

# Communist Party of Great Britain

(PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT).

## A SHORT COURSE OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE

By A. BOGDANOFF.

This text book, which has just been issued, is one of the most important publications put out by any working-class organisation during the past twelve months. First published in Russia in 1897 it was frequently revised until 1909. In 1919, after the Revolution, it was considerably revised in the light of the experiences of the new phase of capitalism—the domination of finance capital. The new edition, now appearing for the first time in English, serves to-day in hundreds, if not thousands, of party schools and study circles now function in Soviet Russia, training the future administrators — of the Workers' Republic. —

---

“The *ideal* text book . . . . ably compiled . . . . infinitely superior to anything in the text books of the British movement.”

*Communist Review, May, 1923.*

**The text book of the Russian Communist Party during the period of preparation for the Revolution**

---

PAPER COVER - 3S. 3D. *post free.*  
CLOTH EDITION - 5S. 4D. *post free.*

---

*Order from the Communist Bookshop,*  
**16, KING STREET,**  
**COVENT GARDEN,**  
**W.C.2.**

# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

*A Monthly Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain*

Editorial and Publishing Offices: 16 King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2

EDITOR: THOS. BELL

BUSINESS MANAGER: A. H. HAWKINS

Volume 4

JANUARY 1924

Number 9

## C O N T E N T S

The Editorial View	- - - - -	383
Second Wave of International Revolution	<i>G. Zinoviev</i> -	388
Nationalist-Labour Pact in South Africa	<i>V. Danchin</i> -	394
Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg	- - - - -	401
Hands off Germany ( <i>contd.</i> )	<i>J. V. L.</i> - - - - -	404
The Party Conference	<i>J. T. Murphy</i> - - - - -	409
Real "Economic Science"	<i>R. P. A.</i> - - - - -	414
International Review	- - - - -	418
The Forum	- - - - -	420
Book Review	- - - - -	420

*Notice to Contributors, &c.* M.S.S. and letters relating thereto should be addressed to Editor, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

*Subscription Rates.* HOME—Single copies, 6 months, 3s. 9d. postpaid. One year 7s. 0d. postpaid. ABROAD—Single copies 6 months 3s. 6d. One year 6s. 9d. postpaid. Home and Abroad—Bundle orders, 12 copies for 4s. 6d. postpaid, sale or return.

All business communications to Manager, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2.

# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

*Editor: THOS. BELL*

---

---

## THE EDITORIAL VIEW

**T**HE magnificent victory of the Labour Party at the polls has brought Labour to the threshold of power, and speculation is rife as to what the Party caucus is going to do about it. Should the Tory Government be defeated, and the King send for Ramsay Macdonald, will the Labour Party have an alliance with the Liberals or will it have "one hour of glorious life," and then pass out? For our part, we think it is important to keep in mind, that, whatever happens when Parliament meets, the significance of the Labour vote cannot be minimised in any way. The issue throughout the election campaign was quite clearly the workers against the capitalists; the demand by the workers for a greater measure of political power, and, if the designs of the Tory Government in forcing the election were intended to catch the Labour Party napping, Mr. Baldwin has had a nasty fall. The election returns register an awakened consciousness amongst even larger masses of the workers than in 1922, and proves that success in elections so far as the workers' candidates are concerned, is determined not by finance *alone*, but just as much by the degree of class consciousness now seen to be steadily rising amongst the masses. That is the ugly fact which capitalism has to reckon with in the future, and which has provoked the controversy in the capitalist press.

\* \* \* \* \*

We would be deceiving ourselves and our readers if we attempted to make light of our failure to secure the return of Comrades Newbold, Saklatvala, or any of the other Communist Party members who stood as candidates. During the last Parliament Newbold especially earned the hatred of the defenders of capitalism, inside the House and outside it, by his fearless criticism, and scathing exposure of the interests that are the real masters of Westminster. That is why the opposition was

tightened up to defeat him at Motherwell. At the same time, it is in no childish spirit that we say he did great pioneer work, which will not be lost for the working class movement. Newbold, undoubtedly, gave articulation to the feelings of many millions of workers, within and without the British Empire, who had been disgusted with the snobbery and respectability of St. Stephens, and in a manner that went straight to the heart of things; inspiring hope, and giving courage where before black despair and dismal pessimism prevailed. He has given a glimpse of what might be accomplished, when the workers' representatives are prepared to hurl defiance in the teeth of the capitalist enemies of the working class.

\* \* \* \* \*

But, if the last Parliament gave opportunities for even a single Communist member to lay bare the class character of the capitalist governments, the new Parliament is going to bring out with even greater sharpness the strength and the weakness of the Parliamentary democracy in the working class struggle for political and economic power. And just because of the increased representation of the Labour Party, and the possibility of a Labour Government, do we regret the temporary absence of Newbold and the small group of Communist members we did expect to be in the House. The presence of such a group of militants would have served to sharpen still keener the class character of the proceedings, and proven to the workers that the way to their emancipation from capitalist servitude lies along the road to a full and complete Workers' Government.

\* \* \* \* \*

As things are, the proletarian opposition to the Fabianism of Macdonald, Webb and the dominant Parliamentary leadership falls to Wheatley, Maxton, Johnston, Kirkwood and the other proletarian elements scattered and diffused throughout the Party. And as Wheatley declared at a great rally of the Labour members at Glasgow immediately following the results, the issue is really "Capitalist individualism or Socialism." For that reason, and because of the circumstances created by the strong position of the Labour Party, it will be as well if we visualise the new political situation for the workers in the light of our fundamental working class aims.

\* \* \* \* \*

The chief political aim of a genuine party of the workers is the complete conquest of political power from the hands of the

capitalists. Frankly, we must say that, tactically, we Communists differ from the Labour Party as to the means of realising this objective. Mr. Macdonald, Webb, and the Fabian leaders of the Labour Party, for example, believe it is possible to peacefully evolve out of the present capitalist state into a socialist society. The Communist Party on the other hand, believes that it is necessary first to break completely with the capitalist state, and, having taken power, by this means change economic relations. Socialism for us is not an ideal that will come from a change of capitalist heart, nor will nationalisation or socialisation, *while the bourgeoisie are still wielding economic power*, free the proletariat from oppression. This does not mean, as some believe, that Communists are against parliamentary action, and therefore, have no right to be identified with the Labour Party. What it does mean is this, that we see clearly the real nature of the class antagonisms and the futility of expecting the ruling class to yield its powers and privilege without a struggle. The idea of conquering capitalism by a policy of "gradualism," is one of the fundamental errors of Macdonaldism, which we are bound to emphasise to the working class, especially now that there is talk of a Labour Government.

\* \* \* \* \*

Here, we may anticipate the tendency in some quarters to see a parallel in a Labour Government, such as might come into being any day, and to what is happening now in Soviet Russia under the New Economic Policy, and to justify Macdonaldism, accordingly. Amongst pacifists, and "evolutionary" socialists, this is quite a plausible analogy, but it is illusory. In reality, what we have presented by this analogy, is the difference between a *Labour* Government and a *Workers'* Government. A Labour Government after the heart of Macdonald and Webb might exist by the grace of the capitalists without destroying the economic power of capitalism. In Soviet Russia, we see the power of the State in the hands of the workers and peasants, with the bourgeoisie struggling to regain its economic status. In the one case, the Labour Government exists with the grace of the bourgeoisie; in the second case, the bourgeoisie is tolerated by a Workers' Government for specific aims.

\* \* \* \* \*

The advent of a Labour Government, even of a Liberal type, would, nevertheless, be a matter of tremendous importance in world politics. For one thing, it would help to spread confusion in the camp of the swashbuckling reactionaries now rampant in middle Europe. This, in turn may open a period of democratic

pacifism, which would have the effect of stupifying such large masses of the working class, instinctively yearning for peace, as to postpone any revolutionary action for a decade, and certainly once the workers are affected by the illusions of pacifism and reformism, and that upon an international scale, capitalism throughout Europe may very well strengthen its position. A Labour Government, therefore, in Great Britain, especially supported by Liberalism, with its repercussions on the Continent, and particularly, on that of the social democratic elements in Germany, might conceivably give rise to that era of "Wilsonism" predicted by Comrade Trotsky at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. That is a prospect to which we communists cannot shut our eyes and ignore.

\* \* \* \* \*

But for the Labour Party as a whole, such a prospect presents a dilemma. Is it the business of the Party to restore and preserve the economic balance of Europe in favour of capitalism? Or should it work to neutralise, and paralyse, if need be, the baneful system of exploitation which has brought ruin and starvation to millions of the world's workers. On this point, we have already two clearly marked tendencies before us. Officially, we may reasonably assume Macdonald, Webb, and the other Fabian Leaders of the Party will strike the road of "Wilsonism." In the opposition camp of the party, we have Wheatley, Maxton, Johnston, etc., already committed to the policy of a fight to a finish with capitalism. Wheatley is right when he says, to those who show concern at the present political stalemate, and the importance of carrying on the King's Government, "We do not see the necessity." We certainly think that the oppositional elements are right in demanding no entanglements or alliances with the defenders of the King's Government, whether of Lords or Commons. The thumping vote given to the Labour Party was indeed a workers' demand for the ending of capitalist domination. It was a declaration of war against capitalism, and for a bold radical policy towards the octopus of unemployment which is strangling the life and soul out of millions of the working class. Any entangling alliances that thwarted this demand would be tantamount to a betrayal.

