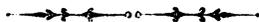


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# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

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# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

*Editor: THOS. BELL*

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## THE EDITORIAL VIEW

**W**ITH amazing consistency, and still more remarkable effrontery, the entire capitalist press has been unanimous in finding the Communists and the Communist International guilty in connection with the explosion in the Cathedral of Sofia, on April 16th, during the religious service in memory of General Gheorgieff. A "Pan-Balkan Communist Union" is invented to provide a screen for the atrocities and outrages of the Tsankoff Government—a government which has fertilised the soil of Bulgaria since the Stambouliski government, with the blood and bones of peasants and town workers alike. Even the special correspondents to the capitalist press admit that "the bourgeois and military elements have been ruthlessly suppressing opposition—kraaling the peasants in their villages, permitting the police to ignore the recognised processes of justice, and seeking to retain power by that force whereby they attained it."

Meanwhile, documents and written "instructions" from Moscow are forthcoming in the approved "Zinoviev letter" style.

What is behind this Bulgarian crisis? Let the facts speak for themselves. The Bulgarian bourgeoisie, after having overthrown by force, the agrarian government of Stambouliski on June 9th, 1923, adopted a policy of open military dictatorship. Headed by Tsankoff, the government, supported by all the bourgeois parties and the Socialists declared the two great parties, the Communist Party and the Peasants' Union, outside the pale of the law. Papers were suppressed, local organisations closed down, funds confiscated and over 2,000 persons arrested without any legal justification or pretext. It was such excesses that provoked the insurrection of September, 1923.

The workers and peasants, being forced to take up arms in self-defence, have been met by the most callous and brutal reprisals, thousands of innocent people who have had no part in revolutionary activity being shamelessly massacred. Amongst the victims the list of Communists has been especially heavy. Communist deputy after deputy has been assassinated, whilst a great number of workers and peasants, amongst whom are our Comrades Kabatchiev, Ivanov and Penev, have been rotting in jail for the past eighteen months.

The Defence of the Realm Act has authorised the persecution of all members of the Communist Party and the Peasants' Union. Lawyers dare not hazard the defence of the victims of the government for fear of reprisals. Guerilla bands are hired by Tsankoff to exterminate all "subversive" elements. It is, therefore, ridiculous in face of these facts to speak of a "Red Terror" or of Soviet Government plots.

The one thing which has always marked the Bolshevik Party from the Social-Democratic, or social revolutionary parties, has been its inflexible opposition to acts of individual terrorism. So with the Communist International. In Bulgaria our Party has striven to win the masses away from individual terrorism, and to organise them for the mass revolutionary struggle for political power. But it is idle to close our eyes to facts. Any government which attempts to establish its permanency upon terrorism can only provoke one result, and that is individual reaction. The recent events—the attempt upon the life of King Boris and the explosion at Sofia—but express the temper of the immense majority of the Bulgarian people towards the assassins and cutthroats, who are supported and lauded for their sanguinary deeds by the whole of our British press.

The Tsankoff government is being inspired by the Allied imperialists, to a new crusade against the national minorities struggling for liberation, and the Soviet Government. The proof of this is to be seen in the barrage against Communism, and the eagerness to add to the military strength of the Bulgarian Government. Bereft of any sense of decency the recent events in Sofia are merely being used to strengthen the imperialists' bloc against the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of the U.S.S.R. Tsankoff and his hired assassins have against them the majority of the Bulgarian people. It is a government of usurpation and assassination.

\* \* \* \* \*

Since the Baldwin administration has been in power, English policy in European politics has been dictated by open hostility to the Soviet Government. This is the meaning

of opposition to the Geneva Protocol, and the proposal for a Five-Power Pact. A part of the same policy, is the recent military conference of Riga. This conference, including Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania—all subsidised or "kept" states of Great Britain and France—can only have one meaning, to anyone with an eye to geography, and that is common action and aggression against Soviet Russia. The formation of such a bloc with the inclusion of Czecho-Slovakia musters a population of 160 millions, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Adriatic, aided by munitions and military training from Britain and France.

The chief of the Red Army, Comrade Mikhaïlov Frounzé, has been compelled recently to draw attention to the continued provocations on Russian frontiers, particularly from Poland. Against the military preparations and secret conclaves of the imperialist generals, Frounzé has declared it to be the desire of the Soviet Government for peace and an earnest wish to settle differences by pacific means. But still the provocations go on.

One of the most outrageous of these since the Sara-jevo incident in 1914, has been the wanton murder in cold blood of the two Polish revolutionists, Baginsky and Wiczorkiewicz, on March 30th. Baginsky was a man of exceptional talents, an officer in the Polish army, and a pupil of Pilsudsky, the Socialist leader. Wiczorkiewicz was also an officer. Both men had carried on illegal political work, and were betrayed by spies. Both were sentenced to death, which was subsequently commuted to hard labour for life in the case of Baginsky, and 15 years hard labour for Wiczorkiewicz. For the past two years these men lived in terrible conditions of privation and torture, their health ruined to such a degree as to threaten an early grave.

The Soviet Government proposed an exchange, as has been its custom, for counter revolutionary prisoners in Russia. The Polish Government agreed, and the Soviet Government arranged to hand over the Polish priest Vssas, who had been convicted for criminal acts of violence on women and young girls. On the Russian frontier station, Stolbej, both our comrades were murdered.

What the motives were we may surmise.

The Polish Government had to choose between two evils for them. Either to allow these revolutionary fighters to get through and expose the whole scandal of Polish tortures and terrorism, or risk the scandal of a murder. The fact that they chose the latter course—heinous as it is—reveals the

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desperate means by which the Polish bourgeoisie is forced to resort to in maintaining its power.

The readiness of the Polish government to welcome the criminal woman-violater, Vssas throws a searching flashlight on its true character. The murder is evidence of the varied means adopted by the imperialists to provoke the Government of the Soviet Republics.

\* \* \* \* \*

The patchwork government of Herriot in France,—the *bloc des gauches* and twin sister to the MacDonald regime in Great Britain—has gone the way of its British partner, and a victim to the same power and influences. Incapable of realising its promises to the middle class and petty bourgeoisie, and having shown its inability to solve the very grave financial crisis for the larger bourgeoisie, it has received the same ignominious dismissal from its masters as the MacDonald government.

The attack was led by Francois Marsal, the principal representative of high finance and the heavy industry. This Marsal is an associate of Wendel, Schneider, the iron combine and the oil groups. He is also an associate of the Textile and Metal interests of Alsace-Lorraine, and has a seat amongst others, on the General Bank of the Nord. He represents the combine of Mines, Foundries and Iron works of d'Alais, and is mixed up with the Royal-Dutch Shell Company. Could we have any better proof of the *real* powers behind the parliamentary marionettes, who now and then pose for a brief while, as democrats, pacifists or bloc of the left?

Such a patchwork government as Herriot's with its antagonistic groups and conflicting interests could only be, as indeed it was intended to be, a stop-gap administration. Its petty bourgeois characteristics of timidity, hesitation and vacillation have been exposed times without number by our Comrade Cachin, and the small group of militants of the Communist Party in the Chamber of Deputies.

But of greater concern to us, for its lessons, is the part played by the Socialist Party of France in the tragi-comedy. Like MacDonald, Wheatley and the I.L.P. of Great Britain, the Socialists in France are devotees of the principle of class collaboration. The class struggle for them is anathema; they are "practical" Socialists. To the tune of "practical" and "gradual progressive reformism," Leon Blum, Paul Faure and such intimate Socialist friends of MacDonald went into the Bloc des Gauches to prove the virtues of parlia-

mentary opportunism over the Communist policy of waging the class struggle.

They were going to make the capitalists disgorge by peaceful means.

With what results? The French workers and peasants have seen the cost of living going up steadily, they have seen the conditions of labour worsened, but capital and the big capitalists have remained untouched. Despite the slogan of "No inflation" the increase of paper money in excess of legal requirements has reached the colossal figure of 2,000,000,000,000 francs; the total national indebtedness reaching a figure of ten times that of 1913.

That the bankers should decide to ring down the curtain is nothing strange. The marvel is that there are still people calling themselves Socialists who think it possible to defeat the bankers by parliamentary manoeuvring. Nor does it appear that our Socialist opportunists have learned the lesson. Leon Blum and his friends have now transferred their allegiance to M.M. Painleve and Caillaux. "All goes well," says Blum, "we are entirely reassured!" Thus, a new front is formed. It is Painleve, Briand, Caillaux and Blum against the Communist Party and the revolution.

Our Party proposed to make a united front with the Socialists and to create a workers' and peasants' bloc against the bourgeois bloc. The Socialist Party disdained to even send a reply. They prefer to engage in parliamentary intrigues, no doubt for a consideration, to carrying out their own Socialist programme, not to speak of waging the class war.

\* \* \* \* \*

The electoral results in Belgium has given the Socialist Party an increase in seats from 68 to 79, a net gain of 11. Vandervelde now leads the largest parliamentary group in the Chamber of Deputies, and is asked by His Majesty King Albert, to form a cabinet. As in France—at the time of writing—negotiations and parliamentary manoeuvrings are going on with the usual intrigues. Shall it be a "democratic pacifist" government, or a "business government"?

For a long time the bourgeoisie in Belgium has been hanging on to the coat-tails of the French and British. Like the French and British bourgeoisie, the Belgians have not escaped from the industrial and economic crisis in Europe. Recently an offensive has been launched against the miners and metal workers as a prelude to a general attack on wages and hours. There is, therefore, a certain coincidence be-

tween the parliamentary successes of Vandervelde and this industrial offensive.. Notwithstanding the "collaborationist" policy of the Second Internationalists there has been going on for a long time a certain radical change in the outlook of the large mass of the Belgian workers. This is reflected, not only in the increased vote for the Socialists, but in the return of two Communists to the Chamber—an entirely new phenomenon in the Belgian parliament. Vandervelde is, therefore, on his trial. Will he do the bidding of the financiers and capitalists, viz., maintain continuity in foreign policy, maintain the military occupation of the Ruhr, support the industrialists in their offensive against the workers, and in general adopt *laissez faire*? Or, will he abandon the Second Internationalist's policy of parliamentary intrigue and wangling, and wage the class war against all the forces of capitalism?

From experience in Great Britain, France and Germany, to speak only of the more outstanding countries where Social-Democracy has been tried, it is quite clear that a Vandervelde Cabinet means *No Change*. Indeed, if we are to judge from the remarks of the Socialist Deputy, Bertrand, it is already clear why a Vandervelde Cabinet is contemplated; that such a Cabinet is the only safeguard against a vigorous reply to the industrialists' offensive by the working class. "We are at the opening of an industrial crisis," says M. Bertrand, "that menaces social peace. A democratic government can secure moderation and sacrifices, and get the workers to make the necessary concessions." Quite so! With the Vandervelde policy of "moderation," as with the MacDonald, Blum, Ebert experiments, it is always the workers who pay. A Vandervelde government will but add one more nail to the coffin of the Second International by helping to purge the minds of those masses who still follow its lead from their democratic illusions.

\* \* \* \* \*

### OUR NEW PUSH

The present is the first number of the *Review* at a new price, and we believe, in a more attractive form. We do not claim it is *perfect*, but, so far as it is possible, we intend to approach perfection. As in all workers' publications, a good deal depends on the readers. We are taking a risk in reducing the price, but not such a great one. If all the *increased orders* are not only for the first one or two of the new *Review*, but are *continued*, it will be a great gain.

A great effect is often made by the appearance of a journal apart from the contents. We think the appearance

is improved for a start. In addition the **PRICE IS REDUCED BY ONE-THIRD**. If we are supported by our readers, that price is coming down again. This means a lot of support, but we can do it.

Of course, we cannot make it into an exclusively agitational organ. That is the role of the *Workers' Weekly*. The part of the *Communist Review* is to make all the Party members, and all those who are not in the Party, but who read our literature, to understand Communism. Not only must we *feel* that the present Class Society is bad, but we must know *why, what* are its weak points, *how* to take advantage of these, and the task of the *Communist Party*. Where the *Workers' Weekly* agitates and organises, the *Review* takes on the task of theoretic criticism and review.

