

UNPUBLISHED MSS. OF KARL MARX.
DUTT: MARXISM AND LABOURISM.

SPECIAL
DOUBLE
MARX
JUBILEE
NUMBER

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE



March 14th 1933

VOLUME X

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL No. 5-6

TWENTY CENTS
CONTENTS
OVERLEAF

CONTENTS

Number 5 & 6

Published fortnightly in Russian, German,
French, Chinese, Spanish and English.

1. WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

(Declaration of the E.C.C.I. on the 50th anniversary of death of Karl Marx)

(See page 151)

2. 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF KARL MARX

(a) Report of the General Council—To the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association (Basle) (See page 156)

(b) Official Report—Of the London General Council read at the Public Session of the International Congress (Hague) (See page 162)

Editorial Note by Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute

1. *The "Report of the General Council" to the IV. Congress of the International Working Men's Association is reprinted from the printed report, published in English by the General Council in London. The Congress took place in Basle, in 1869, September 6th-11th.*

2. *The "Official Report of the London General Council," was read to the Public Session of the International Congress. The translation is from the original German pamphlet, published in Brunswick. The Congress took place at The Hague, in 1872, September 2nd-7th.*

3. THE BAROMETER INDICATES STORM

W. KNORIN

(See page 166)

4. THE PRESENT WORLD CRISIS IN THE LIGHT OF MARX'S TEACHINGS

M. JOELSON

(See page 172)

5. MARXISM AND LABOURISM

R. PALME DUTT

(See page 179)

6. MARX AND THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

ANDRÉ MARTY

(See page 190)

7. "MARX AND MODERNITY"—AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKER

KARL BREMER

(See page 197)

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Declaration of the Communist International on the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Karl Marx to the Working Men and Working Women of All Countries: To the Exploited and Oppressed of the Entire World:

FIFTY years ago, on March 14, 1883, Karl Marx, the greatest thinker, the greatest revolutionist in the history of mankind of all time, died.

He was the man who proved that wealth and poverty, tyranny and slavery do not arise from eternal, divine or unalterable laws of nature. He was the man who proved that wealth and poverty, tyranny and slavery are the result of a definite mode of production and the corresponding social institutions which are created and overthrown by people, united in classes struggling between themselves.

He was the man who discovered the great secret of the capitalist mode of production and bourgeois society — the secret of surplus value appropriated by the capitalists from the unpaid labour of the workers, the secret of the accumulation of capital on the basis of the exploitation of the working class.

He was the man who showed that capitalism, in accordance with its own laws and because of its own inner contradictions, is moving towards its destruction, and with iron necessity is creating the conditions for its own annihilation and the establishment of Socialism.

He was the man who showed that capitalism creates and welds together the class which historically is destined to become the grave-digger of capitalism, which, in the revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeois class, will have to overthrow the rôle of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He was the man who showed that the proletariat, *having expropriated the capitalist expropriators, in constant and merciless struggle against all the exploited classes, will destroy classes and will build up the new classless Socialist society, will bring about Communism.*

He was the man who gave to the proletariat the "consciousness of their own situation and the consciousness of the conditions for their own liberation." He was the man who armed the working class with the principles of Communism — the teachings on the conditions for the victory of the proletariat.

He was the man who led the first Communist Party, the "Communist League." He was the man who threw out the world historic rallying cry: "Workers of the world, unite." He was the man who formed and led the international workingmen's association — the First International.

The great task of the First International, the liberation of the working class, is being continued at the present day by the Communist International which solemnly, before the whole world, at its formation in the capital of the first proletarian state, undertook to finally fulfil the cause of the First International.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the greatest teacher of the working class, the passionate enemy of the bourgeoisie, the world reveals to us the picture of the great historic victory of Marxism.

Along the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat mapped out by Marx, Socialism is already being victoriously constructed before our eyes on one-sixth of the surface of the globe, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

According to the law of capitalist development, discovered by Marx, the capitalist system has now, before our eyes, reached its final and culminating stage—the stage of decaying monopolist capitalism. Writhing in the death agonies of the general crisis, it is approaching a revolutionary crash, slipping into a new imperialist world war.

In the capitalist world, in the East and the West, a mighty revolutionary upsurge is stirring the proletarian and toiling masses. In the struggle for bread, work and power, the proletarians are marching ahead, answering bourgeois violence with proletarian violence, preparing to deal a death-blow against the rule of capital. Before our eyes the historic mission of the proletariat, proclaimed by Marx, is being realised.

Marxism is the great science of the working class which not only aims at explaining the world, but at its revolutionary transformation. It has rallied the broadest masses and has itself become the material revolutionary driving force of history, directed against the bourgeoisie.

During the fifty years which separate us from the death of Marx, the passionate struggle for and against Marxism has never ceased.

The struggle for Marxism was an inseparable part of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This ideological struggle, along with the economic and political struggle, served to defend the interests of the working class, the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

Numberless creators of bourgeois ideology have made attempt after attempt to kill Marx-

ism, the revolutionary theory of the working class: Lecturers and professors, parsons and priests, have made it their profession to "annihilate" Marxism. Through the churches of all denominations, through the universities and academies, through their politicians — conservative and radical — the bourgeoisie has put into operation against Marxism the weapon of criticism, simultaneously making wide use of the criticism of weapons, the police and troops, for the massacre of the class-conscious sections of the working class.

The granite rock of Marxism could not be destroyed by the onslaught of these open enemies.

After the death of Marx, under the leadership of the great companion-in-arms of Marx—Friedrich Engels — in the struggle against petty-bourgeois anarchist and social reformist theories, Marxism won the leading position among the broad mass workers' parties and trade union organisations. The influence of Marxism grew much wider in the relatively peaceful period between the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution in 1905.