\* \* \* \* \*

Never in the economic history of this country has production been so plentiful. All the potentialities are here for a high standard of comfort for all. And we say, that, given will and deter-

mination, the Labour Party has an opportunity of advancing this common aim of the workers. By all means then, let the Labour Party assume the reins of government; on domestic affairs, let it declare for a radical policy on unemployment, such as will establish the principal of work, or guaranteed adequate maintenance, whilst aiming at cutting out the demoralising anomalies in relief schemes and insurance acts. In this connection, political recognition of Soviet Russia with extended credits must be an essential part of any policy to tackle unemployment. There is also the principle of nationalisation of the mines with a guaranteed minimum wage to meet the overdue claims of the miners, which are again being brought to the front. With such elementary and pressing home demands backed up by the policy of an all-in international conference, including Russia and Germany, the Labour Party can give such strength and stimulus to the whole working class movement as would sustain it in the challenge sure to come from both Liberals and Tories.

\* \* \* \* \*

We insist, therefore, that the Labour Party will neither succumb to the bourgeois fetish of the two-party system, nor be deflected from a bold course by the sudden campaign for reform in the electoral machinery. The demands of the working class are too serious to be postponed by playing at being "His Majesty's Opposition," or "His Majesty's Government." Expectancy and hopefulness marks the mind of the working class movement to-day. The Communist Party participates in the united demand for a bold thrust being made at capitalist power and privilege.



# The Second Wave of International Revolution

BY G. ZINOVIEV

**W**HEN, in October of this year, the full scope of the impending revolution in Germany became revealed, the Russian Party rose like one man. The manner in which the Russian Communist Party reacted to the prospect of revolution in Germany, is of the very greatest importance. After two years of the New Economic Policy, the Party was called upon to decide what its attitude should be to the approaching revolutionary struggle in Europe. This was a severe political test. Would a regeneration of the tissues of the Party organism take place? Would some of the fatty deposit of "nepism" be discarded?

The Russian Communist Party stood the test. Its answer was unanimous.\* It reacted to the approaching revolutionary storm as should a proletarian revolutionary party, and one of the chief divisions of the Communist International.

The pace of events has now slackened (November, 1923). The proletarian revolution in Germany is again undergoing tremendous difficulties. As a result, certain sections of our Party (especially among the youth) are becoming depressed. Rosy optimism is giving place to the blackest pessimism.

It is now obvious that in October we all somewhat over-estimated the speed of events and under-estimated the difficulties

---

*\*"Well informed" gossips have spread the legend that serious differences existed within the controlling organs of the Russian Communist Party regarding the German Revolution. Penetrating Socialist Revolutionary and Menshevik readers, analysing various articles in our press, arrived at similar conclusions. As a matter of fact, after mature examination, every decision connected with the events in Germany, was adopted completely and unanimously. The same complete unanimity prevailed within the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which came to its decisions on the German events after careful examination in conjunction, not with the German Party alone, but also with representatives of many other closely concerned sections of the Communist International.*



which stood in the way of a victorious proletarian revolution in Germany. Time intervals will be longer than we at first expected although they are now calculated in months instead of years. The most prominent representatives of *revolutionary* Marxism, beginning with Marx himself, have been liable to mistakes as to time intervals. For instance, mistakes were made at the beginning of the revolutionary events of 1918-19 in Germany by the greatest of revolutionary realists, Lenin. In a letter addressed to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in October, 1918, Comrade Lenin wrote :—

“ The crisis in Germany has only just begun. It will inevitably end with the passage of political power into the hands of the German proletariat. The Russian proletariat is following events with the greatest attention and enthusiasm. The most backward workmen of all countries can now see how right were the Bolsheviks in basing their tactics upon the prospect of the support of a world-wide workers’ revolution, and in not fearing to make many heavy sacrifices . . . . But the Russian proletariat is not only following events; it is also exerting every effort to assist the German workers. . . . . During the last few days world history has unusually increased its pace towards a world-wide workers’ revolution.”

Very much in the same way, our Party, and in fact, all of us, estimated the situation in Germany last October. We, also, believed that world history had unusually increased its pace towards the world-wide workers’ revolution.

Towards the end of 1918, Comrade Lenin, wrote as follows :—

“ We, therefore, say that never before has a world-wide revolution been so imminent; never before has it been so evident that the Russian proletariat has set up its power, and that we shall be followed by millions and tens of millions of the world proletariat. . . . . Three months ago, when we said that there might be a revolution in Germany, we were laughed at and told that only half-crazy Bolsheviks could believe in the possibility of a German revolution. Not only the bourgeoisie, but the Man-sheviks and left Social-Revolutionaries called the Bolsheviks traitors to patriotism and declared that a revolution in Germany was impossible.”

Comrade Lenin, in concluding his pamphlet, “ The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky,” (November 10th, 1918), wrote :—

“ The foregoing lines were written on November 9th, 1918.

On the night of November 9-10th, news was received from Germany that a successful revolution had begun, first in Kiel, and other northern coastal towns, where power passed into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, and then in Berlin, where, too, power passed to the Soviets. The conclusion which still remained for me to write to the pamphlet on Kautsky and the proletarian revolution has now become superfluous."

The above quotation shows how Comrade Lenin and all of us, at that time were convinced that this final victory, the proletarian revolution in Germany had been won.

### LENIN, ON THE FIRST WAVE OF REVOLUTION.

On November 6, 1918, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the November revolution, Comrade Lenin in a speech said:—

"We are celebrating the anniversary of our revolution at a moment when very important events are taking place in the international workers' movement, and when it has become clear to even the sceptical and doubting members of the working class that the world war will not be ended by agreement or by the force of the old governments, and the old ruling bourgeois class, but that it is leading Russia and the whole world to a world-wide proletarian revolution and to the triumph of the workers over capitalism."

"When we seized power in October," Lenin wrote, "we were but a few isolated sparks in Europe. It is true that the sparks were increasing and proceeded from us. This was a great achievement, but still the sparks were few and isolated. But now we see a conflagration which has seized the majority of the countries—America, Germany and England. We saw how the revolution passed from Bulgaria to Serbia. We saw how the revolution of workers and peasants passed through Austria into Germany. Many countries have been involved in the conflagration of the workers' revolution."

In connection with the Hungarian revolution, Comrade Lenin on January 9th, 1919, said:—

"Old people say, 'Our children have grown up and become adults. We may now die.' We are not preparing to die, we are going forward to victory; but when we see such children as Soviet Hungary, we can say that *we have done our duty not only in Russia, but on an international scale* (italics ours, G. Z), and that we are prepared to undergo the greatest difficulties in order to achieve complete victory."

Having studied Marx and Engels, we can understand why

such a type of error (over-estimation of the pace of events and of time intervals) were for them unavoidable. These errors proceeded from those powerful qualities of Marx and Engels, which made them not only great scientists and theoreticians of Socialism, but also great revolutionaries.

We, at the end of 1923, are, of course, not indifferent to the question of time intervals. Whether decisive events will take place a year or two earlier or later is important. Yet, from the historical point of view, this question is a secondary one. Fundamentally, the estimates made by our Party and by the Communist International in Russia in October, 1923, were and are correct. Important, and in fact, decisive factors are continuing to operate in favour of revolution in Germany. The path which the German proletariat and its Communist Party is now pursuing is a difficult and thorny one. But ultimate victory is assured.

### BEGINNING OF SECOND WAVE.

Looking back on the events which took place during September, October and November, 1923, in Bulgaria, Poland and Germany, we are led to conclude that they mark the beginning of the *second* wave of international proletarian revolution. The *first* wave began in 1917 (with the great Russian Revolution) and ended somewhere about 1920, having spread to a number of European countries. This began as a direct result of the world imperialist war, and its elemental sweep was tremendous. There was a time when we were perfectly justified in believing that the wave was so powerful that it would sweep away the bourgeois power over the whole of Europe.

At the time of the first wave, however, the influence of the Communists was insignificant. The very word "Communism" was practically speaking, heard in Europe for the first time in 1919. During the period 1917-1920, the Communist International was in process of formation, and the heroic uprising of the Spartacists in January, 1919, was the uprising of only a small minority. The wave of 1917-20 was unable to shake capitalism to its foundations. It was but the first suggestion of death.

Then came the ebb. The year 1921-22, and the first half of 1923, was a period of extreme and world-wide reaction; of the capitalist offensive, the disintegration of social-democracy, the suppression of the old trade unions and the enfeeblement of the working class.