It is absolutely necessary, therefore, for every working class fighter that he should read the *Review*. No other paper takes its place. No other paper **can** take its place without the Party runs another *Review* on the same lines. Every Party member must buy it. Every Party member must sell it. The total cost per week for the *Party organs* is twopence per member.

What must be done to ensure the sale of the *Review* and its continuous improvement? **Simply what the Party has done before**. Just as every Party member and sympathiser should push the sale of the *Workers' Weekly* wherever he may be, should enlist the help of every worker, **should adopt house-to-house canvassing and sales in the factory**, so also should they take the same measures for the sale and enlargement of the *Review*. This is an important Party duty, equal to that of pushing the Weekly Organ. **The circulation of the *Review* should and must be equal to that of the *Workers' Weekly***. The same people should and must read both.

We ask for your assistance. Every additional order is a step towards a better *Review*. We think that our Party and our sympathisers will support us. We look to you and the future with confidence.

# May Day & the Workers' Battlefront

By THOMAS BELL.

**T**HIRTY-SIX years have gone since the first day of May was proclaimed by the Socialist International to be the workers' own day—a day for demonstrating the international solidarity of Labour and for the eight-hour day. Since that memorable congress at Vienna, in 1889, the First of May has been indelibly inscribed upon Labour's calendar. In many countries, particularly on the Continent, the slogan of international working class solidarity has been re-written again and again in the blood and tears of the revolutionary fighters against capitalism.

Paris, Berlin, Moscow, Leningrad (formerly St. Petersburg), to name but a few of the more important centres of international Socialism have all seen the sabres of the gendarmerie, or the knouts of the Cossacks, at the bidding of the bourgeoisie, cut and lash at working men and women who dared to throw down the barriers of national prejudice and hatred, and to shake hands across the capitalist frontiers, proclaiming the identity of interests and the solidarity of the oppressed toilers the world over.

The First of May on the Continent, amongst the militant Socialists has always been the symbol of class struggle; the call for renewed vigour and intensity of working class action against everything bourgeois. The demonstrations are the challenge of one army to another—the army of the toilers to the army of the exploiters.

## THE MAY DAY "CULT."

Here in Great Britain, our tradition for compromise could not tolerate the thought of disturbing the "harmonious relations between Capital and Labour." Under the spiritual guidance of the I.L.P. and fossilised trade union leaders, our British movement has always set aside the first Sunday in May for our celebrations, praying to heaven that the first day of May will land on a Sunday, that it may salve its conscience before the rest of the world's workers. It is true that there is a growing revolt against the "Sunday" holiday conception of May Day, and an increase in the number of workers who now regard the *First day* of May as their own day. But we are yet far away from emulating the Russian workers, who in face of sabre, knout and machine gun, used to troop out of the factories and workshops in their working

clothes to demonstrate in the streets on the First of May, their international fraternity with the workers of other lands. We have some way to go yet before we can truly say we are fulfilling our obligations to those pioneers of thirty-six years ago, not to speak of those who have since become martyrs in the attempt to carry out the resolution of 1889.

We have spoken above about the British tradition for compromise, and how it has been used to thwart the real purpose of May Day. But we are not only a nation of compromisers; we are strong on tradition, legendary and folklore. With "kept" poets, litterateurs and romantic historians this is not surprising. The schools are spoonfed on tradition and legendary. And so, recognising the dangerous tendencies associated with International May Day, the bourgeoisie has not been slow in relating the May celebrations to the "golden age" of "ye olden times."

Romantic historians have found the roots of May Day in the ancient rites and customs of the pagans, whom it is said, never failed to render homage to the gods for their seasonal gifts. Associated with these rites and customs we are told were the Festivals with much feasting and dancing, such as the Roman Floralia, the festival of Beltaine in the highlands of Scotland and Ireland, persisting through mediæval days with its May Pole and Morris dancing, until the coming of capitalism.

Festivals and holidays (for the workers) are ever an abomination to the bourgeoisie, for whom time is money. It is, therefore, not passing strange that our puritanical bourgeoisie were scandalised at the great number of "holy" days, including the May festivals, and declared them heathenish and idolatrous before God, and the industrial capitalists. A section of the bourgeoisie to-day, seeing in the growing international spirit of the British workers, a menace and danger to the stability of capitalism, sedulously propagate and try to revive the "cult of the old May festival." In this work they derive considerable support from the petty bourgeois ideology of the I.L.P. in particular, which sees in the May Day celebrations not a symbol of class struggle—which it abhors and repudiates—but a survival of the "golden age," as depicted in the pages of romance.

It is high time to protest against all the sentimental tosh and legendary which is woven around May Day, particularly by Socialists of the I.L.P. and Sunday-school type. May Day for the working class movement, was conceived as a call to action—a day for reviewing the army of the toilers, renewing the faith in its own might, and of strengthening the forces of war against capitalism. And never was there greater need for this "call to action" than in the present May celebrations of 1925.

**THE WORKERS' BATTLEFRONT.**

In all lands, outside the one definite conquest of the proletarian revolution, the Soviet Republics of the U.S.S.R., the class struggle rages with ever-increasing intensity. In Great Britain and Ireland, economic crisis dogs the heels of millions in work and out of work. Those unemployed are docketed, dragooned and insulted for being out of work, and demanding just enough to keep body and soul together. Those in work are threatened, bullied and cajoled in turn into accepting lower wages and worsened conditions of labour. For the vast majority of the working class there are no prospects, no security, and less hope, while fortunes are being made apace by worthless parasites and spongers on industry.

In Germany, the ravages of blockade and civil war are crowned by the iniquitous colonisation plans of international financiers. The infamous Dawes Plan becomes an instrument not only for safeguarding the property of German capitalism, but a means for intensifying, by reason of low wages and longer hours, competition and, therefore, lowering the wage and working conditions in all other countries.

In France, the capitalist class is faced with financial bankruptcy. Only the timidity and parliamentary opportunism of the Socialists of the Second International makes government possible. In Belgium we see Vandervelde and the Socialists like the French, being used to buttress capitalism and help the bourgeoisie out.

In Poland, Bulgaria, the Baltic States and the puppet states in the Balkans, the white terror and persecution against the workers and peasants defies description. Thousands are languishing in dungeons, being slowly tortured and done to death for the single crime of remaining true to the class aims and aspirations of our international movement against everything capitalist.

Europe in 1925 is as far away from peace as in 1914. To-day, it is an armed camp; the international imperialists against the disunited army of the working class.

No less ferocious is the class struggle in the colonies and in the countries of the East. In India, the imperialists of Great Britain resist the quite reasonable demands of the Indian peoples for elementary political and civil rights. Workers are imprisoned without trial, demonstrators are shot down or bombed in the most cowardly and brutal way.

Egypt and the Sudan tells the same story. Dispossessed of their lands by cotton syndicates with irrigation schemes, and their old independence replaced by a military despotism doing the will of cotton lords and financiers, under cover of a puppet king and court, the workers and peasants of Egypt and the Sudan are virtually helots to British imperialism.

In the Near East, the welfare of the native peoples is

subordinated to the grab for oil. Taxed to pay for the imperial operations, they are bombed with impunity if they refuse. In China, the warring groups of financiers with conflicting interests have made of that fertile country a military cockpit.

### **MAY DAY A CALL TO ACTION.**

Thus we see on all sides, the low wages in Germany and throughout Europe, the miserable conditions in India, China and the colonies being used to beat down the efforts of the workers in Great Britain and the higher-paid countries to secure better conditions and to divide the working class against itself.

Moreover, the mask of democracy everywhere is being laid aside for the mailed fist. By means of terror, torture, prisons and dungeons—wherever the workers are in revolt—the bourgeoisie in all countries seek to drive the masses back, and hold them in bondage.

Is this then a time to hark back to the past and to romance about the "golden age" of "ye olden times"? No, this is a time for facing grim realities and doing stern deeds. May Day for us, in 1925, as it was for the pioneers of 1889, only more so, should reverberate with the clarion call to action, must be a means of pushing forward international solidarity and unity. This is the first step in the struggle against the armies of the imperialists.

To-day, the desire and the demand of increasing millions of the workers for this unity is being made more and more manifest. Already the first practical steps have been taken in this direction by the joint efforts of the British and Russian trade unions. There must be no going back. The international bourgeoisie may fume at the prospects of a re-united international of the trade unions, it may try, as it certainly will to enlist in its service renegades and lackeys from the the workers' ranks who will try to perpetuate disunity, but if those "left" leaders who are in the vanguard for unity are strong and courageous we can win through in spite of all our enemies.

Let it be remembered, however, that an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee is not an end in itself. It is but the prelude to greater unity and a world congress for the more efficient waging of the war against international imperialism. War against capitalism.

Such was the real meaning of May Day for the men and women of 1889. Let us then, away to the dustbins with the legendary and folklore of the bourgeois syncophants in our movement who would rob us of the real spirit and significance of International May Day. Forward to international working class unity, and the proletarian dictatorship over everything capitalist.

# The Academy of Projectors

## THE I.L.P. CONFERENCE

By Dr. ROBERT DUNSTAN.

*(Swift, in sending Gulliver to travel in the Island of Laputa, took the opportunity of laughing to scorn the abstract learning of his time. There he describes a land rich in possibilities, but so ill-used that the people starved, whilst the "wise" men invented the absurdest schemes for the regeneration of society.)*

**I**N Laputa was an Academy of Projectors to which Gulliver was introduced as "a person of much curiosity, and easy belief," which as he himself said, "was not without truth; for I had myself been a sort of projector in my younger days." There he saw many strange things but none so strange as the modern projections of the learned professors of the I.L.P. assembled in Conference at Gloucester in the year of grace 1925.

Undeterred by the nebulous wanderings of Mr. MacDonald, who might be described as a Grand Past Master of Projectors, the more youthful workers in this modern Academy of Make-belief, propounded their schemes for the "extracting of sunbeams from cucumbers," for the feeding of the starving masses upon the minimum wage "excrement" of the capitalist system, and indeed for a general re-building of the edifice of society "by beginning at the roof, and working downwards to the foundation."

### DELEGATES OF "EASY BELIEF."

There at Gloucester was projected a wonderful scheme for a universal minimum wage. Tory spiders are to be asked to spin this cobweb fabric, which trifling incongruity seemingly did not disturb the "easy belief" of the assembled delegates. A Royal Commission is to be held to determine a basic wage, and then by mandatory Act of Parliament, all industries must organise to pay it, and, failing this, Parliament is to say what form of public ownership or control is needed.

Assuming the Tory Government could be made to do anything in this direction, or that a future Labour Government launched an expedition to ship home the minimum wage from the land of promise, we should be faced with a basic

wage which indeed would be a minimum and an obligation to take over all the rotten industries which could or would not pay it. There would be a mad scramble to unload all dud concerns upon the public. Compensation would have to be paid for fabric and machinery, and no doubt something for "goodwill," for much margin-run industry is in the hands of "small capitalists." These must be induced to vote Labour at the next election by the promise of compensation; further, if the small fry are compensated, the big would see to it that they shared also in the distribution of the gifts of the Labour Government Fairy Godmother. This, indeed, would be an auspicious "beginning of the transfer of private property to the community in the next Parliament."

### **BEGINNING TO BUILD AT THE ROOF.**

Dr. Hugh Dalton, M.P., a very giant amongst the projectors, a most ingenious architect of the future I.L.P. millenium, announces how a gradual transfer of all industries is to be effected. There is to be compensation for all, and yet no compensation, for so runs the text:—

"We propose in short that the capitalists should compensate one another."

Will not the Master Class be glad to hear the horrid truth that they are to be tricked into paying one the other? Compensation by taking in each other's washing!

Dr. Dalton speaks of four and a half million "small capitalists," will they not also rejoice? Two and a quarter million paying compensation to the other half, and receiving their share back from those they have paid out. Wonder of wonders! No friction. A perfect machine to correct human wrongs. The nearest approach to perpetual motion yet devised.

