executive shall consist of (1) 25 members of the E.C.; (2) of three additional representatives from each of the following parties: Germany, France, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Italy, also the Y.C.I. and the Red International of Labour Unions; (3) of two additional representatives from England, Poland, America, Bulgaria and Norway; (4) one representative from each of the other countries that are entitled to vote.

In addition, in order to make the International more and more an efficient organ of struggle, the Congress ruled that "it is desirable for the purpose of mutual information and for co-ordinated work that the more important sections of neighbouring countries shall mutually exchange representatives."

Again, let no member of the party think that careerists are going to stand much chance in the Communist International. "The Congress, in the most decisive manner, condemns all cases of resignations tendered by individual comrades of the various central

committees and by entire groups of such members. The Congress considers such resignations as the greatest disorganisation of the Communist movement. Every leading post in a Communist Party belongs not to the bearer of the mandate, but to the Communist International as a whole. The Congress resolves: Elected members of central bodies of a section can resign their mandate only with the consent of the Executive. Resignations accepted by a party central committee without the consent of the Executive Committee are invalid."

These important decisions begin to operate now. The new Central Committee of the International was elected at the Congress, whilst, in the selection of the Executive, toleration was shown to the old arrangement, the Central Executive now represents the International as a whole. The next Congress will see little toleration for the federalism of the past. With these important steps towards the International Communist Party, the Congress closed on December 3rd.

We had had four weeks of constant meetings, discussions, self-examination. For detailed consideration of problems there has been no Congress to surpass it. To convey all in an article for a magazine is impossible. But to sum up: The Congress reviewed the work of the last fifteen months and found the leadership of the Executive to be good. It examined the decisions of the Third Congress in the light of this experience, and found them correct. The details of tactics in relation to the organisations of labour and the particular problems with which they had to deal had received detailed attention. Many parties of the International had been closely examined with a view to helping them in their efforts to become more efficient sections of the International. Bold measures have been initiated in the reorganisation of the International in terms of an International Communist Party. And the preliminary discussions of the programme of the Communist International have given a lead to the parties to complete the process of formulating the work to be accomplished. A great work and a great Congress, contributing greatly to the one cause which is worthy of all the efforts that have been put forth—the triumph of the working class in world-wide Communism.

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THE BUILDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL PARTY.

Probably the most important development arising out of the Congress arises from the decisions taken concerning the Executive Committee. It was decided that the time had arrived to make a further stride in the direction of the International Communist Party. This consists in the reorganisation of the Central Executive on the basis of a centralised party. Instead of the Executive consisting of a number of representatives of various parties, the Executive has now to be elected by the International Congress. "It shall consist of the President, 24 members and 10 substitutes." This is the most important blow at the federalistic notions in the International, which is followed up by the ruling that "no binding mandates are permitted, and such will be declared invalid, because such mandates contradict the spirit of an international, centralised, proletarian world party."

In future, delegates sent from the various countries will go to the Congress, not simply to express the point of view of a particular party, but to be members of an international congress surveying and contributing to the solution of the problems of the International as a whole. It has been a habit of the majority of the delegates to survey the International from a national point of view rather than the reverse, just as it is a habit here for members of the party to start off their observations, "Well, so far as we on the Clyde are concerned. . . ." "We in the provinces are of the opinion, etc. . . ." I for one shall be glad when we can drop the name Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Russia, etc., and we can speak clearly and act in the name of an International Communist Party. But even in this case it is "a long way to Tipperary." We have to grow into it and step by step eliminate the things which impede our steps and take such measures as will positively build the organisation we require as the most effective instrument of the international working class.

By centralisation the International does not mean losing contact, and the experience of the last year has seen the development of means for more lively contact than hitherto. During the year the E.C. convened what were called enlarged executive committees. Their value has been thoroughly appreciated, and the Fourth Congress determined that there should be regular meetings of the enlarged Executive every four months. This enlarged Executive shall consist of (1) 25 members of the E.C.; (2) of three additional representatives from each of the following parties: Germany, France, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Italy, also the Y.C.I. and the Red International of Labour Unions; (3) of two additional representatives from England, Poland, America, Bulgaria and Norway; (4) one representative from each of the other countries that are entitled to vote.

In addition, in order to make the International more and more an efficient organ of struggle, the Congress ruled that "it is desirable for the purpose of mutual information and for co-ordinated work that the more important sections of neighbouring countries shall mutually exchange representatives."