At the last meeting of the Enlarged Executive Committee of

the Communist International, it was *felt*, if not actually foreseen, that a new revolutionary wave was approaching. The slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, and the resolutions on the agricultural and national questions proceeded from this presentiment of fresh revolutionary struggles. That this second wave of the international proletarian revolution has already begun is now perfectly clear. The events in Bulgaria, Poland and Germany, whatever their immediate outcome may be, have proved that the bourgeoisie have not subdued Europe, and that new revolutionary struggles are not far distant.

### COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AN ORGANISED INFLUENCE.

The second revolutionary wave (the end of 1923-?) is distinguished from the first revolutionary wave (1918-29) by the fact that International Communism is now asserting a far more powerful and organised influence upon the march of events. The sweep of the movement which began in the second half of 1923, has so far been more restricted than that of 1917-20, which was directly connected with the imperialist war. But the element of organisation and communist conscience among the proletarian vanguard is, to-day, undoubtedly stronger. The experience accumulated during these years by the advanced section of the world proletariat will reveal its influence in the near future. We shall see events which the wisecracks would have declared utterly impossible. We shall certainly see the great social-democratic parties, who are now playing a counter-revolutionary role, collapse like houses of cards, and workers who now place their trust in the social-democrats, pass *en masse* into our camp.

It is true that the movement in Bulgaria and Poland has been crushed. It is true that General Seeckt triumphs in Germany. Nevertheless, the events that took place in Bulgaria, Poland, and Germany during September and October, 1923, *mark the beginning of the second wave of the international proletarian revolution.* The pace of events is still not swift enough; our revolutionary impatience is only natural. But speaking objectively, events are moving with unusual swiftness. Less than two months elapsed since the Bulgarian uprising was suppressed in blood before the Bulgarian Communists were again on their feet, and at the elections, conducted under the violent control of the Tsankov Government, the bloc of Communists and peasants gained important victories. That which the Russian workers and peasants after

their defeat in 1905 required several years to perform, is being performed in Bulgaria in a few weeks.

The same, in all likelihood, will take place in Germany. The workers will recover from the blows of reaction much more quickly than many think. One need not be a prophet to foretell that in the winter and spring a new mass outbreak of the revolutionary movement in Germany is inevitable. The second wave of the international proletarian revolution has begun. It rose higher in Germany than anywhere else.

It did not reach the height necessary for the victory of the proletariat, and has now begun to subside. It will inevitably rise again.

The second wave is still not the "World November," but it is a gigantic step towards the "World November." The second wave of the international proletarian revolution is already beating heavily against the edifice of European capitalism. The edifice will surely crumble.

We shall err many times more in questions involving time intervals, as there are no scientific instruments for exactly determining such questions. The Marxian method is a powerful weapon in our hands, but it cannot save us from over-estimating the pace of events or from inaccuracy in matters of time. But *fundamentally* we have not erred, do not err, and shall not err.

Whatever the immediate outcome may have been, the events of September and October, 1923 mark an important stage in the preparation for the final victory of the International Proletarian Revolution.

G. ZINOVIEV.



# The Nationalist-Labour Pact in South Africa

*The following article explains in detail the circumstances of the Pact entered into between General Hertzog, the Nationalist Republican, and Colonel Cresswell, the Leader of the South African Labour Party....The correspondent to the London Times a few weeks ago, refers to an interesting incident that occurred during the Congress of the Transvaal Nationalist Party, held at Pretoria, just a week after General Smuts left for London. It appears that two of the Nationalist Leaders, Treiman Roos and Piet Grobler, laid special emphasis on the Republican aims of the Nationalist Party, which provoked Colonel Cresswell, speaking the next night at Johannesburg to declare, "Secession was not a matter for argument, and that the question of membership within the Commonwealth was a matter of affection to the overwhelming majority of English-speaking South Africans."*

*Mr. Barlow, the other Labour Leader, was more emphatic in his protest, and declared, "he would carry the fiery cross into towns and veld against Republicanism."*

*The Labour Party conference is due to be held at Pretoria on New Year's Day, when the Pact will come up for discussion.*

*Comrade Danchin's article is an informative flashlight on the circumstances of the Pact.—Ed.*

## THE MEANING OF THE ANGLO-BOER WAR.

**W**HEN historical materialism laid down its verdict, that the prime causes of all political actions and social adjustments are to be traced to economics, it was not unaware that in the majority of cases the elementary economic cause is hardly evident to the superficial observer. In South Africa, perhaps, more so than anywhere else, in view of the intensity of the class struggle, it is difficult to obtain clarity of vision. Here nationality and a multiplicity of confusing factors are inextricably mixed with political struggle. To unravel the political tangle of to-day, it will, therefore, be necessary to go back at least to that event which has brought into being and shaped the course and character of the political alignment of the present moment. This event is the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.

Historically, that crisis had a double significance : it marked yet another stage in the imperialist expansion of England, and it removed the last traces of feudal power in Southern Africa. Feudalism, as a system was, however, showing signs of its rapidly approaching dissolution, even before this war. The invasion of the Transvaal by mining capital, and the sudden influx of townsmen that followed the introduction of large scale mining, added on to the collapse of the old system of pastoral agriculture, and the consequent ruin and proletarianisation of hundreds and thousands of farmers, would eventually have brought about the fall of the old order. Had the population of the Transvaal been of a homogenous national character, this event would have taken place on the familiar lines. But the two classes being also cleanly divided on a parallel national basis, the Boers could only symbolise in the fall of feudalism, the extinction of their national independence, and they fought the war accordingly.

The overthrow of feudal power having been achieved by means of an imperialist war of conquest, the ideological residue of the struggle was entirely different from that left after a more natural transference of state power from one class to another. The national solidarity engendered by the desire, and the ideal eventually to regain independence were now, for a time, to prove stronger than all the acuteness of class division. In this manner, the forcible annexation of the Boer republics by British imperialism succeeded in diverting the course of historical progress by several decades. And this was not the case among the Dutch only, for, instead of organising for struggle with their capitalist masters, the English town-dwellers, too, postponed all action until they should first achieve undisputed loyalty to the Empire.

### **SECESSION VERSUS LOYALTY.**

The grant of self-government in 1907, did little to remove the barren national division which paralysed all advancement. When the four provinces decided three years later to form the Union of South Africa, it seemed as if at last the obstacle had been overcome by British Colonial diplomacy having gained another triumph on the South African field. Botha and Smuts, two of the most prominent of the Boer leaders, had seemingly succeeded in uniting the whole Boer nation under their leadership, thus marshalling them, too, under the banner of capitalism and imperialism. This treacherous and unstable policy was, however, soon to be repudiated. The National Convention had hardly concluded, when it began to be realised that the self-deceptions and illusions of its

atmosphere would be unable to be translated into reality. The first concrete example came two years later, when an irrevocable split occurred in the Union Cabinet. The very self-same problem which had with so much rejoicing been proclaimed as solved for all time was now again showing its powerful presence. Over the question of a "two-stream" or "one stream" policy, later clarified into "secession versus loyalty," General Hertzog, Minister of Justice, was expelled from the Cabinet in April, 1912. And thus the embryo of the National Party of to-day came into being.

Based for the time being on what was declared with endless insistence to be a personal conflict, the success of the new Party was extremely limited. Gradually, however, it began to assume definite shape, Hertzog collecting a group of deputies around him in the Assembly. But when Smuts and Botha entered with much zest into the business of suppressing the 1914 rebellion, thus demonstrating their true character of traitorous imperialist lackeys, the Boer masses of South Africa began to shake off the effects of the powerful influences of the dope which had swamped them and carried them off their feet at the time of the Union.

From now onwards, the progress of Nationalisation began to be rapid and phenomenal. In the October, 1915, elections over 20 seats in the Union Parliament were won by Nationalists, then still called Hertzogites. In the two general elections of 1920 and 1921, they captured 45 seats on each occasion, and if this year's elections to the Transvaal, Cape and Free State Provincial Councils are any criterion to its present strength, it is assured of gaining over 60 seats, or nearly half the total representation. It is a growth of extraordinary rapidity, and testifies to the strength of the mass feeling behind it, and to the near approach of a decisive struggle with the dominating capitalist power.

### THE LABOUR PARTY.

Reference has already been made to the national composition of the town population, and their supreme concern for the precious "British connection." This, however, did not altogether deter them from showing occasional opposition to their chosen masters, the Rand mining magnates. The rise of trade unions soon after the Boer War, and the struggle of the workers for better conditions had, however, to precede the definite formation of a working-class political party. Such a party was formally launched about 1907, and had as its first membership numbers of British and Australian ex-soldiers, who had come out to South Africa with the forces of occupation. The Party, as was inevitable, drew its inspiration



from the two countries in which its membership had received its political training and experience. It was, therefore, from the outset a body of opportunistic and constitutional petty-bourgeois reformists without backbone.