Into this wonderful projection of peace and prosperity to exploiter and exploited, blunders that old fighter, Bob Smillie. He strips the make-believe naked in a moment by ironically asking for compensation for the landlords, the owners of fresh air and sunshine. In this he does wrong, and is suitably corrected by Mr. Clifford Allen, the meek and lowly Warden of the Academy, who administers the rebuke in mild language and with due humility.

### **THE BANKING CURE-ALL.**

Bankers, attention! Your turn for compensation has arrived. Mr. William Graham, M.P., projects the theory of a National Banking system, and, by the way, announces that he disputes "*the assumption that unearned income was*

wrong," this, no doubt, as a kindly hint of the ample measure of compensation to be meted out.

Mr. Oswald Mosley hails this demand for national banks and raises the battle-cry of "The Banks for the People." The Land Song shall be sung no more, but in its place we all shall sing of how "Mosley gave the Banks to the People!" It is quite simple. It is to be done by the carrying of "this one measure through Parliament on our attaining of a majority and by its means forthwith establishing a minimum wage throughout the industry, abolishing the poor law and the dole forthwith, and extending full maintenance to the unemployed through credits supplied by the Socialist Banking system." Black magic this! Nothing like it since the widow's cruse of oil, the more you dip, the more it flows.

The bankers compensated, unearned income secured, the poor law abolished, a minimum wage for all, and full maintenance for the unemployed. Well done, thou good and faithful Comrade Mosley! No one will accuse you of a lack of political sagacity, as this particular projection for "extracting sunbeams from cucumbers" has great electoral possibilities of which much, no doubt, will be heard in the future.

So the spinning of "spiders' silk" went on at Gloucester. Pacifists dodging militarism, parliamentarians preaching pacifism. Resolution followed resolution. Scheme piled upon scheme. South Sea bubbles all. But no hint was given beyond a demand for a majority in the House of Commons of how these wonders were to be performed, except the syndicalist proposal of Mr. Wheatley to turn all eyes away from Parliament, and concentrate for the next few years on industrial organisation—a strange doctrine for a parliamentary opportunist. No suggestion of the Master Class resisting, of their using all legal and illegal means to defeat the workers in the struggle for freedom. Words! words! and yet more words! A veritable welter of confusion; vain projects to avoid facing the inevitable contest for power. In short, a complete betrayal of the workers' cause.

### **THE REALISM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

The workers must face realities and not be led astray by fanciful projects, however attractive, for reform within the capitalistic structure of society. The walls of Jericho will not fall before the windy blasts upon the trumpets of the I.L.P. The destruction of the bourgeois state will come not from the passing of attractive resolutions, but by the fierce, bitter and decisive struggle of the workers combining in ever

greater numbers against the Imperialist exploiters, and led by a revolutionary political party.

There can be no re-forming of society without the overthrow of the capitalist State, and, therefore, all efforts should be directed to the organisation of the masses for the coming struggle for power. Once the workers have seized power and crushed out reaction, then by ordered steps society can be regenerated. Experience in Soviet Russia has shown that first the land; the means of communication; big industry; the banks; wholesale and foreign trade; and the Press must be socialised *without compensation*, and used by the Workers' State as the means for safeguarding the growth of the new order. "Small capitalist" concerns are not nationalised. First, because of the difficulty of running a multitude of little enterprises, and also, because the workers should not provoke the antagonism of the small traders and peasants,\* whose true interests are anti-capitalistic, and who, under the educational impulse set free will turn to co-operative effort and finally blend themselves into the new society of the workers.

### **BEGINNING TO BUILD AT THE FOUNDATION.**

The capture of power is the essential preliminary for the peaceful growth of socialistic forms of economy. The failure to recognise this essential fact is the cardinal weakness of the whole policy of the Parliamentary opportunism of the I.L.P. Only under the dictatorship of the working class will the educational development of the workers then in charge of all spheres of public life, draw the other classes into the process of regeneration and thereby lay the foundation for the total abolition of all class distinctions and the ending for all time of the class struggle.

Here I have been quoting freely from the "Programme of the Communist International," adopted at the Fifth Congress. This epoch-making document deserves the closest study by those workers who still follow the lead of the I.L.P., containing, as it does, a careful survey of the world position, and an ordered scheme for the advance of the workers against the master class. There is shown in the clearest terms the way to victory and to the construction upon a sure foundation of the Communist Society.

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\* I am speaking here of possible small capitalist concerns *after* the seizure of power by the working class. Obviously a different thing from the parliamentary opportunism of the I.L.P. which merely seeks to catch votes.

# Economic History & the Class Struggle

By JAMES McDOUGALL.  
(Scottish Labour College Tutor.)

(a) *The Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat during the Development of Capitalism.*

## 1. Is there a Capitalist System?

SOON as the sufferings of the workers arouse in them discontent with their conditions, they are driven to recognise the existence of a ramified system, surrounding and dominating them. At first their experiences of wage reductions, workshop tyranny, slum dwellings, grasping landlords, profiteering shopkeepers, and so on, may appear as disconnected and accidental facts, but whenever reflection commences, the opinion will irresistibly arise that these are all part and parcel of the same thing. Though everything leads to this conclusion, yet men are loth to accept it, for all the influences surrounding them from birth—education, religion, tradition—are such as to implant a blind faith in the righteousness, justice and immutability of the present order. And in fact, the realness of a definite mode of robbery, cloaked as it is in the venerable habiliments of use and want, is far from being self-evident and had first to be revealed. Moreover, this discovery is daily being made anew by individuals and whole sections of workers who have awakened to a consciousness of their unity as a class. When the actuality of a scheme of things, in which the few, by means of their monopoly of the land and the tools of production, are able to compel the many to labour for their private benefit, is realised, the next question naturally arising is as to the origin of this state of affairs.

## 2. Various Modes of Production have Existed.

Right away, we must understand, that there is no such thing as a system of production good for all times and places. Just as in nature, we know that animals and plants do not reproduce themselves from generation to generation with eternal sameness, but vary so as to cause, with changing environment, old simple species to die out and new higher species to arise, so it is with modes of production. Men have always needed and always will need wealth in order to live; wealth consisting of things such as bread, clothes, tools,

weapons and so on, which satisfy human wants. But the way in which they have obtained this wealth has varied from stage to stage, so that to each era in history a different method of production has corresponded. Of course, in all this, we are constantly dealing with associated or social man, not with isolated individuals, for men have during their entire history lived in societies of one kind or another, and the production of wealth has always been social production. In essence, social production must ever be an interchange of action between man and nature, but the form or method of this production may change.

### 3. Animal and Human Societies.

Animals do not produce wealth, they subsist directly on the grass or the leaves of trees; some of them live by killing and eating the grass-eaters. When man was still in the animal stage, he would be equally the plaything of his surroundings with the other animals, like them only capable of progress through modifications of his bodily organs. The real distinction between man and his blood relations, the other living creatures of the earth, is that he has discovered how, by using tools to get his food and necessaries, to modify artificially his natural environment. Consciously performed labour, involving the use of tools, distinguishes man from the other animals and causes human society, however rude its form, to be distinct from animal society in this respect.

### 4. Primitive Communism.

Certainly the further back we go in history, the more animal-like does human society appear. During hundreds of thousands of years, we are told, man lived in societies of blood kindred—clans, tribes, hordes—in which it was physically impossible for the units to conceive of themselves as individuals. This idea of personality of the single separate individual, fundamental to all the modes of thought and action of the modern capitalist age, could not arise so long as the tribal bond remained unbroken. Without private property and the forms of unconscious co-operation in labour accompanying it, the idea of the individual is meaningless; and these societies knew no private property in the means of life. The large tribal houses, for joint occupation by many families, the canoes, boats, grazing or hunting land, and herds of cattle were the common property of the tribe. Evidence of this in Britain, is produced by Vinogradoff in the course of his analysis of Welsh tribal customs, given in the work entitled, "The Growth of the Manor." Most important of all, investigation of the life of existing savage and

barbarian communities, which since Lewis Morgan's "Ancient Society," we have accepted as picturing the life of our own remote ancestors, indicates the predominance of consciously organised, co-operative or social labour in production, not merely in hunting, but also in grazing, in tillage as well as in the fabrication of boats, houses, etc.

Within this ancient shell of primitive Communism, society remained enclosed for countless ages. Inside the community perfect solidarity prevailed, while there was implacable hostility to everything without the circle. Here was no principle of growth; its continuance meant the perpetual existence of men upon a semi-animal plane. What power was capable of breaking through the archaic crust of primitive society and setting free the potential forces it contained? It was the same power as made not only this first great social revolution, but also every one that has happened since—the forces of production. Let us illustrate.\* Two tribes are living on the same island. One an inland society of hunters, the other a coast tribe of fishermen. Through the discovery of the bow and arrow the hunters are able to kill more deer than are needed by their tribe; by the discovery of outriggers, the fisher folk, with more stable craft, can go farther to sea, and win bigger catches, so that they have more than enough fish. Now the forces of production have advanced they find their way barred by the tribal form of distribution, and the only way in which harmony can be once more restored, is through the mutual exchange of their surpluses by the two tribes. The circle of social labour is enlarged, the surplus wealth has been turned into commodities, the market has come into existence and a breach has been made in the isolation, uniformity and self-sufficiency of the primitive community. This is a starting point from which will follow a complete transformation of social relations within the tribe; soon there will be an extension of the market into the community, common property, associated labour, and the old Communist mode of distribution accompanying them, will fall into decay; private property in both products and tools of production, will make its appearance, men will cease to be directly socially organised, and will only be united with one another, unconsciously, through their relation to a common market.

### 5. Slave Production.

In the community of small property owners, each producing independently in his craft or workshop, we have a basis for primitive democratic republics such as seem to have been

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\* Limitations of space preclude us from giving any but a rather formal and arbitrary treatment to the origins of exchange.

the earliest forms of Greek and Roman society. The history of the latter indicates with sufficient clearness how this original democracy came to be replaced by an aristocratic oligarchy, then with the expansion of the empire, by a cosmopolitan plutocracy. In Kautsky's "Origin of Christianity," the stages in the retrogression of the powers of production are traced, leading from the vigour of a peasant democracy to the feebleness of slave cultivation on the latifundia of the patricians; the successive steps are explained by which the military successes of Rome, reduced its peasant farmers to ruin, turned them into the debt-slaves of the aristocracy, concentrated them in Rome as a propertyless proletariat, while their lands in the hands of the nobles, were cultivated by means of the slaves yielded cheaply and in vast numbers by every successful campaign. Slave production led to a decrease in social wealth, lands fell out of cultivation, population went back, the provinces became more and more incapable of bearing the burden of taxation necessitated by the vast, complicated and cumbrous apparatus of administration, which arose during the last centuries of the empire. The upper classes became ever less capable of energy and initiative, the lower were crushed beneath a weight of intolerable exploitation. It was in these days of universal economic and moral decomposition\* that Christianity made its appearance. This society exhausted to the point of death could only find new strength in contact with ruder communities.

## 6. From Slavery to Serfdom.

Set in motion by the pressure of Asiatic peoples, the Teutonic tribes of Germany, whom Rome had failed to conquer, broke through the lines of defence along the Rhine and the Danube, and overran the empire. The barbarians had been in touch with Roman civilisation for centuries through trade, and as mercenaries in the Roman armies they had learned the arts of discipline and strategy. The entire Western half of the empire fell an easy prey to them. The Franks and Burgundians occupied France, the Lombards and Ostrogoths Italy, the Visigoths Spain, while the Vandals planted themselves in North Africa. But though the Barbarians were superior in military power to the Romans, they were far inferior to them in civilisation, and their tribal institutions were gradually modified to suit the conditions of a higher mode of production. Thus the society of the Middle

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\* With the Augustan Age, Roman society reached its apogee, and during the many centuries that it continued to exist the general tendency was one of decline, retarded from time to time by periods of temporary revival.