Again, let no member of the party think that careerists are going to stand much chance in the Communist International. "The Congress, in the most decisive manner, condemns all cases of resignations tendered by individual comrades of the various central

committees and by entire groups of such members. The Congress considers such resignations as the greatest disorganisation of the Communist movement. Every leading post in a Communist Party belongs not to the bearer of the mandate, but to the Communist International as a whole. The Congress resolves: Elected members of central bodies of a section can resign their mandate only with the consent of the Executive. Resignations accepted by a party central committee without the consent of the Executive Committee are invalid."

These important decisions begin to operate now. The new Central Committee of the International was elected at the Congress, whilst, in the selection of the Executive, toleration was shown to the old arrangement, the Central Executive now represents the International as a whole. The next Congress will see little toleration for the federalism of the past. With these important steps towards the International Communist Party, the Congress closed on December 3rd.

We had had four weeks of constant meetings, discussions, self-examination. For detailed consideration of problems there has been no Congress to surpass it. To convey all in an article for a magazine is impossible. But to sum up: The Congress reviewed the work of the last fifteen months and found the leadership of the Executive to be good. It examined the decisions of the Third Congress in the light of this experience, and found them correct. The details of tactics in relation to the organisations of labour and the particular problems with which they had to deal had received detailed attention. Many parties of the International had been closely examined with a view to helping them in their efforts to become more efficient sections of the International. Bold measures have been initiated in the reorganisation of the International in terms of an International Communist Party. And the preliminary discussions of the programme of the Communist International have given a lead to the parties to complete the process of formulating the work to be accomplished. A great work and a great Congress, contributing greatly to the one cause which is worthy of all the efforts that have been put forth—the triumph of the working class in world-wide Communism.

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THE FORUM

A Reply to David S. Reiss

BY B. TAMARKIN

As many of our readers know, we publish all controversial matter in the "Review" under the heading of the "Forum." The following contribution has been sent in reply to one which appeared in the "Review" last November. It is interesting to note the two disputants, in this case, are American readers; this shows the wide influence of the "Review" in overseas English speaking countries.

IT would seem that the purpose of the article, which appeared in the REVIEW in November, 1922, and which set out to analyse "The Theory of the Social Revolution" and sought also to give reasons for the "reconsideration of a Marxian prediction," was merely an attempt to make a straw effigy of Marx and then to proceed to burn it.

The purpose of the present article is to prove the correctness of the statements made by Marx. Therefore, I shall go into no discussion here of such errors as: "The theory of increasing misery is the theory of the social revolution," which, to say the least, requires great amendment to make it accurate.

Our bourgeois opponents belittle the rôle that the development of the technique in production plays in social evolution. In fact, it is the storm centre of their frothy rage. Superficial, like his compatriots, our Marx-critic reduces the determinate of social development and revolution to a matter of efficiency in trade competition.

"The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed, the image of its own future." Thus is Marx quoted from page 13 of *Capital*. Consciously or otherwise, Reiss performs the unpardonable error of tearing a sentence out of its indispensable setting; the section, serving to give the matter its intended meaning, is entirely omitted. Marx says:—

"Intrinsically, it is not a question of the higher or lower degree of development of the social antagonisms that result from the natural laws of capitalist production. It is a question of these laws themselves, of these tendencies working with iron necessity towards inevitable results. The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future."

Marx, here, plainly shows what he means by the last sentence. The

country which has, as yet, not attained the capitalist mode of production should not harbour any illusions. When it attains industrial development, it will suffer the class antagonisms and struggles that all its more developed neighbour. It is a matter of the law, the tendencies of social development that concern Marx. And, he has discovered that, at basis, it is a matter—not, as we are told, of trade efficiency—but of the development of the forces of production themselves.

The sleeky lawyer, Morris Hillquit, in his *From Marx to Lenin*, includes in his quotations, upon which are based the attempts to disprove either Marx or the possibility of the permanency of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, such extracts as employed by the far less able aspirant to the position of a Marx-critic. Where the latter gets his silly surmises as to the meaning of the above quotation will become clear hereafter.

However, Marx cannot be consistently accused of denying that "an industrially more developed country can sometimes be overtaken by a formerly industrially less developed country." On page 13 of *Capital* he says: "In this work I have to examine the capitalist mode of production, and the conditions of production and exchange corresponding to that mode." "Up to the present time" (July 25, 1867) "their classic ground is England."

Nor was it intended to convey nonsense such as: the less developed country will produce the same product and employ the identical methods in such production, as the more developed country. Marx' primary concern was not about how to produce bread, bibles or whisky. The matter was not one of "methods of production." It was a question of the capitalist mode of production, its immanent laws, enabling us to understand its growth and inevitable decay.