The experiences of the Miners' strike of 1907, and the general strike of 1913, had the effect of inducing the general mass of the workers to recognise the strength of political action, as apart from industrial, and a great number of trade unions became affiliated to the Labour Party. This welcome accession of strength was, however, largely nullified by the still greater influx of petty bourgeois elements, which followed the deportation of the nine strike leaders in January, 1914. The storm of indignation which swept over the country at this typically dictatorial action of Smuts brought about the biggest political landslide in South African history. When the elections to the Transvaal Provincial Council were held in March, the whole candidature of the Smuts party on the Rand and Pretoria was overwhelmingly defeated, and the Labour Party, hitherto a small fraction of five or six members, found itself with a majority.

This desertion by the petty bourgeois masses of the ruling party reacted immediately on the professional politicians and careerists. They swarmed into the now popular Labour Party, eventually dominating its councils, and directing its policy. When the great war broke out in August, the Labour Party was as big and ramshackle as the Second International itself. After holding the fort for nearly a year, the more class-conscious elements, who opposed the war, were expelled. Bankrupt of political courage at all times, and hopelessly ignorant of the courses of the struggle in Europe, South Africa's Labour Party leaders willingly became ready tools in the hands of reaction. Several of them went on active service, Mr. Cresswell himself serving as colonel under General Smuts in German East Africa.

The expulsion of the left wing section, which had kept the flag of international solidarity flying, just before the Parliamentary elections of October, 1915, however, did not save the party from the political attempt to demonstrate its loyalty to imperialism at all costs, but it was outbid in Jingoism by the Unionist and S.A.P. Parties, and suffered almost complete extinction. Nevertheless, this eclipse was destined to be temporary, for the basis for a mass party of the town population was there, and was rapidly being strengthened by the progressive disintegration of the Unionists. At the elections in March, 1920, this was unmistak-

ably demonstrated by the return to Parliament of over 20 Labourites.

### THE RAND STRIKE, 1922 AND AFTER.

Such was the position in country and town when the year 1921 closed. Trusting to the neutralising effect of its respective opponents, the Chamber of Mines with the full support of the Smuts' Government, launched the famous series of ultimata which precipitated the greatest labour upheaval in South African experience. Not only did the proposed cuts in wages make deep inroads in the dearly won war gains, but the Chambers' demands contained the deadly threat of ousting thousands of white workers by their systematic displacement by cheaper coloured labour. Angry protests at this intention of ultimately destroying "white South Africa" by greedy oversea financiers anxious only to make the gold mines "pay," began to pour in from all sides. For the first time the country rallied to the support of the towns, and actively assisted in the struggle by sending regular supplies of foodstuffs to the strikers.

On the political plane, too, the vital urgency of unity in face of the common foe, was realised effectively, although not formally, by Nationalists and Labourites conducting a rigorous propaganda among the strikers, and the workers generally. The treacherous solidarity of the Smuts' Cabinet with the Chamber of Mines, which had roused the people to a fever heat of opposition was, however, not to be broken. The strike was allowed to develop, until it was possible to crush the heroic resistance of the workers by force of arms. In this final phase the country showed its further and continual support to the workers, by the refusal to respond of many hundreds of men called out for military service on the Rand.

The strike was crushed, but the common ideal of a "white South Africa" survived, and for the first time the two classes with a common interest, hitherto so effectively disunited by national prejudices and tradition, began to approach one another with the object of uniting their forces. The common experience of Dutch and English workers of capitalist brutality paved the way for a rapprochement, and it has with truth been said that the idea, of a united anti-Smuts front was first mooted in the prisoners' yard of the Johannesburg Fort. The situation created by the strike was unique for its clarity and clear cut class division, and the lesson was not lost even on the most backward. Barely a year after it was so tyrannically liquidated by the Smuts-

Chamber of Mines Administration, the Pact of the Labour and National Parties was an accomplished fact.

### WHAT THE PACT IS.

The brief correspondence between Hertzog and Creswell which formally brought into being the fighting alliance between their respective parties is clear and concise. With the exception of the Labour Party obtaining a pledge as a sop to its own imperialist following, that the question of independence will not be raised during the lifetime of the next parliament, the agreement is singularly free from ambiguities, evasions and bargaining. Aiming primarily, as it does, at the speediest possible overthrow of the Smuts Administration, it can quite well afford to let the future look after itself. At the moment it is essentially an organisation of combat, and, as such, it concentrates its attention on perfecting its organisation and marshalling and increasing its forces. In these respects it was signally successful in the recent Transvaal and Cape Provincial elections, in both of which bodies it now controls a majority of votes. These local successes provide an excellent augury for the near future, when the issue will be decided on the wider national basis.

The story of the Pact would, however, be incomplete without a reference being made to the short-lived opposition that it recently aroused in a section of the Labour ranks. When the annual congress of the National Party re-affirmed its desire to carry on the propaganda for ultimate independence, Mr. Barlow, Labour M.L.A. for Bloemfontein, with the usual blindness of orthodox Labour leaders, saw in this a breach of the Pact. His threat to fight for its severance induced the capitalist press to proclaim loudly both the end of the alliance and a split in the Labour Party. What it demonstrated was, however, nothing more than the inability of Mr. Barlow to grasp the meaning of even the simplest terms. He was promptly reminded of this by Colonel Creswell expounding to him what the Pact restricted its signatory parties to, and that propaganda for independence by the Nationalists or "socialism" by the Labour Party was not a breach of its terms either in the letter or the spirit. Mr. Barlow has since signified his approval and understanding of the Pact's meaning. It was a trifling episode, which the capitalist press and politicians, in their eagerness, to see the end of the dreaded combination, had magnified with their usual skill in this direction. Whatever opposition there had existed in the Labour ranks has for the most part now been overcome, and it is safe to assert that the next

congress of the Party timed for the early part of January, 1924, will adopt it almost unanimously. As for the National Party, it must be credited with an unwavering adherence to the alliance, which no amount of capitalist propaganda has been able to shake.

### THE FUTURE OF THE PACT.

To sum up, the Pact is the most cheerful event in South African politics for the past three or four decades. It signifies the final phase of the present epoch, and the near approach of the end of the domination of mining capital over the destinies of the country. Nevertheless, it presents certain features peculiar to and inseparable from a white civilisation in a country predominantly black, to which the Communist Party of South Africa, while giving the Pact all its possible support, has not lost sight of.

In the programmes of both the Labour and National Parties that bugbear of capitalist "statesmanship," the native "problem" is conveniently ignored, being obviously as "insoluble" to them as to the present rulers. In other spheres, too, the Pact has been silent on what it intends doing when it eventually gets into power, or how it will reconcile those parts of the respective programmes which are mutually exclusive. A formula will doubtless be found for smoothing over the less sharp contradictions, and a broad common programme for "the welfare of the people" will be inaugurated. Heavy taxation of the mining industry (successfully eluded up to the present), the settlement of poor whites on the land, and Labour legislation and State banks on the Australian model, will no doubt be the practical means of realising it. To Communists all the world over the capacity and scope of such measures for effecting any real improvement in the position of the workers are well-known. But the immediate urgency of ending the rule of Smuts and his party, coupled with the historical necessity of putting the petty-bourgeoisie in power, has decided the Communist Party of South Africa to throw in its lot with the Pact. Although its admittance into the alliance would be summarily rejected, it exhorts the workers to "vote Labour, failing which, vote Nationalist." It sees in the success of the Pact the undoing of generations of strenuous imperialist labours, the partial defeat of capitalism, and the eventual complete destruction (achieved by actual experience) of the deadly illusions cherished by the working-class to-day. And it therefore gives the Pact its glad support accordingly.

V. DANCHIN.

# Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg : Last Hours

**O**N Wednesday, January 15th, 1919 Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered. The Burgerwehr (Civil Guard) of Wilmersdorf, a suburb of Berlin, raided the illegal dwelling of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and arrested and took them both to the Eden Hotel in Berlin, the Staff Headquarters of the Gardeschuetzen (Horse Guards) Division.

The murderers are at work. Their enemies are in their power. Liebknecht, the Jew, Liebknecht, the Spartacist, Liebknecht, the agitator and rebel, the man without a country, the



man who wants to level everything, the man who wants to nationalise women, the man who wants to abolish money. He, Liebknecht, is in their power.

Rosa Luxemburg is in their power. Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish Jewess, Rosa Luxemburg, the Spartacist, the agitator, the rebel, Rosa Luxemburg, Red Rosa, bloody Rosa. Rosa Luxemburg is in their power.

And the imperialist officers of the German Republic rub their hands, Captain Pflungk-Hartung, Lieutenants Stiege, Liepmann, von Rietgen, Schulze and Heinz Pflungk-Hartung rub their hands. Captains Hoffmann, Pabst and Petry and Lieutenant Vogel and Jaeger zu Pferd Runge stand at the door. All is well for the murderers.

“Swine! He'll not reach Moabit (the prison) alive.” “Nor Rosa.”