Ages came into being as a fusion of the advanced, if decadent, Roman civilisation with the healthy vigour of the Barbarian peoples. The unity of European society vanished, the trade routes fell into disuse, each locality had its petty ruler, acknowledging more or less the authority of his tribal king; the intensely municipal life of the Romans declined into a condition of coma, where the towns were fortunate enough to escape being sacked and given to the flames; and security was only to be had under the ægis of some military leader, to whom native Romans and originally-free Barbarian warriors alike, had to commend themselves as serfs. The sole European institution was the Church. This, with its centre at Rome, became heir to some of the prestige of the empire, and as Kautsky shows in his "Sir Thomas More," under the menace of a Saracen invasion of Europe, acquired the leadership of Christendom, and built up a powerful, centralised, international organisation. The Catholic theology, as well as the ecclesiastical structure, reflecting perfectly the military hierarchy of secular social organisation, which finally rested on a basis of serfdom.

### 7. The Country During the Middle Ages.

The serfs of the Feudal age were no slaves. It is true they had no liberty of movement, being tied to the soil on which they had been born. When a manor changed from the hands of one lord to another, so did the serfs dwelling on it. Furthermore, the villeins had to perform compulsory labour services of ploughing, harvesting, carting or weaving for their lord. But they could also own property in ploughs, oxen and gear of all kinds, which was protected by custom from the rapacity of the superior. So that the serfs having a certain motive for their labour and agriculture, began slowly to recover from the ruin which had overtaken it as a result of slave labour. The occupied land of the Continent was divided into manors, each manor being an almost self-sufficing community, requiring little or nothing from the outside world. The farmers lived together in a village, generally containing a church and a mill, often overshadowed by the lord's tower or castle. The arable land was divided into three great open fields, hundreds of acres in extent, of which one always lay fallow, the others being laid under wheat or barley, oats or beans. These fields were cultivated by means of great clumsy wooden ploughs, drawn by six or eight span of oxen, and the labour was carried on co-operatively by the serfs. A serf's holding consisted of thirty acres or so, not, however, all lying together in one piece, but scattered in acre strips throughout the open fields; the purpose of this being to ensure that no one person would have

all the good land. None of the villeins could, therefore, cultivate according to their individual judgment, the tillage had to be done collectively and followed the custom of the manor. The lord's demesne, his private land, either lay scattered in strips throughout the open fields or might consist of a compact area. In any case it had to be cultivated for him by the serfs. Their forced labour was of two kinds: regular labour, usually three days every week, called "week work," and extra days at harvest or ploughing, known as "boon days."\* These labour services were carefully recorded by the lord's bailiff, and it is from the investigation of these bailiff rolls that Thorold Rogers and others have been able to reconstruct the economic life of Feudalism. Omission to perform this labour, could be punished in the manor court, for the seigneur possessed rights of the "high justice, the middle and the low." When the harvest was ingathered, all divisions fell, and the cattle of the village grazed indiscriminately over the stubble. To each villein holding of arable land there were also attached rights of cutting a "close" in the meadow, of gathering firewood, cutting peats, and pasturing swine in the "waste." Fines in kind had to be paid to the lord on various occasions, such as succession to a holding. The lord in his castle, assisted by his men-at-arms and followers, directly consumed the meat, ale, bread and clothes produced by his manor. Money was almost unknown, little or no trade was done, for the community produced practically everything it required and the produce was distributed according to custom. The lord of the manor might be the king, or an earl, a bishop or a monastery. One person might be the lord of many manors. Each manor was held by the lord from a superior on condition of rendering military service, that is, he had to appear in the field at call, accompanied by a stipulated number of men-at-arms, fully equipped. A lord could hold manors from different suzerains, and so be put in a fine quandary as to whom he should serve, if two of his superiors went to war with one another. This was one of the reasons for the great confusion and uncertainty of government in feudal times. The king was frequently overborne by a combination of his great vassals, and a great earl or lord was practically a law unto himself, waging private wars on his own account, and obeying the king's orders only when it suited him. Wherever feudalism has existed, there have occurred periodically great "Jacqueries" or peasant revolts, *e.g.*, France in the Middle Ages, Russia in the 19th century.

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\* The women-folk of the servile classes of the manor were also bound to perform certain services of a domestic character, under the direction of the Lady of the Manor, in the household of the lord

These were always of the most violent and destructive character, bursting out spontaneously and spreading like wildfire, but were never followed by success, owing to the incapacity of the peasants for organisation and leadership.

### 8. Life in the Mediaeval Towns.

This was the condition of affairs in the country during the Middle Ages. What was the position of the towns? All over Europe, as we have seen, town life either fell to a low ebb, or as in some provinces such as Britain entirely vanished, under the first impact of the Barbarian invasions. But in time, the ancient cities of North Italy, nourished on the profits of a tiny trickle of trade with the East, then relatively far higher in civilisation than Europe, began to revive. A growing spice trade with Asia proved highly lucrative and stimulated the rise of merchant towns, not only in Italy, but also along the whole of the overland trade route with Northern Europe, causing the growth of such cities as Augsburg, Nuremberg, Cologne, Antwerp, etc. Even in a more backward land like Britain, the distinction between town and country became more pronounced as intercourse with Normandy civilised the Saxons and introduced the use of foreign commodities. Around the residence of the king, or of those of great noblemen and ecclesiastics, towns of artisans and merchants grew to provide for their various wants. Points favourable to trade—fords, havens, bridges—attracted a mixed trading population, and became different from the surrounding country. At first the dwellers in these embryo towns were more farmers than anything else, but as trade grew in volume, it became possible to live from its profits, and then a real division of labour took place between town and country. The towns now drew their food supplies mainly from the country and became markets for the produce of the farms. In addition, from merely importing and selling foreign wares, the towns began to fabricate these products themselves, to weave cloth, to forge arms; to make furniture and ornaments, which they retailed to the peasantry, using the town's market. Life in the towns became more elegant and varied than in the country; noblemen now established town houses and lived part of the year at least in the city. But in the town everything had to be paid for in money. The nobility were desperate for money\* and consequently be-

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\* The Crusades, undertaken in the 11th and 12th centuries, for the rescue of the Holy Land from the sacrilegious hands of the Turks, were participated in by many English lords, and the expenses of the journey to the East were frequently defrayed by means of monies paid by the towns in consideration of the grant of a charter.

gan to commute compulsory labour services for money rents. The growth of a trade in foodstuffs enabled the peasantry to pay those rents. As the wealth and population of the towns increased, their internal organisation became more complicated. First of all, the merchants organised themselves into a merchants guild, retaining for its members or freemen, a monopoly of the trade of the town, taking measures to ensure a rough equality of profits among them, and looking after their material and spiritual welfare in multifarious ways. Then the towns commenced to break loose from feudal control;\* taking advantage of the king's or the superior's need of money, as in the Crusades, they bought the right of self-government, and became corporate or chartered towns, ruled by their own elected aldermen and council. A century or so later, when specialisation of occupation had gone further, the different bodies of artisans began to organise themselves into craft guilds for the better regulation of their industry. Only persons who had served an apprenticeship of seven years and had approved themselves to the satisfaction of the wardens of the guilds as competent artisans, could be admitted to be master-craftsmen and ply that trade in the city. No master could employ more than a few apprentices and journeymen. The master himself worked along with his men; they lived in his house, and fed at his table. As machinery was non-existent, and even the tools were rudely constructed, everything depended on the workers' manual skill. Production being on such a small scale, the implements of labour being relatively so cheap, there was nothing to hinder the journeyman from becoming a master; indeed, the difference between apprentice, journeyman and master-craftsman was mainly one of age. The guild regulated the quality of the products, prohibited bad workmanship, and did not permit night work, so as to be able to attain these ends. As a rule, in a mediæval city all the men of one craft lived in the same street or quarter. There they worked in open booths side by side, completely amenable to the inspection and regulation of their communal organ, the guild. Each guild had a common chest from which provision was made for all the ailments of the member's life: if he was sick or poor, he got relief, if he died, the guild would bury him, his widow and children being provided for out of the common fund. Every guild had its chapel, and organised solemn celebrations of the festivals of its patron saint. In every great city there was a guildhall, common to

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\* During the Wars of the Roses, fought in the 15th century over the question of the ruling dynasty, the nobility of England was decimated, the entire aristocratic order was weakened and the power and importance of the towns was relatively increased.

all the crafts, often of rare architectural beauty, in which not only the courts and assemblies of the guilds, but also their common feasts were held. The burghers of these ancient walled cities, lived much in public, elaborate ceremonial and gorgeous pageantry were to them the very spice of existence, and their corporate life was of a manifoldness and a unity, such as history has hitherto not surpassed.

It must not, however, be imagined that town life in the middle ages was idyllic. This was far from being the case. For as time passed and the institutions of these towns became ossified, they were rent by fierce faction fights and class struggles. The descendants of the original farmers, on whose land the town had grown up, became a patrician class of bankers and merchants, monopolising the town government, and often it was only at the point of the sword that the artisans conquered their right to form guilds and to participate in the administration of the city. Then, too, the crafts became monopolistic, refusing free entry, through huge fees or other measures, to the journeymen, who now became a permanent class. So the journeymen, also, had to organise their associations, which, curiously enough, became more powerful than the craft guilds, for while the craft guild was confined to the masters of a single city, the journeyman's association was national, even international. Hence their turbulent spirit and the frequency with which they won their strikes.

### 9. Feudalism as a Whole.

Thus we see that conglomerate of petty communities which made up European society in mediæval times. The control of the central government, where such a thing existed at all, pressed but lightly on the actual organs of authority. Many of the important commercial cities were republics, and all of them felt as such. An intense local or municipal patriotism, the almost complete absence of national feeling, elementary economic existence maintained in small areas, but loosely connected with one another, on the basis of hand labour with rude implements, small local markets and production mainly carried on for self-consumption, the sole international bond, the Church, and her army of ecclesiastics and scholars, with their monopoly of knowledge, the life of the masses proceeding uniformly in a set and narrow groove, however confused and disturbed might be the world of their superiors, such were the characteristics of the feudal system in its heyday.

## 10. The Renaissance.

But this fixed social order which had endured so many centuries was fated to change, the impulse coming from the venerable civilisations of the East. When the Western half of the Roman Empire fell under the assaults of the Barbarians, the Eastern portion, with its centre at Constantinople preserved its existence and continued to live for a thousand years longer as the Byzantine Empire, finally succumbing to the attacks of the Turks in 1453. In this Greek empire, there was no break with the past, and the arts and crafts of Roman and pre-Roman times continued to be carried on. Not only so, but the magnificent heritage of the science and literature of Ancient Greece was at least conserved, though the rigid, conservative nature of Byzantine civilisation prevented any additions being made to it. So that the Levant trade not only brought to the Italian republics the highly finished commodities of the East, but also a knowledge of superior methods in industry, which when acclimatised in Italy brought about a virtual revolution in social relations. The growth of commodity production in these cities, the rise of a wealthy class of merchants and bankers, not the least source of whose riches was their connection with the financial system of the Papacy, the disappearance of payments in kind and their substitution by money, the dissolution of feudal social relations and the expropriation of the peasantry led as early as the twelfth century to the early birth of a merchant form of capitalism in Northern Italy. The growth of a new mode of production, however, brought in its train, the development of new classes, introduced instability into the relations of power, and conducted to class struggles of a new kind, which continued until a new balance had been found. In their fight against feudalism and in their efforts to understand and control the new social relations, the city bourgeoisie could not make use of the traditional knowledge. Feudalism had engendered that Catholic theology and scholasticism, which sanctified everything in the hierarchaic social structure obnoxious to the burgher class. It was a time of mental unsettlement when the revolutionary classes were seeking for new standards and instruments. These in the end would have been created, but here the relation of the Italians to the East came in and by providing them ready-made with a system of ideas adapted to commodity production, shortened the labours of history. In the philosophy and literature of ancient Greece, which they got from Byzantium, the Italians found just those weapons that they required to batter down the antiquated structure of feudalism, and the means of setting themselves free from the yoke of the Church and the territorial nobility. This conflict led to a magnificent

efflorescence of the human spirit, manifesting itself in imperishable works of art, in classics of transcendental value and in the laying of the foundations of modern science, the whole movement being collectively known as the Renaissance. For these artists and scholars, statesmen and scientists, were not, could not be, mere copyists of the Greeks; from the latter they took the outlook and the method, but the results of their labours were stamped with the impress of a new era.