When Marx wrote: "The mono-

poly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production which has sprung up and flourished along with and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds ("sounds," please; not "ends") "The expropriators are expropriated"; where do we find even a suggestion, leaving along an explicit statement, to the effect that the proletarian revolution must inevitably occur first in the land of greater quantity production, as Reiss' comparison of Russia and America implies.

But let us see what Marx says: "Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out." (*Critique of Political Economy*, page 12.)

From the above, it becomes apparent that to attempt to set a rule as to the advent of a political revolution in one country previous to another, the imminency of such a revolution to be determined by a particular degree of economic development, is Utopian.

Statements made by Reiss would lead one to think that Marx did not take into consideration variations in social development in different countries. He might have denied the great influence of differing historic antecedents. But it is indeed significant that on that very page 13 of *Capital* we find: "Where capitalist production is fully naturalised among the Germans (for instance, in the factories proper) the condition of things is much worse than in England, because the counterpoise of the Factory Acts is wanting. In all other spheres, we, like all the rest of Continental Western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside of modern evils, a whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and

political anachronisms. We suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif.*"

I necessarily conclude that while Marx pointed to the development of society's economic powers, the increase in the productivity of labour through technical development, as the force heading us inevitably towards social revolution, nevertheless, he recognised the efficacy of a differing historical background to change the course, not the destination, the particular path, not the general direction, of social evolution. In other words, the process of social evolution shows us the laws of the growth and decay of capitalist production "working its way" by means of varying historical material towards a general goal. "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle." (*Communist Manifesto*—Marx and Engels.)

The false assumption is made that Marx thought the Proletarian Revolution inevitable in the more industrially advanced country, before the less developed. In his *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History* (1906), even Kautsky warns "against the popular interpretation" (misinterpretation) "of the historical materialism which holds that the land which takes the lead in the economic development invariably also brings the corresponding forms of the class war to the sharpest and most decisive expression." This particular point was in conformity with Marxism. Marx himself had made a related statement as far back as 1859, in his *Critique of Political Economy*, page 12, quoted above.

It is, therefore, incompatible with fact to state that "The social revolution in Russia may be non-Marxian. But to the extent that it is non-Marxian, to that extent is Marxism, non-economic and non-historical." Utterances like these only constitute an acknowledgment to revisionism that its contentions are well founded. They constitute a perversion of Marxism.

But such nonsense is no surprise when it is known to emanate from a man who worships the stock-in-trade of medieval philosophy and scorns those who value such work as that of Joseph Dietzgen, the working-class "philosopher." If Reiss had understood Dietzgen's *Nature of Human Brainwork*, the relativity of things would have remained no empty phrase for him. Perchance, the readers of the COMMUNIST REVIEW would then have been saved such flagrant impositions as the attempt to explain any-

thing torn from its connections.

In order to obtain exact knowledge, it is necessary to carefully examine the objective facts of the particular problem. But Mr. Reiss has no need of this. In order to intelligently discuss a Marxian question, he does not require a knowledge of Marxism from its originals; it is unnecessary to find whether in fact his "Marxian economists" were Marxian. To him, when dealing with the Russian Revolution, it is immaterial whether there is such an historical factor as the string of morbid conditions, inherited from a putrified feudal order; neither is it essential to weigh the influence of Western Capital.

"No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society." (Until here quoted by Reiss.) "Therefore mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation."

And what does Reiss say?—"If the working class is to wait with its social revolution until all inventions in the means of production have been made and until all capital will have been monopolised—for this is what the industrially most developed country would mean under capitalism—they may indeed wait with the social revolution for ever."

How well Mr Reiss has learned the art of perversion! "The monopoly of capital" is easily changed into "all capital"; "more developed" is twisted into "most developed." Is this corrupt method the way to prove Marx wrong in his fundamental tenets? It would be well for this muddlehead to cease criticising (as he has done heretofore) Marx' works until he has shed his bourgeois trickery; until he has acquired the proletarian mode of reasoning, which is indispensable to a Communist; until he will have understood Marx.

Before one can expect a social revolution, a political revolution must have taken place: the proletariat must have seized the powers of the State. The social revolution: new, higher relations of production; communist proprietorship; i.e., no proprietorship, but communist use of the social wealth; these cannot be summarised until the technique of industry, machine development, etc.,

have developed the productivity of labour to a point where we can put into practice the motto: "From each according his ability; to each according his needs."

This condition is, however, not required for a political revolution. Here, it is necessary that: (1) the mode of production shall be capitalist, i.e., the technique of production must be sufficiently advanced to have evolved a more or less homogeneous proletariat; (2) the class conflict must have grown to an unusual intensity; (3) the proletariat must possess sufficient knowledge and understanding to judge how to solve every new problem arising on the steep road to emancipation.