Jaeger Runge hits Liebknecht, who sits in the automobile,



twice on the head from behind with a rifle butt. He also hits Rosa Luxemburg over the head. She falls. Runge hits a second time, and leaves her for dead. The automobile drives away into the night with Liebknecht, but *not* in the direction of Moabit, but into the Tiergarten (a large well-wooded park in the centre of Berlin). It stops in a dark side avenue. The half-senseless man is told that the motor has broken down, and is asked if he can walk. Armed soldiers bunch around him, and he is led deeper into the dark wood. Then he is struck down, a shot and somewhere in the night the wood groans.

Liebknecht is delivered to a first aid station as an "unknown man, found dead," by Lieutenant Liepmann.

Rosa Luxemburg has been dragged, senseless, into another car, Ober-Lieutenant Vogel sits at the side of the blood-soaked woman. A man strikes her again on the head with the butt end of a pistol. Ober-Lieutenant Vogel puts his pistol to her head, and blows her brains out with a bullet. They drive to the Landwehr canal and throw her dead body over the bridge into its dark waters.

The murderers make their report. "Liebknecht shot whilst attempting to escape." They write further, "Rosa Luxemburg lynched by an infuriated crowd."

The murderers arrange a drinking bout at the Eden Hotel. Their photographs are taken. They smile. They rub their hands. They are immune, no one dare touch them. All is well for murderers.



# Hands Off Workers' Germany !

*Continued from last month*

## **What will British Military Intervention against the German Worker Revolution Mean?**

Workers of Britain! Comrades, have you forgotten the lessons of the Great War—the war for Democracy and Freedom, the war against German militarism that was to smash the “bloody Hun,” and, according to Lloyd George, establish the reign of Peace and Goodwill, and to make England a land fit for heroes to live in? Have you forgotten that the bitter costs of war, waged on behalf of jealous international money groups, have been carried forward into the piping days of peace?

Over 900,000 British soldiers alone were killed and about 2,000,000 wounded. Over £6,000,000,000 were expended. This means that at the rate of 5 per cent. the British worker, as compared with the 1913 level of production, must produce at least an additional £300,000,000 every year. Twenty million people are in starvation, between fifteen hundred thousand and two millions are permanently unemployed. Heroes have been imprisoned for squatting on the land they were promised and bled for. Housing conditions are abominable. Trade unions have been attacked and their membership reduced by 2,500,000. In the last three years wages have been reduced by over £12,000,000 per week.

Huge combines have been formed and industry heavily trustified, as witness the development of such firms as Lever Brothers, Coats, Vickers, Maypole Dairy Company, etc. The miners, of whom every day four are killed and over 150,000 every year injured, are denied a voice in the control of their industry, in the determination of working condition and safety. But the capitalists have not merely saddled production with the fruits of their wild speculations of 1919-20, but have also, at the expense of the producers and the unemployed, regulated prices and restricted output. Thus they were able, during the worst periods of slump, to make profits as high as the war-time level, in spite of wide working class distress.

### **In the Realms of High Finance the Big Five Rules.**

Between them they control over 60 per cent. of all the deposits, holding altogether about £1,650,000,000. Mr. F. S. Baldwin,



cousin of the Premier, Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, and also Sir Robert Horne, sit on the directorate of Lloyd's Bank, which is an important member of the money trust. Is it surprising to learn that this bank, through its agencies and subsidiaries, both in Paris and Vienna, has been very active during the Ruhr crisis? It is not only said that the Bank of England, through the Anglo-Austrian Bank, Ltd., in which it has the controlling interests, helped Stinnes to sell his products, but it is also said that the Lloyd Bank advanced heavy credits to the Stinnes companies, so that they could buy raw material. Further, the Lloyd Bank, through its Paris connections, exerted strong influence for the settlement of the Ruhr conflict on the basis of a Franco-German-British syndicate. This combine was to exploit the cheapened labour power of Germany, and later use it in competition against the higher-paid English and European working classes. Perhaps this explains why Premier the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin has recently been so beautifully quiet on the Ruhr problem.

**Military Intervention Means:—The Triple Alliance of European Steel Masters; the United Front of English Capitalism; French Imperialism, and German Reaction.**

Germany entered the war for the same reason that France recently invaded the Ruhr. She desired a Continental Steel Block, with Stinnes at its head and Essen as its centre. It was for this reason Britain opposed Germany in 1914, and also France during the past few months. Britain feared this coal and steel hegemony. Along with America she protested against the "unconstitutionalism" of the French invasion. In effect, Poincaré replied: "I'm in the Ruhr to collect enough to pay America and England the debts of France. If I must get out, then England and America must accept responsibility for non-payment." Poincaré won!

Presently there is no danger of war between France and Britain. The steelmasters of Europe, the Baldwins, Colvilles, Vickers; the De Wendels, Schneider-Creusots, Pinots; the Stinnes, Thyssens, Krupps, Klöckners have formed a united front for the common exploitation of the Ruhr. Already General Dagoutte has decreed the abolition of the 8-hours' day and the establishment of the 10-hours' day. Workshop committees are forbidden and increased production insisted upon. The Military Police have been greatly strengthened. That which the war of 1914-18 and the French invasion of the Ruhr, 1923, with all their sacrifices and horrors, failed to settle, has at last been accomplished by the spirit of sweet Christianly compromise.

### **French Imperialism Has Won the Day.**

The Comité des Forges de France is dragging together the capitalists of Germany and England in its wake. Stinnes has lost both to England and France. England has lost to France, but has secured enough, speculatively and otherwise, out of Germany to provide against serious home losses. The extra costs are to be sweated out of the workers of the respective countries. Already Stinnes has commenced to make good his deficits. Through the White Dictatorship in Berlin the 10-hours' day and increased production is to be forced upon the remainder of Germany. This will signalise the Revolution. Britain will support the treachery of Stinnes, and the further "unconstitutionalism" of France in her attacks upon revolutionary Germany. As in 1919, she will blockade, and perhaps occupy, the principal seaport towns. Workers of Britain—will you support this compact of international thieves and murderers? Will you for this don the uniform of hired assassins and murderously attack defenceless, starved men, women, and children?

### **THE DEFEAT OF THE GERMAN WORKER REVOLUTION MEANS THE LOSS OF THE BRITISH 8-HOURS' DAY.**

In October, 1919, the first International Labour Conference, held under the auspices of the League of Nations, met at Washington. It recommended the universal enforcement in all trades of the maximum working week of 48 hours. The British Government refused to ratify this Convention. Subsequent conferences in 1921-22 discussed conditions affecting seamen and agricultural workers. Again the British Government sabotaged! The conclusion of the Versailles Peace Treaty—which shamelessly degraded German labour—was made the starting point for the Capitalist offensive in Britain. British Trade Unionism—due to the superior organisation of capital, falling markets and reformist leadership—was overwhelmingly defeated. During this period the Press declared that, as Germany was "winning the Peace," the workers of Britain must produce more for less wages. Sir Peter Rylands, chairman of the Federation of British Industries—representing over 160 associations and 1,700 firms, with a combined capital of £4,000,000,000—said: "Longer hours must be worked where they can be worked with advantage." Lord Weir, addressing the British Engineers' Association, said: "The shorter working week has increased the price of British products by over £200,000,000." Sir Allan Smith, chairman of the National Engineering Employers' Association, and many other prominent industrial magnates have declared themselves against the 48-hours' week.

## **EVERY BRITISH WORKER MUST ENERGETICALLY SUPPORT THE GERMAN WORKER REVOLUTION.**

The German worker, internationally, occupies the "political front trenches." His fate will decide the destiny of the English and European proletariat. He is between two fires; the enemy is within and without. Internationally, he must face the bourgeois forces of French and English interference. Nationally, he must combat the forces of Fascist reaction under the leadership of the Kapp "putsch" heroes and General Ludendorff. As a result of recent political and trade union developments he is confident, if left alone, he can overcome the latter. Bavaria has her base on a line of reactionary Fascist States, stretching from Bulgaria to Spain. She seeks to strike at Red Saxony, Thuringen and the Berlin proletariat, as per the best Mussolini model. The fate of Italy, repeated in Germany, would likewise be the fate of Britain.

### **WHAT MUST THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS DO?**

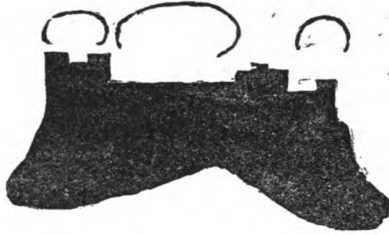
The British working class must, in self defence, set all its available machinery in motion. Trade union branches, trades councils, etc., must immediately organise Hands off Worker Germany Committees and Councils of Action. The Trade Union Congress, the General Staff, and the National Council of Action must commence co-ordinating activities and preparing for extreme action if necessary. Press and propaganda must be concentrated against the menace. Trade Union Executives, the Parliamentary Labour Party, and sympathetic Parliamentarians must conduct an unceasing fight against intervention. The Co-operative movement, Women Guilds, and the unemployed movement must also contribute their strongest assistance. The rank and file, organised and unorganised, irrespective of sex, creed, trade, politics, nationality or colour must combine to defeat the steel dogs of Britain in their Imperialistic scheming.