In the eighth century, the Moors invaded Spain from North Africa and conquered the country. By the tenth century their civilisation, based upon irrigation and scientific agriculture, was incomparably superior to that of Europe generally. The court of the Caliphs was the resort of men learned in all branches of knowledge. The works of the classical Greek and Persian writers were translated into Arabic. The Moors were, however, no servile imitators, but rather initiators of new progress in the sciences. They were the first to build in Europe observatories for astronomical study, and they made discoveries on the true line of the earth's orbit and noticed the obliquity of the ecliptic. The mathematical knowledge of the Moors was derived from Greek and Hindu sources. Their arithmetic, with the figures still in use and the decimal system, was of Indian origin and modern Europe got its first knowledge of algebra (the word itself is Arabic) mainly through Ben Musa, who lived under the Caliph Al-Mamûn. In philosophy, Averroes of Cordova was the translator and expounder of Aristotle. Avicenna, born near Bokhara, was another commentator on Aristotle, and a writer on medicine and geometry. The Arabs made considerable progress in medical science, but the study of anatomy was hampered by the Koran's prohibition of dissection. The Arab alchemists were the pioneers of scientific chemistry. Toiling over their alembics and crucibles they discovered the properties of many substances and have left us a heritage in the words alcohol, alkali, borax and elixir. In architecture, Saracenic art developed the horseshoe arch and decorations of geometrical pattern. The Alhambra at Granada, a palace of the ancient Moorish kings, is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world. The doorways, minarets and domes of Moorish architecture are the most graceful forms imaginable. We may conclude this brief note on a great subject by reminding the reader that the children in the schools of Andalusia were being taught geography by means of globes at a time when even the scholars of Europe thought the earth to be flat.

### 11. From Feudalism to Capitalism.

As old limitations upon trade were broken down, as the rigid classification of ranks fell into disorder, with the

passing of political power either directly to the bourgeoisie or to the absolute monarchs, who rested on their support, there sounded the knell of the feudal system. Production overflowed the dykes and banks erected by the guilds, and with the attainment of freedom of labour and investment a new economic system had been brought to birth. As we have seen, the essential feature of wealth production under Feudalism was that the producers, whether in town or country, held possession of their instruments of labour. True, of course, they had to maintain the privileged classes, but apart from that they were masters of their economic destiny. Much of the production was for direct consumption by the producers, and in all cases the scale of production was small. Markets were merely of local extent, and except for natural catastrophies, economic life went on with monotonous regularity, along the well-marked lines of custom. Now all that was changed. Production for the market steadily increased, the markets themselves were linked up and extended, money began to circulate in ever greater volume, and was accumulated as capital in the hands of merchants and bankers; newer, more profitable uses for the land led to the displacement of the peasantry, the nobility reduced to subjection by the king's artillery had to disband their private armies of soldiers; later when the Reformation came, itself but a phase in the struggle against Feudalism, the dissolution of the monasteries and the alienation of the church lands, swelled still more the ranks of the propertyless, a great new social class of destitute people, set free from their moorings, drifted aimlessly over the land seeking for bread; with the collapse of the old political machinery the privileges of the guilds came to an end, and industry was freed from every kind of restraint. Here then were the elements required to constitute the new mode of production, money capital accumulated in the hands of a class, a great mass of poor people having nothing to live on but the labour of their hands, compelled to hire themselves for wages to whoever would offer them employment, and the field cleared of most of the legal or political impediments in the way of free production; from the combination of these elements—the bourgeoisie, the proletariat and freedom of production—came the manufacturing system, the first phase of the Capitalist era.

## 12. The Great Geographical Discoveries.

With the opening of the Grand Age of Discovery at the close of the fifteenth century, a great impetus was given to the forces working for the overthrow of Feudalism. The Turkish conquests had cut off the ancient course of trade with the East. This resulted in increased energy being ex-

pended in the effort to find new routes, and these endeavours led to the discovery of the sea route to Asia and of the American continent. Hitherto European history had revolved around the Mediterranean Sea, now the centre of gravity shifted to the Western seaboard of the Continent, and countries formerly of little consequence, such as Portugal, Holland, England, became leading powers. This immense enlargement of the world, stimulated commerce in an unheard of degree, created new markets overseas for European products, and furnished treasures of gold and silver as well as a multitude of new useful commodities for European consumption.

### 13. Britain becomes Capitalist.

Though Italy pioneered the way into capitalism, that country, owing to the events outlined above, did not long remain the leader in the movement. The palm passed first to Holland, the greatest power in the world during the seventeenth century, and then to Britain. The beginnings of capitalism in Britain are to be traced back to the sixteenth century.\* Till then England had been mainly an agricultural country, and its methods of tillage were those of the three field system. In the course of the centuries, the serfs had become to a large extent personally freemen, holding land on customary tenure, and paying rents in money. The towns showed an organisation of guilds, similar to that of the Continent, only far less complete. With the growth of the population and wealth of the towns, the kings had been able, helped by these as allies, to break the power of the feudal nobility and to centralise the government of the country. Land then ceased to be anything to the owners, but a source of money rents. Hence we find them, in response to an increased demand for wool from the flourishing manufacturing towns of Belgium, including Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Antwerp, etc., driving the peasantry wholesale off the land in order to turn it into sheep pasture. This was the first great period of Enclosures, and it brought the British proletariat into existence. But only a portion of the land of the country was enclosed, for even in the eighteenth century, more than half the land of England consisted of open fields. Thus before the populace could be entirely uprooted from the soil, a second great campaign of Enclosures was necessary.

*(To be continued.)*

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\* An important part in the development of capitalism in Britain was played by the influx of gold and silver bullion from the Spanish Main in the reign of Elizabeth. The precious metals came in either by way of trade or by that of the semi-official piracy carried on by the leading English seamen in Spanish waters. These treasures laid the foundations of many mercantile fortunes.

# The Struggle for International T.U. Unity

By J. R. CAMPBELL, Acting Editor of the *Workers' Weekly*.

**T**HE agreement which has been arrived at between the representatives of the Russian and the British Unions, will, as ratified by the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, force everyone in the European Trade Union Movement to take up a definite position in regard to international unity. Hitherto the only opposition to international trade union unity has come from the Social-Democratic bureaucrats of the Continental trade unions.

The British right-wing has been silent on this question, though it has been working overtime for the employers in its advocacy of industrial peace at any price. But from now onwards, it will have to make its position more definite. Will it support the Continental bureaucrats in their present stupid attitude, or will it advocate a more flexible policy which, because of its flexibility will be more dangerous to the cause of international trade union unity?

So far as the right-wing of Amsterdam is concerned, it has compromised itself not only in the anti-unity interpretation which it has given to the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Amsterdam International, but in the conspiracy of silence which it has adopted towards the report of the British Trade Union delegation to Russia. While the Amsterdam press has always been prepared to print the vilest anti-Soviet propaganda it has not yet taken any definite notice of the report of some of its most prominent leaders, who formed part of the British delegation to Russia.

But the attack of the Amsterdam reactionaries on the Anglo-Russian Agreement is not likely to meet with any measure of success. On the contrary, it can only continue the process of self-exposure on the part of those leaders. Nor is the capitalist attack upon those trade union leaders who are standing for unity likely to be any more successful. The claim of the capitalist press that the British trade union leaders are allowing themselves to be hypnotised and "Bolshevised" by the "demonically"-diplomatic Russians is too absurd for words. The Bolshevisation of the British trade union movement will take some time yet. Certainly it will not be accomplished with the present leaders. It will take the activities of a strong Communist Party amongst the trade union workers of this country to accomplish that.

If our capitalist press was not hopelessly politically prejudiced it would realise that what is driving the British trade union leaders to take a great interest in the question of international trade union unity and organisation is precisely that tremendous dependence of Great Britain upon the international situation which the capitalist press in other cases is so fond of emphasising. All the main industries of Britain which manufacture for the world market are at the present moment hopelessly depressed. The workers in those industries living on starvation wages are faced with the fact that the wage of the workers competing with them in foreign countries are lower still.

*It is the hard pressure of these facts which is forcing a section of the British trade union leadership to recognise that, unless international unity can be achieved, and this international competition severely checked, there is very little hope for the working class of Great Britain.*

### **SABOTEURS AT WORK.**

The British right-wing are not so stupid as to be taken in by the foolish prattle that the union leaders who have come to an agreement with the Russians have been Bolshevikised. Even so, its opposition will be none the less strong. It will attack the attempt to realise trade union unity in a more subtle fashion. Already it has started by admitting the need for trade union unity, but it emphasises the fact that our most important competitor in the international market is Germany, and that, therefore, while conversations with the Russians are important, the formation of an alliance between the German and British unions is more important still. *In other words, the tactic of the right-wing is to endeavour to secure an Anglo-German alliance as a counter-weight to an Anglo-Russian Alliance.* An endeavour is being made to shift the question on to the plane of whether an Anglo-Russian or an Anglo-German trade union understanding is of greater urgency at the present moment.

The working class of Britain will be well advised to be on its guard against such sophistry. The Anglo-Russian trade union understanding has never been urged as an end in itself. It is but a step to the realisation of international unity. On the other hand, an Anglo-German understanding might in the present circumstances, be a barrier to the realisation of that unity, and would, therefore, prolong the misery of the British and German workers. The right-wing must be told quite clearly that while the workers in this country have no objection to helping the German workers to recover their lost ground by a straight fight against the capitalists,

that no British worker is prepared to help the German unions in a struggle against international trade union unity.

The "Right" will argue that we have long been associated with the Continental unions, and that we should not risk the possibility of a break with them in order to realise a closer understanding with the Russians, and that, therefore, while continuing our conversations with the Russians, we should proceed slowly and wait until the German and Continental unions are prepared to come all the way with the British unions before we make any definite movement towards international unity.

To our minds this is a dangerous position, and will lead to the prolongation of disunity. The Continental unions which are at present opposing the formation of a united trade union international are by no means unanimous. Within the ranks of these unions there are many workers who desire to see the split in the unions healed at the earliest possible moment. If the British Trades Union Congress General Council presses boldly ahead for the realisation of this unity it would give a tremendous stimulus to those workers inside the Amsterdam unions who are desirous of unity, and encourage them to make their leaders fight for it.

There is another reason why an Anglo-German anti-unity bloc would at the present moment be very dangerous indeed. The declaration of principles by the British and Russian Trade Union Conference held in London recently, contains a very grave warning as to the possibility of war in the near future, and the urgent need for International Unity in order to prevent it. Lest anyone reading these lines is inclined to minimise this very grave danger, let me direct attention to the most obvious preparations for war in the suggested grouping of the principal European nations into a Five-Power Pact, which will be directed against the U.S.A., on the one hand, and against Soviet Russia on the other hand. It is also to be noted that quite recently the German Social-Democratic trade union and political leaders have been whole-heartedly supporting this Pact, and have indicated in their articles that they regard this Pact not merely as a means of ensuring the security of Europe for war, but as a means of action against the Soviet Government.

We are positive that no section of the British working class will stand for this policy; that it is a policy of treason to the international labour movement, and that while we must be prepared to assist the German workers in all their struggles against capitalism, we cannot form any alliance with them which is calculated to support a dangerous foreign policy of this description.

We want an International of action, not an International of stagnation. To realise such an International, the left-wing

leaders will require to be much more active amongst the rank and file. In particular, they will have to reconsider their present attitude of aloofness, disparagement and even opposition to such rank and file movements as the National Minority Movement, which stands for international trade union unity. Even if the left leaders believe that the Minority Movement as it exists to-day is going too far in its demands, they must recognise that it is a living force striving for unity, and that it ought not to be opposed and hindered simply in order to curry favour with the right-wing.

Our "left" leaders in the British trade union movement have worked hard for international unity, though in a discreet and diplomatic fashion. They have now got to recognise that they have gone as far as it is possible by diplomatic methods. From now onwards their efforts must be concentrated on winning the rank and file. To do this means not only propaganda for unity in the abstract; they must be prepared to lead the working class to struggle for unity in action. The question of international unity cannot be isolated from the question of mobilising the forces for the struggle against capitalism here in Britain.