As regards the first point, Marx and Engels tell us that: "Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces above all, are its own gravediggers. (*Communist Manifesto*, page 29.)

As concerns the second point, outside of special conditions of individual growth, we find the answer in the law of value. When the demand for a given commodity falls, it signifies that the labour incorporated in that commodity has fallen in social necessity. Hence each article contains less value; therefore falls in price. This is true of labour-power as of any other commodity.

The tendency is for wealth to increase, through the increase in the productivity of labour, and for its opportunity of investment as profit bearing capital to diminish. Hence there is an over-abundance of labour power. The labour expended on the individual labour power falls in social necessity. As a consequence, labour power falls in value. And it falls to the point where the mass of those who find a master at all, obtain a price such as lowers their standard of living.

The surplus labour power on the market is not wheat which can be left to rot on American wheat fields. Labour power exists only as living human beings. These must be fed. The bourgeoisie "is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting

him sink into such a state that it has to feed him instead of being fed by him." (*Communist Manifesto*, page 29.)

The above-named conditions sow a spirit of rebellion, of antagonism towards the exploiter. And the struggle for more of society's wealth grows in bitterness.

But the proletariat cannot limit itself to more wages, etc., if its revolution is to succeed. The expropriators must be expropriated. Hence, the proletariat must capture the powers of state.

And here we come to the third condition. Outside of the reaction of men's minds directly to the conditions of the struggle, this cannot be answered any other way than by: What more practical function has the revolutionary party of the proletariat at this time, than that of spreading information and an understanding of what the struggle is all about, among their comrades in slavery.

The conditions above described and

necessary to a political revolution, come into being in different countries at different stages of technical development due to differing historical backgrounds and differing relations one country bears to others. The only rule I have for determining when the time for the seizure of power is ripe is: "Prepare and watch the times."

In Russia, the break in the capitalist forms has taken place first. However, the "new higher relations of production" cannot develop until labour becomes more highly productive, until Russia acquires a higher technique.

For years, in various industries, the more industrially advanced countries have been ripe for the initiation of a Communist relationship in production. But the organization and understanding of their proletariat was not such as could hope to successfully cope with the particular form of their common problem, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

AMONG THE BOOKS

The British Labour Movement, by G. D. H. Cole. *The Development of Capitalism*, by M. H. Dobb. *Finance*, by E. Burns. *English Economic History*, by G. D. H. Cole. Price, Sixpence each. Labour Research Dept., 162, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

ANYONE who has conducted an Economics or a History class knows how difficult it used to be to get a handy little outline of the subject which could be handed, with confidence, to students to enable them to extend their own reading. The writer used to give one or two special lectures to his students on the best books on these subjects. At long last the problem has been solved—at least, a decent beginning has been made towards solving it. The Labour Research Department—which daily proves its indispensable usefulness to the whole Labour movement in a thousand and one ways—has recently issued a series of splendid little handbooks which specifically deal with subjects generally taken up by classes and study circles. These little volumes do not pretend to compete in any way with the more ambitious series of text-books which are now being published by the Plebs League. The two series are as necessary as they are complementary. The amount of splendid and useful work that is being put into publications dealing exclusively with the educational phase of the Socialist movement makes one realise the lamentable weakness and shortcomings of the purely agitational side.

With becoming modesty the little handbooks of the Labour Research Department have been called the Syallus Series. But they are more than a mere list of books or lecture headings. They are splendidly got up and are written in a style which combines simplicity with brevity. So far four of these books have appeared and we are promised two more—*Biology*, by C. P. Dutt, and *Economic Geography*, by J. F. Horrabin.

English Economic History and *The British Labour Movement* have been very well done by G. D. H. Cole. The two brochures on Economics have been done by M. H. Dobb and Emile Burns. Dobb's *The Development of Capitalism* is altogether a splendid outline; we need not say much about this young economist who has proved his merit and who is well known to readers of the COMMUNIST REVIEW. Perhaps the most difficult subject to write up, in a brief form, was that of *Finance*, which has been

successfully analysed and written in time when our sentimental Labour in a manner remarkable for its ease of Parliamentary style and absence of difficult or technical language. Had some of our prominent Labour

The publication of these outline leaders been compelled to study books is a sure indication that the elementary economics they never trade union and Labour movement is now waking up to the fact that increased production under capital-Economics and Industrial History ism or War indemnities within classes are an important, albeit imperialism. neglected, part of their work. The

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