### **MEN AND WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

Must we again commit the crime of 1914? Must we for ever accuse the German worker for the misdeeds of International Capital? Will we still refuse him the hand of comradeship, even when it means the life and happiness of those who are most dear to him and—to us also? Must we for ever continue to destroy the solidarity which is first essential before we can punish those responsible for driving the workers of Europe at each others throats, and who, to-day, are thrusting the impoverished masses of England and Germany into the despairing pits of misery. Already over 12,000,000

men have been sacrificed in the bloody shambles of war. Reaction is rampant; terror and ruin everywhere! Capitalism, without religion or nationality, vulture like, is fastening its claws into the dismembered remains of one-time Germany. It agonises the proletariat which, deprived of bread and liberty, is thrust forward into the horrors of Civil War. How long must this continue? Is it for this the workers of Britain will invade Germany? Will you assist or condone the heartless wholesale murder of desperate driven men, starved women and children? If you do it is with the knowledge that swift retribution will furiously follow. An injury to one is an injury to all. If to-day the workers of Germany are crucified, with to-morrow's dawn will come reaction, and the workers of Britain will curse in their agony.

J. V. L.



# The Party Conference

**O**UR Party conference is being held at the beginning of one of the most interesting stages in the history of the Labour movement of this country. At the moment of writing, and by the time our conference is held, it appears quite probable that a Labour Government will have come to power.

This is an event of first class importance to the whole working class movement. We have no illusions as to its character. It will be a Liberal-Labour Government coming into power by the consent of the Liberal Party, and, if it is to live, sustained by the Liberals. It will attempt to represent "all the people" and every day of its existence, it will be increasingly beset with dangers from the capitalist parties, who will manoeuvre to bring discredit on it and the whole Labour movement.

Already, Sir John Bradbury, in his attempts to find an expert committee to deal with the new situation on Reparations, has been met with an attempt at sabotage from a number of "gentlemen," who will only serve on "terms." These being, that no revolutionary departure is contemplated by Macdonald, or the Labour Party in financial policy.

The employers, we may be certain will become more stubborn, provoking strikes and lock-outs, for which blame will be laid at the door of the Labour Party. Even ordinary measures in the direction of relieving the unemployed and securing trade improvement will have their reflex in industrial disputes, wherein the workers will attempt, and rightly attempt, to win back what they have lost in recent years. The more we survey the potentialities of the situation, the more complex it appears.

But, complex as the situation undoubtedly is for the whole Labour movement, it is more so for the Communist Party. We shall have demands placed upon us, which will make our previous activities appear as child's play. Already, danger is acute. The more progress we make in winning our way into the Labour Party, the greater the danger of absorption; the greater the need for political clarity, and the emphasis of first principles.

The experience of the last twelve months fully justifies our warning. The United Front, for example, has too often been regarded as accommodation with the "Right," instead of a means of struggle, involving the "Right" in action, or exposure. The

advent of a Labour Government will accentuate this accommodation policy. Already, there are those in the Party, who contemplate the submersion of our programme to preserve the existence of a Labour Government. These tendencies emphasise the need for sharpening our political criticism and a deeper regard for the theoretical equipment of our Party membership. If our Party conference meets and we do not review our experiences in the light of the new situation, and take measures which will strengthen the political equipment of the Party, we shall have to pay a heavy price for our neglect.

### THE FETISH OF ORGANISATION.

If I were asked what are the principal defects of the Party to-day, I would answer unhesitatingly, formalism, organisational Fetishism, and lack of political training. Not for a moment do I undervalue or underestimate the achievements of the Party during the last twelve months. Its increase of influence, the development of the circulation of our paper, the growth in the number of Party representatives in the unions and Labour Party, are great achievements. *But these have been accomplished* through making the maximum demands on the time and energy of our Party membership, and in spite of our mistakes. Probably one of the principal reasons why the Party does not grow as rapidly as its influence, is just these abnormal demands on the membership which have over-taxed personal obligations outside the Party.

A further price we have to pay is in the neglect of political discussions and the failure to appreciate the importance of party training. Not by wilful neglect, but in complete lack of opportunity. This is felt throughout the Party. We have only to reflect on our local and district aggregate meetings and ask ourselves how much time is taken in problems of organisation in proportion to that devoted to politics, to become fully conscious of our needs. It has been all organisation, organisation, technical disabilities and individual grievance. Is it not time we pulled up a little and asked whether we are travelling along right lines?

The Battersea Conference of 1922 passed with enthusiasm, the Party Commission's Report. Its scheme of organisation was accepted in principle, and immediately embodied in the New Statutes and rules. Anyone venturing on criticism of the Report and its proposals was snowed under as an opponent of the group principle. Only experience could settle matters under such circumstances.

After that conference, the Party went into a process of complete re-organisation, and with exceedingly small regard to its material resources, its numerical strength, and the political development of its membership, began to make the Party Commission's Report play the role of a Communist Holy Bible.

### THE DANGER OF FORMALISM.

The whole aim of the Party appeared to be that of "building according to model." Local Party Committees and District Party Committees were created with the membership thinly spread over many miles. The organisers we appointed have been worked to the utmost, but can we say to the best, political advantage of the Party? "Leads" had to come through D.P.C.'s according to plan, and the organisers became duplicating machines. The membership being small, and often scattered, was unable to keep an organiser for lack of funds. The result in some cases being that the organiser had to become propagandist in order to raise the wind. Then the areas they have had to cover, have been too large, and the membership in them too small to make the plan workable. There is hardly a district meeting, but what has as its first class problem—how shall we maintain the organiser? This is no plea for the dismissal of our organisers, but a plea for the release of the organisers from a big percentage of the drudgery imposed upon them, a plea for our organisers to have the opportunity to become such, through an adaptation of the Party organisation to the capacities of the membership. It may be, and is true, that certain districts have interests in common, but these common interests could be focussed and expressed by occasional district conferences, rather than by the establishment of permanent D.P.C.'s which the local element carry. Until districts can bear the weight and responsibility of a D.P.C., there is no justification for its existence. It should be a product of Party life, and not a burden. Until then, the Local Party Committees, which in turn should not cover too large an area, as has been the case in a number of localities, but in keeping with the capacity of the Party membership, should have direct contact with the Party headquarters.

Equally important is the need for a revision of the relations between the Party headquarters and the Party membership. Again it appears that the formal plan is not suitable at the present stage of Party development. The Party Conference elected an Executive Committee to be in one centre and practically continuous session. In addition, it elected a Party Council in order

to have means of testing and reflecting the Party life in the districts. It is fairly evident that whilst the principles upon which these decisions were made are perfectly sound, the practicability of their application at present is open to question. A Central Committee, residing at the centre under existing circumstances, has little chance of constant personal contact with the membership, whilst the political immaturity of the Party has been a stumbling block in the way of making the Party Council a live political factor in the life of the Party.

### THE NEED FOR POLITICS.

This problem of developing the political life of the Party by adjusting ourselves to our capacities will be the most important work of the conference, for I think it is no exaggeration to say that those who have visited the districts have invariably been met with the same complaint. "We have no time for reading, or for Party training. It is as much as we can do to keep pace with the organisational demands. The E.C. seems like some remote body pumping out demands and appeals." If this is permitted to continue it will inevitably lead to deterioration in the political qualities of the Party. Already the Party lead is accepted too formally, and the voice of political criticism too seldom raised within our ranks. And no wonder! We impose ceaseless work without giving opportunities for tapping the well springs of inspiration and enthusiasm which come from the deep and better understanding of Communism. We absorb the will to revolution in the overwhelming demands for mundane activities and smother the desire for a thorough understanding of our struggle and our aims. We can no longer afford this.

We must release the Party from the fetishism of mechanical formalism, and make way for the dynamics of life, which alone give enthusiasm and power to our movement. Organisation should be a weapon of politics and not politics an afterthought of organisation. Where political tasks are understood and determined upon, organisation is the natural corralory to see them through. But organisation which is created as an end in itself or to correspond simply to a paper plan, drains the energy of the Party at the expense of political development.

In no department of Party life is this more clear than that of Party training. Where Party training is proceeding, it is undertaken as a course to be got through as quickly as possible, an extra burden to carry, instead of a continuous living, vitalising factor in Party activity. Is there any wonder that aggregate



meetings are principally organisational washhouses? So serious is the position, that in many districts, even where there is the will to tackle educational work, there is no one capable of leading it. Yet upon the political equipment of our membership depends the capacity of the Party to deal effectively with all its problems in the political struggles of the workers.

If the Party conference faces these issues boldly—liberates the Party from deadly formalism, brings the Party leadership into closer contact with localities, gives the organisers of the party a chance to do their real work, lifts the incubus of premature superstructures from the backs of the membership and begins the task of training it in political leadership, then we can face the future with all its complexities, capable and unafraid.

J. T. MURPHY.

## V E R S E S .

### THREE TYPES.

The man of erudition

He looks up at the skies

With dreamy, far-off eyes,

And proves by definition

And figures by the score

Through chapters ninety-four,

That we'll achieve our freedom

If we continue to heed him.