At the same time the active rank and file trade unionists who are desirous of realising unity must back up the leaders not by expecting great things of them, but by organising the Minority Movements, by increasing its influence in those industries where it has influence, thus enabling it to penetrate into those industries where it has not yet got a foothold, and so making the push for unity at home and abroad a national push of the rank and file.

The next phase of the struggle for unity in Great Britain is that of bringing the masses more actively into the campaign to transform the Anglo-Russian Advisory Committee into the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee. Everywhere and all the time we must carry on our propaganda and be active for the realisation of International Trade Union Unity.

In this struggle we must expect an increasing resistance from the "right." We must expect increasingly subtle attempts to divert us from our purpose. If we allow ourselves to be diverted to the smallest possible extent, we will suffer from it. The capitalists are even now combining and uniting their forces together in the war against the working class. We must answer with a single united International of the workers, determined upon prosecuting the struggle to the end, that capitalism shall be no more. For this purpose we must and shall realise international trade union unity.

# “Since Lenin Died”

MORE FACTS AND FICTION.

(A Review of the Latest Menshevik Diatribe.)

By ARTHUR McMANUS.

ONE of the most interesting features of the Trotsky discussion in the Russian Communist Party is the splendid opportunity it has presented for renegades and counter-revolutionists to attack the Russian Communist Party—the very soul and leading spirit of the great Russian Revolution—under the guise of defenders of Trotsky. Paul Levy (Germany), Philips Price (England), and many others—and now Max Eastmann. Max Eastmann, it is true, assures us that his main idea is to “serve not merely the ends of historic truth or personal justice, but the real strategy of the revolution.” His assurance, however, is not very impressive. The fact of the matter is that his book is so “gossipy” it really does Trotsky much more harm than justice. So far as the “strategy” is concerned, the book is at best a bad and silly piece of counter-revolutionary strategy.

Referring to his source of information, he says that “it is all contained in special documents stolen by counter-revolutionists and published in *Socialisticheski Vestnik*, a paper which he himself describes as “a remnant of Menshevism, which published a great deal of nonsense and irresponsible rumour about Russia.” Well, we are not inclined to be very much influenced by this nonsense. And so far as the “stolen documents” are concerned, we are quite convinced that the workers will not be influenced by them, however much they may serve as a basis for the Notes of Ramsay MacDonald and Gregory, or for books by Max Eastmann and others. We have had some, thanks very much.

A bit self-conscious about the book, the author says on page 97: “A great many Marxians will consider the whole book of mine, too personal.” And a page further on he admits himself that “he exaggerates the facts.” Actually he uses gossip and hearsay as facts. We will mention only one upon which he seems to place quite the greatest importance. He says (p. 17), and in many other places, “that Trotsky was offered Lenin’s place in the government.” We are sufficiently well acquainted with the history of the Russian Revolution, and with the changes of the personnel of the Russian Government to state quite clearly, plainly and definitely that *this is not true!* Yet it is on the basis of

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\* “Since Lenin Died,” by MAX EASTMANN. Price 2/6. Published by Labour Publishing Co., 38, Great Ormond St., Bloomsbury, W.C.1.

this invention that Max Eastmann proceeds to develop a very complicated psychological theory as to why Trotsky *refused* to take the position.

He urges the reader to answer the question why Trotsky declined to accept the elevated position which Lenin offered him, and states "that the correct answer to that question will give you the key to everything that follows." Not only therefore, has Max Eastmann built this complicated psychological theory upon the basis of this invention, but the entire book has been built upon it as well. No, Max, you don't even do Trotsky very much justice here.

But it is not this question of information which matters mostly. The book has a very definite tendency in it. The main purpose of the book is to discredit the leadership of the Russian Communist Party, and here the author tries to do it by worshipping Trotsky. The effort, however, is not very successful, and we are inclined to believe the explanation for this is to be found in the fact that the writer paid too much attention to studying Trotsky, and too little attention to studying the complicated and serious problems of the revolution.

Let us take for instance, the question about the disagreement between Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, which lasted from 1903 to 1907. On this matter, Max Eastmann says: "for a few months after that split—which was about a question of organisation—Trotsky went into the camp of the Mensheviks"—and that is all. He does not seem to understand that the organisational problem is one of the most important, not only in the theory of Lenin, but in the practice of the Bolshevik Party, first in Russia, and now in the other countries of the world. Even as a worshipper of Trotsky, surely he was at least obliged to explain how it happened that on this, one of the biggest and most serious matters, Trotsky went over to the enemies of Bolshevism and remained there 14 years.

Trotsky himself does not look upon the problem quite as lightly as Max Eastmann. He takes a much more serious view of it. For instance, in his last letter to the Central Committee of the Party (page 158, appendix 8), he says: "that Bolshevism prepared itself for its role in the revolution by an implacable struggle, not only with Populism and Menshevism, but with "conciliationism"—that is, with the tendency to which I belonged." These 14 years during which Trotsky definitely fought Bolshevism are dismissed by Max Eastmann far too lightly. Still it is quite a common mistake made by people who don't really understand the soul of Communism, not to pay too much attention to the problem of organisation.

Another interesting feature is the reference to a problem which was sufficiently well discussed even amongst the intellectuals of the Second International. Praising Trotsky, he goes on to state that he "adopted from Marx the concept of Permanent Revolution." We are not going to dwell too long on this question. We would refer our readers who want to consider the matter in detail to an article by Bucharin, which was published in the *Communist Review* in February of this year. But we would suggest to Max Eastmann that he read over very carefully what Trotsky himself says about "Permanent Revolution." He says in the book under review (see p. 158): "I decisively deny that the formula "Permanent Revolution" which relates wholly to the past, has determined for me, in any degree whatever an inattentive attitude to the peasants under the circumstances of the Soviet Revolution. If I have chanced to revert to the formula "Permanent Revolution" in any particular instance since October, it was only in the sphere of "Party History"—that is a reversion to the past, and not in the sphere of present political problems." And yet Max Eastmann considers the adoption by Trotsky in his youth of a misrepresentation of the Marxian theory by Parvus to be one of Trotsky's great achievements!

And now let us dwell a little upon the "history" of the fight in the Russian Party, as exposed by Max Eastmann. Max Eastmann has been in Russia, and he knows, therefore, that Trotsky's letter, after the leading members of the Party had unanimously accepted the famous resolution about democracy, was the beginning of the fight. He knows perfectly well that Trotsky was the man who initiated that fight. And how does he explain this unwarranted attack made by Trotsky upon the Party after he himself had signed, together with the other leaders of the Party, a common statement?

Max Eastmann finds himself in a very difficult position here and tries simply to confound us with all kinds of arguments. The first argument reads: "It (the letter) was certainly a childlike blunder that Trotsky committed. . . ." Well, we don't belong to the school of Trotsky's worshippers. but we have never considered him as a "child" and we don't believe that Eastmann can justify a great leader of a great movement, such as Trotsky in a great country by saying that he has committed a "childlike blunder." He feels himself that this justification is not very convincing, for one page later on, he says: "In this letter, Trotsky draws the outlines of a new day of revolutionary life and growth that is dawning for the Party, and he draws it with the hand

of a master of Marxism and the wisdom of Lenin!" So that now, dear reader, we have a "childlike blunder" which embodies "Marxism and the wisdom of Leninism!" Something wrong somewhere, surely!

There is another thing in which we are interested. Max Eastmann wishes to convince his readers that there was simply a conspiracy of a triumvirate to depopularise Trotsky and that for this purpose they used this "childlike blunder" of Trotsky's.

On the strength of this theory, Max Eastmann abuses and attempts to discredit Stalin and others, especially Stalin, notwithstanding the fact that he is quite well aware of Trotsky's opinion about Stalin ("brave man and a sincere revolutionist," page 55.) But what was the accusation against Trotsky's letter and the New Course? Was not the main accusation that this letter was an open attack upon the old guard of the Bolshevik Party, and an endeavour to rally the young elements of the Party against the elder part of it?

The fact of the matter is, that he has written a few chapters more or less full of gossip, slander and calumnies against the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, insisting all the time that Trotsky had the greatest respect for them, and then when he comes to the last chapter—"Recent Events"—he quotes Trotsky's famous preface to the book "1917," which is already an open attack upon all the leaders whom he names one by one.

We would recommend Max Eastmann to read over first his own chapter about Trotsky's preface, and then Stalin's article about Trotsky's letter on the New Course, and state honestly whether Stalin understood well the meaning of the letter or not. We are confident that anyone who takes the trouble to read these will be satisfied that Stalin grasped the situation quite well. Furthermore, from a political point of view, it does not matter whether Trotsky meant to attack the leaders or not; his letter is a political document, and Trotsky is responsible, not only for what he intended to say, but for what he actually does say.

Coming back to the letter, Max Eastmann endeavours to persuade the reader that this letter was intended only *for some local organisation*. He then proceeds to tell a long story about a conversation between Trotsky and Stalin, in which the former urged the latter to print the letter as speedily as possible. If the letter was really meant only *for some local organisation*, then it is puzzling why Trotsky was so anxious to have it *published* in the *central organ of the Party*. The letter was, and remains, a very important political document, and any explanations about "childlike

blunders" even when combined with an eulogy of the wisdom of Lenin will deceive nobody.

There are four chapters dealing with Stalin, Zinoviev, Bucharin and the other defenders of Leninism. At the beginning of these chapters he promises to show the ideas and deeds of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, and to expose their "conspiracy" against Trotsky. He says right from the beginning that "the speeches and articles of Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamaneff, Bucharin and their lieutenants, if recorded as a discussion on the points raised in Trotsky's letter would be thrown out of a prize essay competition in a school of defective children." The paternal instinct in Max Eastmann seems to be extremely highly developed. Apparently he is very fond of children. Trotsky makes "childlike blunders" and the others are "defective children." The reader will surely be entitled to ask how it happened that these "defective children" have received the solid and unanimous support of a great party, which carried through three revolutions, and which works under unheard of hard conditions.

It is a long time now "since Lenin died," yet this Party accepted, and accepts, the propositions and suggestions of these "defective children" wholeheartedly and unanimously. Max Eastmann apparently is somewhat conscious of the possibility of such a question being asked and ventures a feeble explanation to the effect that 18,000 officials depend upon Stalin. And is it merely a mechanical process which explains these 18,000 officials, to say nothing of the rest of the Party, preferring to accept the foolish essays of the "defective children" to the great wisdom of Trotsky? Are they merely automatons lacking personality, initiative and judgment? You had better try another one, Max. The leadership of a Party like the Russian Party, even down to the 18,000 officials, cannot be collectively dismissed merely as a group of "defective children" manipulating 18,000 automatons.

This Party which Max Eastmann set out to attack, is a *great* party, and Max Eastmann *knows* it. Even the workers in this country know that at the very same period when this discussion started, the Russian Communist Party was mobilised as one man and was prepared to make any sacrifices, not for their own sake, nor for the sake of the Russian Party, nor for that matter for the sake of the Russian Government, but for the sake of the emancipation of the working class of Germany.

Thus our author, who poses as a friend of Trotsky, and

as a strategist of the revolution, reveals himself to be just the reverse, when, in his conclusion of the whole book, he finds only words of slander and calumny to direct against the *greatest* party the working class ever organised.

One further very interesting feature reveals itself in many other pages. The author adopts the attitude of a strong defender of "Workers' Democracy" in the ranks of the Party, and yet among the accusations which he directs against Stalin, Zinoviev and the others, he speaks indignantly against them because "they opened the gates to almost 200,000 workers" (page 83)! He is still more indignant that these 200,000 workers were given a chance to *participate in the election* of the last Congress—the congress which he paints as the most packed congress in the history of the world. A somewhat queer attitude this for a defender of "workers' democracy."

In another effort which he makes to discredit the Russian Communist Party, he states that at the very same time as they have been allowing these 200,000 workers to come into the Party and to participate in the election, they have been very strict towards the intellectuals, and to all those middle class elements who went into the Party. Well, we can only say this. We are thankful that even amongst the profuse gossip and slanders which are spread, in this book, there has at least appeared this little fact. Whatever else the worker who reads the book may see, he will certainly notice that the leaders of the Party had full confidence in 200,000 working class party members, and did not care too much for the middle class elements who came to the party. These leaders are surely *working class* leaders!