The clever labour leader,

He stands upon the mat

And murmurs through his hat

That freedom, when we need her,

By heaven, will be sent

Through Act of Parliament,

That speech and resolution

Achieve the revolution.

The man who wields the spanner

He may not be as wise

Or be able to devise

In Parliamentary manner

How to improve his lot,

But he knows that what he's got

Has been by direct action—

A power of satisfaction.

“ VERSUM ”

# Real “Economic Science”

A SHORT COURSE OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE by A. BOGDANOFF, translated by J. FINEBERG. 391 pp. Labour Publishing Company. Cloth, 5/-. Communist Party, Paper, 3/-.

**T**HERE is a remarkable contrast in this country between the eager desire of the workers to be filled with a knowledge of the basic process of society—essentially an instinct to understand their exploitation, and to get rid of it—and the awful sawdust of “economics” with which they are stuffed. Educational class after educational class turns away from the allurements of studying “literature,” or “architecture,” or “the history of art,” or any other of the university pastimes, and demands instead an understanding of “economics,” or “economic history,” or “economic geography,” or “industrial history.” For under one or other of these labels they hope to find the thing they want. What do they get? In each case they get, not what they want, but a narrow, view of a portion of it.

By a narrow view, I mean a view that is unrelated to the whole life of mankind, past and future. Because it is not so related, it is misleading. Therefore, in each case, the workers are not helped to an understanding, but are misled.

“Economic history” turns out to be a mere record of the social changes in England (sometimes in Europe) from the Manorial system to the present day, without any attempt to show the forces that caused the change, and were the mainspring of events. These forces are reserved for a separate study, “economics” to wit, which either treats of an abstract “capitalism,” with the minimum of historical reference, or, if it is the variety called “descriptive,” describes the workings of bourgeois civilization with the proud manner of a prison chaplain showing a Fabian round the cells.

In the case of “economic history,” the last 1,000 years of England is so fascinating, even as a mere labelled collection of events and systems, that the workers—who are beginning to suspect “economic”—go on studying this history without any idea of how much more meaning and use could be found in it. They are exactly in the position of the naturalists of the 18th century. The mere survey of the varieties of animal and plant species was an interest in itself. But it was as nothing to the vision of life

that was opened out to evolutionary biologists in the next century. In the same way there is the possibility of learning the past life of mankind in such a way as to understand how *and why* one kind of society grew out of another; and by this means to foresee the possible future of the workers and be moved to strive for it.

How is it, that in Britain this possibility has been withheld from the working-class? How is it that when an intelligent middle-class Socialist like Bernard Shaw wishes to take up his parable against Marxism, he is reduced to criticising, as the only available book, a contemptible production like Hyndman's "Evolution of Revolution." How is it that until Phillips Price's recent book on the class struggle in Germany there has never been a decent piece of historical or economic analysis written by an Englishman?

The answer is to be found without going into deeper causes, first, in the miserable mental poverty of the British bourgeois historians (on whom the Marxist reinterpreter must to a certain extent be dependent, unless he knows other languages), and secondly, in the character of those Marxian reinterpreters.

The calibre of the British university historian has been extraordinarily low. An exception occurs once in a century, like Gibbon or Maitland. But the ordinary don has been, in technical scholarship, far below the level of other European countries. His disability is due not to laziness or an inferior British brain—he can be as indefatigable and dry-as-dust as any—but to a profound lack of any conception that history is the study of mankind as a whole, or that the main factors in human history can be abstracted and analysed. Consequently, once our historians had ceased to accept the simple view of Macaulay, that history consisted in boosting the Whigs and the manufacturing bourgeoisie as the zenith of civilisation, they were utterly at a loss. Some of them, in despair, have even turned again to GOD under the impression that these three letters of the alphabet can somehow be linked up with the fruits of their historical researches. Some, like Acton, have taken comfort in the belief that some "principle" (variant of GOD) such as Liberty is at the bottom of it. But the majority have flatly abandoned any pretence of thinking at all. Mankind does not exist for them; only a particular set of problems in a particular epoch—juridical, ecclesiastical, mensurational or what you will.

They know history, as a flea knows human anatomy.

Nowhere does their incapacity appear more than in their attitude to the Materialist Conception of History. Here is a unifying conception, about which there might be agreement or disagreement. Yet I have never met, I have never even heard of a modern professional historian who has taken the trouble to understand what this conception is. Instead, we hear an alarmed cackle about "material and spiritual," or "economics doesn't explain everything," or "the driving force of idealism," or any other similar phrase that will serve as a cloak for intellectual sloth and cowardice.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech on "the wild and poisonous berries of Karl Marxism," may have been laughed at in the college Common Rooms, but it expressed their view, none the less. Perhaps some instinct warns these bourgeois historians, that, for their own sakes, Marx must not be understood. At any rate, their barbaric ignorance, alike of the meaning of history or the meaning of Marx, remains invincible. They are exactly like those African chiefs of the 'nineties who, not having the remotest conception of the enormous mechanism of a rapidly developing imperialism, held fast to the simple idea that everything was due to a Great White Queen.

But if the bourgeois historians are a sorry lot in Britain, the Marxists of the past 40 years have been also to blame. Of all the books that were written and circulated so widely between 1885 and 1905, there is not one than is widely read nowadays. Nor is there any reason to suppose that those more recently written will not meet the same fate. The reason is that I have already indicated. There has been going on this fractional distilling of Marxism, and with the happy result of being able to produce a variety of distillation products, to suit every purse and palate. But in the distillation there is broken up the whole spirit of Marxism, the unifying conception that could enable a struggling class to see and strike at the weak points in the defences of its enemy; and at the same time to realise its relation to the rest of mankind, and to know that in every conflict it fulfilled a historic mission.

It is, therefore, important for the workers in this country to have every opportunity of reading books wherein the significance of economic science and its wide scope are fully appreciated. This book by A. Bogdanoff, for instance, is called a Short Course of Economic Science; and "Economics," as it is usually understood, is only brought in as subsections in a survey which runs from

primitive society, and feudal society, past the cul-de-sac of slave-owning society, and through serfdom up to merchant capitalism and present finance-capital. Human organisation begins with a struggle of man, in small groups, against the overmastering powers of nature. This is natural self-sufficing society. It is succeeded by commercial society, wherein the struggle of man is now against the overmastering strength of the social relations. This society is marked by the development of exchange, the growth of exchange fetishism, and internal class struggles. It is finally succeeded by socialist society, wherein, class struggles over, the struggle against nature is resumed by mankind organised freely in a group, that covers the whole world. The synthesis is achieved. The pre-historic period of man comes to an end.

This has been the textbook of study groups in the Russian Communist Party since the late 'nineties. It is now translated for the first time. When a second edition is called for, or rather some considerable time before that event, the Party should make arrangements to have the book thoroughly edited, so that an index is added and, if possible a list of a few books of reference at the end of each chapter.

R.P.A.

# COMMUNIST REVIEW

V O L U M E T H R E E

May 1922—April 1923

§ § §

Contains informative and valuable contributions by

N. LENIN      J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M.P.      WILLIAM PAUL  
 J. T. MURPHY      R. W. POSTGATE      C. M. ROEBUCK  
 L. TROTSKY      CLARA ZETKIN

and many other well-known Revolutionary writers

---

NOW READY      PRICE 8s. 6d. POST FREE

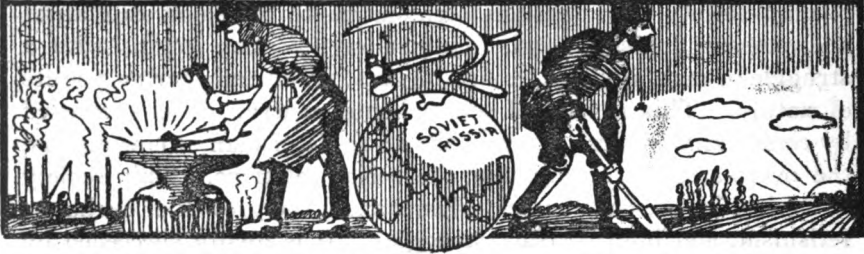
---

L O N D O N

T H E C O M M U N I S T B O O K S H O P

16 King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2

# INTERNATIONAL REVIEW



## SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY.

SUPPORTS DICTATORSHIP AND HELPS TO SUPPRESS COMMUNISTS.

1. New law giving full powers to the Government passed the Reichstag on 7th or 8th Dec., vote 313 for, 18 against. Social Democrats vote in favour and openly support capitalist dictatorship. The vote of 18 was made up as follows: 10 Communists; 4 Bavarian League of Peasants; 1 Social Democrat, who was excluded from the S.D. fraction in the Reichstag; 3 Independents.

This produced a crisis in the S.D. Party, and the Right is now plotting to expel the Left.