A final word about those chapters in which the author tries to show that in all questions of disagreement, Trotsky was right. We will mention only one, and it will be one which will be very easily understood by the readers in this country. We have in mind the references to the international position. Trotsky's statement was that "America has put Europe on rations," and that a pacifist era, or epoch, had commenced. The leading group of the Central Committee of the Party did not agree with this point of view. They held the view that Great Britain, although weakened by the war, was not yet put on rations, but as a matter of fact, keeps a very big part of the world on rations supplied by herself. It also considered the MacDonald government and the Herriot government, only as an episode in the after-war history.

Now it is scarcely necessary to prove that Trotsky was not right, and that the Central Committee was not wrong.

MacDonald and Herriot have disappeared already. Great Britain is in alliance with America on many points, though quarrelling on others. Everyday brings us new conflicts in Europe itself. The Bulgarian situation certainly does not indicate peace! Max Eastmann makes many appeals to the reader to believe him that what he says is correct. On the face of the above, we also take the liberty to ask for some confidence on other questions of disagreement between Trotsky and the Party.

Just one more little point. Max Eastmann tells several stories about the sympathy of "Lenin's widow" to Trotsky, but when it comes to Trotsky's preface to "1917," he forgets that among those that accuse him of misrepresenting the story of the great October revolution was Krupskaya. We mention this fact with no intention of an attempt to discredit Trotsky. We state this only to show how facts can be conveniently overlooked or set aside for gossip.

This latest Menshevik effort to use the situation created by the Trotsky discussion as a "smoke-screen" behind which to deliver an attack on the Russian Communist Party and, therefore, on the Proletarian Revolution—will fail as miserably as its predecessors. Max Eastmann talks of facts! Well there are several which will endure despite all the efforts of the intellectuals, and I might just indicate a few. The Russian Revolution is the first great fact in history. The Russian Revolution *without* the Russian Communist Party—"these defective children"—was a historic impossibility! That is another fact! And the Communist International is the greatest and most potent fact of all!! The cheap and puerile efforts of that peculiar type of intellectual so religiously devoted to "historic truth"—to say nothing of "revolutionary strategy"—will not avail against such granite facts. The only real effect the book can have upon the workers in this country is to stiffen their determination to rely *solely upon themselves*, and leave the intellectuals to their pretentious playfulness—in the interest of "historic truth"—to say nothing of strategy!

So far as Trotsky is concerned, well may he exclaim, "God preserve me from my friends. I can attend to my enemies myself."

# INTERNATIONAL REVIEW



## THE WAVE OF TERROR IN POLAND

Prison—this is the word which under the present conditions in Poland does not only mean for all revolutionary fighters in Poland the loss of their freedom for many, many years, but above all a time of physical tortures and inhuman, degrading treatment by the bourgeois hangmen. The prisons of "democratic" Poland with regard to the barbarian treatment of the prisoners, have by far exceeded the sad fame of the Czarist dungeons and can to-day only compete with the prisons of the colonial countries.

At present the Polish prisons, contain about six to seven thousand political prisoners, a number which does not decrease, but on the contrary, grows from day to day.

The Polish prisoners are divided by the authorities in a number of different categories according to the character of their offence: State treason, revolt, resistance against the authorities, desertion from the army, offences against the laws of public order and even falsification of documents constitute—particularly with regard to the illegal existence of the Communist Party and the trade unions, a big number of "crimes." According to the official statements contained in the "Statistical Vestnik of Retch Pospolitika" (Chapter XXII., Administration, Justice, page 172-186) in the year 1923, there are in Poland, 794 courts (apart from the military courts) 300 prisons, and 34 jails. There are 5,368 judges, prosecutors and their assistants. The number of police officials in Poland was 75,989 in 1923, and together with the frontier guards, 95,377. It must be stressed that there are besides, 32,760 ordinary policemen and 953 commissars and sub-commissars, 2,289 secret police agents, quite apart from the many persons who are paid specially for service. As a sign of the

growth of white terror we must mention that there were in 1922 only 1,854 secret agents. One spy usually has to supervise 10 to 20 persons. This conveys a general idea of the apparatus which has as its purpose the destruction of the labour movement, and of the liberation movement of the peasantry.

Apart from desertion from the army, of which there were alone in 1921, 15,897 cases registered by the authorities, we must consider the "crimes" which are considered as political crimes. In 1922, the police had registered the following numbers of these: State treason and other political crimes—2,920 cases; revolt and resistance against the authorities—24,219 cases; disturbance of public order (strikes, etc.)—24,203 cases, a total of 61,342 cases. If we even suppose that 75 per cent. of these cases are not in direct connection with the class conscious political movement, there remains still 15,000 cases. Supposing even that 20 per cent. of these prisoners have been released after some days from the police jails, that 30 to 40 per cent. have been released after the examination through the judge, there still remains six to seven thousand persons who have to undergo imprisonment on remand, which usually lasts in Poland up to two years.

There are still other official statements—also published in the "Statistical Vestnik" which proves the extension of white terror. In 1921, 2,873 persons were tried for "crimes against the state," and in the year 1922, 4,142 persons were tried for the same "crime." Similar figures for 1923 and 1924 are not available, but we know that white terror continuously increased during these years. It must, furthermore, be added that in 1922, 478 accused were sentenced to death, and that 56.4 per cent. of

all death sentences have been carried out.

How can we explain this extension of white terror in Poland?

Above all, we must remember the historic mission which Poland has to carry out for international capital, i.e., to play the role of a bulwark, a barrier of international counter revolution. For this reason the feudal bourgeois Poland must be on the one hand a war camp, and on the other a country of prisons. Lenin

realised and appreciated this circumstance, and the importance of the conquest of Warsaw by Communism for the international revolution. For this reason the working class and the revolutionary peasantry of Poland, who are fighting on this extremely difficult post at the revolutionary front and try to overthrow this centre of international counter revolution, must receive the unanimous support of the workers of the whole world.

## THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN GERMANY

(From our Correspondent.)

The outstanding facts of the first presidential election are the loss by the Communist Party of over 850,000 votes, and the "stability" of the Social-Democratic Party as compared with its vote at the last elections. This can partly be explained by the temporary stabilisation of Germany's economic life, which leads great numbers of workers to the illusionary expectation of gaining better conditions without resorting to revolutionary methods and to the great decrease in the poll (eleven per cent. less than in December, 1924, i.e., 68.8 against 78.7 per cent.).

The presidential elections, however, cannot be mechanically compared with the parliamentary elections. In the latter every voter is sure that his vote will "not be thrown away"; in the presidential election, other factors have partly clouded the issue for millions of voters. One of these is the question of "Monarchy versus Republic."

In Germany there is an acute danger of the restoration of the monarchy. The working class scents this danger. Defeated since 1918 in every great political and economic struggle; witnessing the defeat of its vanguard in every rising, and seeing the weakness of Communist Party leadership in a great historical crisis, it has temporarily become disheartened, and in its present weak condition falls easily a victim to the demagoguery of the Social-Democratic Party, which is especially strong on the question of "Monarchy and Republic."

The Social-Democratic Party has long ceased to be a real working class party. Only decades of tradition, a large party organisation with over 150 daily papers, the complete control of the trade union organisations and its trade union press with a circulation of seven millions (edited

on Social-Democratic lines) enables this Party to influence daily millions of workers, and to command their support in elections.

On the pretext, that Dr. Marx, the candidate of the Centre Party (the Catholic Party, financed by the heavy industrialists, Kloeckner and Thyssen) is the "lesser evil" as compared to Jarres, and now Hindenburg, millions of Social-Democratic votes were bartered away for the promise given by the Centre Party, that the S.D.P. would again receive the Premiership, and the Ministry of Police in Prussia. Social-democracy, taking advantage of the temporary passivity of the German proletariat, abandoned its own candidature and openly proclaimed *itself* as a faction of the bourgeoisie, i.e., openly giving up even the semblance of an independent policy, and this in the centenary of the birth of Lassalle—who, whatever his weaknesses taught the German proletariat the necessity of independent political working class action!

The systematic work for the re-establishment of the Monarchy never ceases. The industrialists and financiers are determined, that the new monarchy shall be of their making and shall do their bidding. Under the leadership of the German Peoples' Party, the Party of Stresemann, the forces of monarchial restoration are gathering, not for a *coup d'état*, but for the slow, and if possible, "constitutional" restoration. This idea penetrates also the bourgeois "Republican" Parties of the Left, Centre and Democrats.

The German Nationalist Party represents by tradition the old monarchial forces of semi-feudalism. The German Peoples' Party—representing purely industrial interests—tries to establish its leadership over the whole of the monarchist forces.

Heavy industry tries to use the Nationalist Party, and successfully attempts to establish its hegemony in the councils of that Party over those of the landed interests. The latter, and the traditions of the old Monarchy, are still powerful, as is shown by the fact that they succeeded in defeating Jarres for Hindenburg as the candidate of the "united" Right for the decisive poll.

This, however, should not deceive us about the real relations of forces. The opposition of the industrialists against the candidature of Hindenburg is—although not openly—very great, and they may very well succeed in preventing his election by giving orders to their followers, to vote for Marx, who is a tool of heavy industry, although a rather weak one.

The election of Hindenburg is only possible, when a great percentage of non-voters rally in his favour, and when the S.D.P. is unable to succeed in switching their whole voting strength in favour of Marx. In the latter case, it would not be a sign of the strength of the monarchists, but a sign of the class-consciousness of the working class, proving that the workers realised the Monarchists could not be beaten by voting for the "Republican" Marx.

It is no easy task for the Communist Party to mobilise the revolutionary workers for the "defence" of a republic which has murdered thousands of revolutionaries, daily sends revolutionary fighters into penitentiaries, abolished the eight-hour day and saddled the workers with a tremendous burden of taxation.

The C.P., however, cannot remain neutral. In the struggle between the Republic and the Monarchy, it must wrest the lead from the Social-Democrats and gain the confidence of the masses by putting forward a programme of action, which the masses will fight for, such as:

(a) The disarmament of the Monarchists;

Party	Election 1920	Election 4/5/1924	Election 7/12/1924	Pre-election 29/3/1925
Communist Party	589,454	3,746,643	2,708,345	1,869,553
<i>Left Bourg. Bloc.</i>				
Soc. Dem. Party*	6,104,398	6,014,372	7,880,963	7,785,678
Dem. Party	2,333,741	1,658,076	1,917,764	1,565,136
Centre	3,845,001	3,921,206	4,118,190	3,883,676
<i>Right Bourg. Bloc.</i>				
Nat. & Peo. Par.	8,475,942	9,103,383	10,260,315	10,387,593
Bavarian Peo. Par.	1,483,108	1,266,454	1,304,795	1,002,278
Fascisti		1,924,018	906,946	284,471

\* The Independent Social-Democratic Party polled in 1920; 5,046,813 votes. The Party split at the Halle Congress, October, 1920. The majority joined the C.P., the minority joined later the S.D.P. A small remnant still exists, but is of no political importance.

(b) The cleansing of the State bureaucracy of all Monarchists;

(c) The abolition of the law courts consisting of Monarchist judges;

(d) The confiscation of all property belonging to the former dynastic families, and their expulsion from the country;

(e) The overthrow of the present Monarchist Luther-Government.

Such demands and slogans and the fight for their realisation alone will show to the mass of the workers, that the C.P. alone is able and willing, to lead the working class against the Monarchists and for the establishment of a *Workers' Republic*.

Below we give the comparative figures of the Reichstag elections held since 1920 and the first presidential elections. It would be wrong to over-estimate the loss of a great number of our sympathisers and also to over-estimate the importance of the Social-Democratic stability. In spite of its many shortcomings, the Communist Party organisation, remains intact and has considerably increased its ideological clearness. What in 1920 was hardly more than an ideological tendency within the German working class is in 1925 a strong, powerful, disciplined, revolutionary Party organisation, steeled by hard experiences gained in defeats, persecutions and internal Party crises. The Social-Democratic Party on the contrary, is a bog of passivity, intermingled and dominated by groups of active counter-revolutionaries.

The present period will be used to the utmost by our Party to penetrate deeply into the mass of the working class, and with the help of non-party organs and organisations we will attempt to form a powerful and active bloc of workers for the enforcement of the immediate demands of the German proletariat. This alone will break the wall of passivity and fit the Party and the working class for its greater revolutionary task.

The following table gives the figures of votes polled by our Party in relation to those polled by the Social-Democratic Party in the different electoral districts :

The most important industrial districts are in capital letters.

Election District	Communist Party		Social-Democratic Party.	
	Mar. 29th, 1925	Dec. 7th, 1924	Mar 29th, 1925	Dec. 7th, 1924.
1. East Prussia ...	45,106	(86,663)	226,844	(208,415)
2. BERLIN ...	179,861	(217,231)	395,878	(368,364)
3. POTSDAM, I. ...	84,277	(109,790)	288,300	(275,254)
4. POTSDAM, II. ...	84,478	(105,155)	265,739	(243,442)
5. Frankfurt a/o. ...	23,277	(36,695)	226,582	(234,148)
6. Pommerania ...	33,281	(52,861)	214,563	(223,314)
7. Breslau ...	18,563	(29,368)	314,715	(306,991)
8. Liegnitz ...	11,617	(20,165)	203,806	(201,694)
9. OPPELN (Upper Silesia) ...	45,381	(66,096)	46,440	(36,530)
10. Magdeburg ...	38,672	(46,330)	347,596	(351,776)
11. HALLE MERSEBURG	136,896	(163,617)	143,420	(135,078)
12. THUERINGEN	100,574	(147,938)	305,353	(316,039)
13. Schleswig-Holstein	37,144	(51,643)	231,688	(232,382)
14. Weser-Ems (Bremen)	19,096	(31,107)	172,023	(173,590)
15. East Hanover ...	14,302	(22,425)	142,764	(141,745)
16. South Hanover ...	28,576	(46,878)	379,304	(361,764)
17. WESTPHALIA- NORTH	48,712	(68,888)	227,943	(237,572)
18. WESTPHALIA- SOUTH	108,133	(156,050)	320,766	(316,864)
19. Hessen-Nassau ...	43,899	(64,153)	347,699	(374,013)
20. Cologne ...	52,845	(79,616)	142,960	(140,048)
21. Coblenz-Trier ...	12,413	(22,887)	57,978	(59,588)
22. DUSSELDORF, EAST ...	152,039	(210,361)	160,133	(155,012)
23. DUSSELDORF, WEST ...	67,482	(95,000)	115,727	(107,000)
24. Upper Bavaria ...	25,351	(70,580)	182,302	(207,859)
25. Lower Bavaria ...	7,315	(23,968)	44,633	(71,580)
26. Franken ...	23,085	(46,219)	278,150	(237,218)
27. Palatinate ...	23,585	(34,951)	87,477	(115,447)
28. DRESDEN (SAXONY) ...	36,622	(64,669)	366,076	(371,560)
29. LEIPZIG (SAXONY) ...	67,320	(90,830)	274,232	(259,872)
30. CHEMNITZ (SAXONY) ...	99,858	(138,949)	292,933	(305,941)
31. Wuerttemberg ...	56,490	(96,169)	206,017	(240,819)
32. Badenia ...	39,187	(64,952)	198,489	(198,593)
33. Hessen-Darmstadt	40,338	(63,911)	387,485	(374,013)
34. HAMBURG ...	65,577	(90,250)	214,257	(203,431)
35. Mecklenburg ...	14,499	(27,316)	155,076	(156,638)
	1,869,553	(2,708,345)	7,785,678	(7,880,963)

# Party Training Notes

The great importance of Party training is generally agreed upon, but many members accept this as a fact without further consideration.

Party training is not something which is intended to carry with it "academic honours," nor is the examination at the conclusion of the course intended as a test of a comrade's fitness to be in the Party.

The, as yet, numerical smallness of our Party, together with the urgency and importance of its tasks, are both good reasons for the Training Course, and ultimately, when immediate problems have been overcome, our members will need to have a thorough grasp of the role of the Party in the overthrow of capitalism.

Party training is intended to improve the political and organisational ability of the membership, and raise the general standard of ability in the Party to a higher level. Its object is to help members to better understand their tasks and to obtain better results. Party training should improve Party activities and lighten them.

The increased development of training becomes more important in view of the changing basis of Party organisation from area group to factory group. The technical difficulties involved in this so far as training is concerned, can be met as they arise, and are being tackled already, although the work is as yet in its experimental stages as we know from reports.

Many comrades, however, must be facing new problems and difficulties in connection with the training of factory groups, and we would welcome from readers and group leaders their views and an account of their experiences so that we can publish those of general application for the benefit of all concerned.

Training-group leaders also are occasionally worried by questions

which arise in the course of training a group, and which they are not sure how to tackle.

We invite letters from such comrades on the various points which worry them; these we cannot promise to publish, but we can extract from them the questions raised and publish these, together with our answer, thus helping other tutors in similar difficulties.

## LONDON CONFERENCE.

On Saturday, March 28th, a London District Party Training Conference was held. This conference was the first of its kind attempted, and was a great success. Eighteen locals were represented, and thirty trainers attended in addition. For three hours views were expressed on various points connected with training, and opinions were exchanged on how to meet the problems arising in actual training work.

The value of this conference was undoubtedly great to all concerned, and it is intended to extend these to the provinces.

It should not be forgotten that Party Training is closely bound up with Party agitation and propaganda, and at future District Propaganda Conferences to be arranged by the centre, Party Training will be included in the agenda for discussion.

Elsewhere in this issue we begin a series of articles on Economics. It is the desire of the Training Committee that such articles should be made a subject for discussion amongst factory groups or area training groups. We contemplate further articles on Imperialism and the Transition Period, and hope by this means, to fill the need for training material suitable for workers joining the Party, who have had no previous political experience.

All correspondence on Party Training notes to be addressed, Editor, *Communist Review*, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.

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# Book Reviews in Brief

## TROTSKY ON LENIN.

*Lenin*, by LEON TROTSKY, Price 7/6.  
Published by George D. Harrap & Co., London.

I think it is a great pity that Trotsky so hastily scraped these articles together and published them in the garb of a book on Lenin. Any scrap of information regarding Lenin, from whatever source, receives a world welcome, and is of first class interest. Most particularly is this so from the pen of such an one as Trotsky. Yet despite this, after re-reading the book, I still think it a pity that Trotsky did not set himself to make a real job of the subject. Detached and isolated from each other, and appearing merely as sundry articles in a daily newspaper from time to time, the chapters of this book might be acceptable as interesting fragments, but when merely bunched together and dressed up with only a short three-page foreword, no one can call it a satisfactory book about Lenin from any point of view.

The book is teeming with defects; not only does it fail to give an accurate impression of Lenin, but even as a piece of literary work it completely lacks the usual literary brilliance of Trotsky, and is quite his weakest piece of work. Hesitant, uncertain, undecided—one gets an uneasy impression of intense nervousness in the compilation of the book.

The outstanding failure of the book, however, is the entire omission throughout of the Party. To present a picture of Lenin and to ignore the Party, is to completely fail bibliographically. The Russian Communist Party more than anything else, constitutes Lenin's real greatness. The Communist International is the enduring monument to this greatness. More than anyone in the annals of our movement, Lenin was the embodiment of the revolutionary party of the workers. More than any other, Lenin appreciated and understood the role of the Party. His genius lay in appreciating the impossibility of a successful working class revolution without an iron-disciplined political party as its leader. His greatness lay not only in perceiv-

ing this, but in his capacity to subordinate everything, himself included, to the creation of that party.

The real history of Lenin during the period covered by this book of Trotsky, 1902-1917, is the history of the building of the Russian Communist Party. Hence, therefore, I say that if the purpose of the book was to give a portrait of Lenin in his genius, the book is a complete failure. Lenin without the party, is Lenin without his genius—Lenin as he now is—in the mausoleum in the Red Square.

In the foreword, Trotsky says that the book is sketchy, and his original intention was merely to use it as material for the publication of a real book. The present publication demands, in Trotsky's own interest, that he carry out his intention and publish a real book on Lenin, to redeem the bad effects of this one. Altogether, it is a very unsatisfactory book, and one puts it down with a feeling that it is a pity he ever allowed it to be published in its present form. A. McM.

*A Worker Looks at History*, by MARK STARR. Published by the "Plebs League," Price 1/6. 162a, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.

This new edition of "A Worker Looks at History," is a revised edition of the Plebs textbook on History.

Much possible criticism is anticipated and covered by the author in a brief foreword, but only the criticism such as might come from an academic "Marxian" of the author's own school.

On the whole one can say that the average worker, just awakening to class consciousness and feeling the need to revise and correct his knowledge of history gained from the board schools, would find this little book useful, particularly with regard to the economic and social developments in Britain; but something is lacking.

The proletariat has a part to play in history as a class. The urgency of that task is being increasingly emphasised by the pressure of events,

out this necessity for active, intelligent struggle is not touched upon by the author.

Vague references to the need for class education, for the workers to take over control of industry, etc., do not help very much.

The time is over-ripe, capitalist imperialism is the period called by Lenin "Perishing, decaying, capitalism—the epoch of proletarian revolution." Throughout the course of history as described in the book, runs a note of inevitability: the "Inevitability of gradualness," as Sydney Webb called it. We need only quote the last few lines of the book to show this clearly: "But driven on by the forces of capitalism—whose early and modern development we have followed—the workers, taking a wider outlook, will seize and control the means of production on a world scale."

The impression left on the mind after reading this book is that, as economy changes—inevitably progressing—so also inevitably does the status of classes change.

While this is objectively correct, the teachings of history, and especially the history of the last few years, demonstrates that the working class must *actively* bring about the downfall of tottering capitalism. The detached, academic outlook is wrong, and can only lead to passivity in the class struggle. Capitalism strives all the time to retain its domination, to suit its economy to new developments resulting from imperialism. The working class army cannot be passive, it must fight.

Marx, in the Communist Manifesto, warned us against this academic fatalist outlook. In the Manifesto, he declared that the alternative to the overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat will be a relapse into barbarism. The truth of this is evident in these days of chemical and scientific war preparations, and the resistance of the international bourgeoisie to the proletarian revolution.

It is all very well to tell the worker how social developments have occurred as a result of changing economy, but this book leaves him in the end suspended—with a sense of incompleteness. There is no concrete answer given by the author to the questions he himself has raised.

Every reader will agree that the militant worker of to-day is looking

for a lead, if not from the Communist Party as yet, from some other quarter.

When the author asks, "Shall the workers fight each other under the banner of their master classes, or shall they extend their local solidarity to all their fellows in all climes and lands who suffer common exploitation?" and then replies, "Let the workers but understand that question and the answer cannot be in doubt"—the reader is puzzled. What answer has the author to his own question? We would have preferred to have the author's own views not merely on the character of the problem, but on the way out.

"Class education" or "understanding" is worthless except it is utilised the better to wage the class war. But to lead the workers in the class war, a party is needed.

A party, capable, determined, disciplined and centralised; the vanguard of the proletariat. This is essential to working class victory. For our part we need only look to Russia and ask ourselves what would have happened had there been no Bolshevik party there to lead the fight? What would have been the consequences to the world proletariat of failure?

And when we turn to the history of events in Germany and study the role of the Social Democrats in the proletarian struggle, we see clearly that the workers' party must either be one or other of two types, a Bolshevik Party or a Social-Democratic Party. This question is entirely ignored.

There is no sense in "non-party" working class education, for there *must* be a party of the working class, and as we think, there can only be *one* such party. That party is the Communist Party. Illusions to the contrary may hold sway a little longer in the minds of the masses, of academic teachers of working class education, but they are weakening, and will finally vanish. Only when the workers are led by the Communists, will it be possible to realise the author's ideal, and to "Seize and control the means of production on a world scale." That is the lesson of the history of the years since the war; lacking that lesson. "A Worker Looks at History," lacks this most important point for its readers, and is incomplete. R.