Throughout Germany, there are protests against the action of the S.D. fraction in the Reichstag. On Dec. 1st the Rhenish section of the S.D.P. held a congress at Dusseldorf, where, as in Saxony and Thuringia, the Right was completely beaten on the policy of Central Committee of the Party and the Reichstag fraction attacked. This congress decided against a coalition with bourgeois parties and censored the Central Committee for its attitude to Bavaria, Saxony and Thuringia. The Committee elected was composed entirely of the Left.

The Westphalian Section of the S.D. holding a congress on Dec. 1, which protested against the policy of the Central, and the action of the Reichstag, in connection with the nomination of 5 deputies in the new Rhenish Republic. These five deputies had been nominated by the Central Committee to represent the Westphalian section. The five deputies being members of the Right, the Westphalian section refuses to recognise these five representatives, and demands a congress to elect new representatives.

The opposition is stung also in

Bavaria. At a conference of municipal representatives, which met at Munich, a resolution supporting the last enlarged Central Committee in Berlin and condemning the opposition in the Party was carried by a very small majority.

At a congress of the Pomeranian section on Dec. 9th, the Right was beaten and a resolution adopted condemning the action of the S.D. fraction of the Reichstag. A further resolution was passed demanding that Ebert should appear before a tribunal of the Party to give an account of his action in Saxony.

At a meeting on Dec. 11th of the officials of the S.D. Party and of the Trade Unions in Berlin, a resolution was adopted condemning the policy of the Reichstag fraction. The resolution further stated that the new law giving full powers was a menace of reaction, that for workers, officials and employers, there was only one means of opposing it—the deliberate fight for socialism, “to the demands of the reactionary bourgeoisie we oppose the demands of the conscious proletariat.” A resolution against any scission was passed. The Left has now Berlin, Silesia, Pomerania, Saxony, Thuringia, Rhineland, and the Ruhr.

### THE VOTE OF THE S.D.P. IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE C.P.

A fortnight before Seckt suppressed the Communist Party, a conference was held at the Ministry of the Reichswehr, at which Social Democrats were present, which discussed means of paralysing Communist propaganda. This conference, the Press, including “Vorwaerts,” ignored. The Left S.D.’s, said no word against the Reichswehr Conference. Some days afterwards, the bourgeois and the Social Democratic Press both supplied with news and information by the Parliamentary Service of the Social Democrats, began a campaign against the Communist

Party. "Vorwaerts" was soon at the head of this campaign, publishing each day false circulars published by the Central Committee of the C.P. and giving information about depots of arms held by the C.P.

It was these false circulars published by "Vorwaerts" the information about the depots which furnished Von Seeckt with the pretext for suppressing the C.P. In his interdiction, Von Seeckt openly states this.

When the suppression was declared "Vorwaerts" made only a timid protest. Out of the S.D. fraction of the Reichstag, two-thirds voted against the Communist motion demanding the raising of the interdiction, a few Left elements only voting with the Communists. This is proof of the complicity of the Social Democrats.

The morning after the suppression, and during the days immediately following it, "Vorwaerts" continued to inform against depots of arms and to publish false circulars of the K.P.D. Central Committee. On Dec. 8th, "Vorwaerts" brought to the notice of the police a meeting called by a group of intellectuals, and stated that this would be a Communist meeting.

Everywhere, where there were S.D. prefects of police, and particularly in Saxony and Cologne, these were the first to put into execution the order of von Seeckt, and to search the locals and the press, and to affix the seal of the police.

Severing, the deputy in the Prussian Landtag, at the moment when the Right Nationalists were putting a price upon his head, launched an attack against the Communists.

He first opposed the setting at liberty of Rosi Wolfstein—a deputy to the Landtag—and arrested during a demonstration (the bourgeois parties had voted in favour of setting her at liberty) and, then declared that Parliamentary immunity, could not cover these crimes (taking part in a workers' demonstration, and finally caused the arms seized from the Communists to be brought into the full meeting of the Landtag.

#### REASONS FOR THE ACTION OF THE S.D.P.

1. The ministerial crisis. This was a severe crisis in the bourgeois parliamentary system, and might bring about the dissolution of the Reichstag. At an election it was clear that the C.P. would multiply its

representation five times. The suppression of the C.P. was the only means of putting it out of action at the next elections.

2. The bourgeoisie are preparing for the final death of the 8-hour day. The S.D.P. knows this, but wished to paralyse the C.P. in a period which is dangerous for the S.D.P.

3. The dissatisfaction of the rank and file of the S.D.P. and the conflict between Left and Right has become acute. The Right leaders understand the situation and realise that the masses are becoming more and more under the influence of the C.P. The suppression of the Party would not put an end to this, but it might, at least, hold off the decomposition of the S.D.P.

The politicians of the Right wish to make an end of the Left, which is on the way to conquering the Party, and which will be in the majority at the next congress. The suppression of the C.P. makes it easier to expel the Left.

## SPAIN.

### TRIAL OF FIVE YOUNG COMMUNISTS

These five comrades were the Committee of the Y.C.L. and in July, 1922, published a manifesto against the War in Morocco. The Public Prosecutor accused them of a seditious act, and recommended them to 4 years hard labour. Their counsel argued however, that as they had not addressed themselves to the Army, there could be no sedition. The Council of War dropped this charge, but sentenced them to a year's hard labour on the charge of insulting the Army, although this was not a charge made by the Public Prosecutor. Their imprisonment and removal from activity is a serious loss to the Party.

## SOVIET ELECTIONS.

The elections which have just taken place in the U.S.R. show greatly increased activity of the electorate, the number of votes being nearly double that of the last elections in 1922. The village Soviets and rural district executives are composed as to their majority of non-party members, but have elected 50 per cent. of Communists to the county executives. In the provincial executives, Communists have received an absolute majority; while in the town Soviets, elected in workshops and other places of employment, the average Communist strength is 67 per cent, as against 61 per cent, last year.

# THE FORUM

*Under this heading readers are invited to state their personal opinion upon any question of vital importance to the working class*

## TROTSKY ON DARWIN.

Dear Comrade,

Our Comrade Trotsky writing in the "Review" (November, Page 326), states that Darwin "did not lose his belief in God, etc." This, I believe, is incorrect, and offer some proofs:—

"I gradually came to disbelieve in Christianity as a divine revelation . . . this disbelief crept over me at a very slow rate, but was at last complete."

(Autobiography of Charles Darwin—  
from Life and Letters, Vol. 1, pages 308-9).

"I never gave up Christianity until I was forty years of age"—and again—"I am with you in thought, but I should prefer, the word "Agnostic" to the word "Atheist."

From the "Religious Views of Charles Darwin"—a pamphlet written by Dr. Aveling recording an interview between Darwin, Aveling and Buchner—of which Francis Darwin writes, "Dr. Aveling gives quite fairly his

impressions of my father's views." (Life and Letters, Vol. I, page 317).

Aveling's "impressions" have nothing to do with it. A fact is a fact.

So then, Darwin was not only not a Christian, but an unbeliever in Deity, though, like Huxley, he preferred the word Agnostic—but as regards the two militant atheists he was "with them in thought."

Francis Darwin was very unwilling to admit his father's position, and Darwin himself was very reticent. They buried him in Westminster Abbey—but he had no part in that—and the roof all but collapsed a few years afterwards—poetic justice, but no moral to be drawn.

W. E. LYTE.

[We hoped to have had Comrade Trotsky's observations on the above letter in time for this issue, but we expect it will be forthcoming in due course.—Editor.]

## BOOK REVIEW

### "AN OUTLINE OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY."

Plebs Textbook. Price, 2/6.

Published by Plebs League, at 162A, Buckingham Palace Rd., W.C.

Comrade J. F. Horrabin and the Plebs League have rendered a distinct service to the working class movement by publishing this outline of economic geography. So far as I know, this is the first of its kind in Labour literature in this country, and it is a worthy introduction. The subject is one of the most fascinating, whilst its importance can hardly be over-estimated.

The first half of the book is modelled on Fairgreaves' "Geography and World Power," and none the worse for that. The second part dealing with the world to-day, is much more distinctively treated and makes a welcome addition in handy form of what previously we had to search for. There is an abundance of maps, admirably drawn, each one of which offers a lecture even when you've lost the text.

What about economic geography in relation to the workers' struggle. Almost throughout this book, we seem

detached from the workers and to be following the fortunes of the governing powers of the nations. True, the Russian Revolution comes in for observation after it is accomplished, but nowhere are we faced with the factors before the revolution, except giving a word of warning about taking national action without regard to the position of the working class movement in other countries and its economic geographical factors. And yet, what a marvellous effect geography must have had on the workers' movement, and what an important factor it is in the make up and activity of the movement—What a factor it has been in creating insularity of vision, what differences there are between Continental workers and ourselves, due in the main to geography!

This book is primarily concerned with geography, studied in relation to capitalist history and economics. It is well done. We commend it to every worker wanting to know. But I wish someone would now follow with a study of geographical problems in relation to revolution in the making, or must we wait until we've all had our revolution? J. M.