In the period of the Second International Marxism won new strata of the working class, new countries.

The bourgeoisie were driven to make an attempt to destroy Marxism from within the working class. While continuing their attacks on Marxism, they began, inside the working class, the *falsification of Marxism*. Based on impoverished *petty bourgeois elements*, and upon a corrupted section of the *labour aristocracy* which arose out of the proletariat, there appeared *revisionism*, the theory of the revision and destruction of the principles of Marxism.

The Social-Democrat, Edward Bernstein, the champion of this revision of Marx in the German Social-Democratic Party, the leading party of the Second International, openly denied all the basic principles of Marxism and openly tried to eliminate the chief weapon of the working class, the class struggle from the arsenal of the Labour Movement.

Along with this open revision of Marxism, there appeared on the scene centrism, the disguised falsification of Marxism.

Under the cloak of the "defence" of Marx, the centrists, under the leadership of Karl Kautsky, actually sacrificed the most important theoretical positions of Marxism and created the theoretical basis for the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The reformists and centrists first of all falsified the revolutionary teachings of Marx and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Instead of the revolutionary overthrow and destruction of the bourgeois state — peaceful reforms through parliament; instead of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat — the peaceful growing of capitalism into Socialism.

This reformist conception acquired undivided sway in the Socialist Parties in the Second International after the death of Engels. Revolutionary Marxism was finally abandoned in the Second International when capitalism entered a new phase, the phase of imperialism.

Imperialism directly raised the question of the historic fate of capitalism and of the international working class: either imperialist enslavement, imperialist war for a new re-division of the world or proletarian revolution for the forcible overthrow of decaying capitalism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Socialism.

Disintegrated by opportunism which degenerated into social imperialism and social pacifism, the Second International shamefully collapsed. At the beginning of the imperialist war in 1914, the leading parties went over to the side of their own imperialism and helped their own bourgeoisie to drive worker against worker, peasant against peasant, in the slaughter of the imperialist world war.

The leaders of the Second International wanted to bury revolutionary Marxism by eliminating the class struggle in the interests of the defence of the capitalist fatherland. In the service of their own bourgeoisie, they shamelessly mocked the internationalism of the working class. Dozens of Social-Democratic ministers doomed to starvation the wives and children of the millions who had been killed at the front and robbed the workers in the militarised factories of the right to strike.

It was precisely at this time, when the honour of the international working class was being besmirched every day by its leaders, that the *founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party, the only consistent Marxist, revolutionary party*, which fought for revolutionary Marxism right through its existence, boldly and decisively raised upon the ruins of the collapse of the Second International, the banner of revolutionary proletarian internationalism, the banner of the Third International.

Rallying the revolutionary elements of the workers' movement of the whole world, this banner called for the conversion of imperialist war into civil war.

The Marxist who carried out this great work, the equal of Marx and Engels, was Lenin.

It was Lenin who, from the moment that he entered the Labour Movement, at the turning point of the 19th and 20th centuries, basing him-

self on an analysis of the new epoch of capitalism—fought at the head of the Bolshevik Party for the working class to fulfil its historic rôle which had been discovered by Marx. It was he who, undeviatingly guided by the interests of the international proletarian revolution and the task of the struggle for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, worked out the theory and tactics of revolution in the epoch of imperialism. He was the man who was the incomparable defender and the only consistent continuer of Marxism after the death of Marx and Engels. He was the man who, without hesitation, brought about the break with opportunism and carried on a merciless struggle both against revisionism and centrism, and mercilessly exposed the class treachery of the reformist leaders.

He was the man who, in three revolutions, led the working class of Tsarist Russia and in the October Revolution led the proletariat to victory. He was the man who built the first proletarian Soviet State and organised the defence of the proletarian fatherland against internal and external enemies. He was the man who showed the path of Socialism in town and village and who was the first constructor of Socialist society.

He was the man who developed Marxism further for the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, and who gave to the working class the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

Leninism is the only Marxism of the new epoch.

Marxism, which was cast out from all Social-Democratic parties by the leaders of the Second International, was consummated under the leadership of Lenin and his Bolshevik Party in the victorious armed insurrection of the October Revolution. It was consummated in the creation of the proletarian dictatorship, in the workers' state, inscribing on its red banners the slogan of the Communist Manifesto, "Workers of the World, Unite." *The revolutionary teachings of Marx found their real place and only bearer in the Communist International founded by Lenin, and in its sections, the Communist Parties.*

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Parties, the organised vanguard of the working class, heroically lead the fights of the proletariat, the toiling peasants and the oppressed nations, for the destruction of all exploitation, of all oppression.

But the Second International, restored after the war, and its Social-Democratic parties, what have they in common with Marxism and its theories and practice?

Instead of revolutionary philosophy, dialectic materialism—reactionary idealism.

Instead of the theory of the class struggle as

the driving force of social development—collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Instead of the theory of the inevitability of the rise of periodic economic crises on the basis of the contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation—the theory of overcoming the crisis by organised capitalism.

Instead of the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism—the theory of eliminating war by the international organisation of the imperialist bandits of the League of Nations.

Instead of the theory of the bourgeois state as the apparatus of violence of the bourgeoisie against the working class—the theory that the bourgeois state stands above classes, adjusting and reconciling the contradictory interests of the proletariat and the bourgeois.

Instead of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the transition stage of capitalism to Socialism—the theory of a transition period of coalition governments with the bourgeoisie.

Instead of the theory of a Socialist construction on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the theory of economic democracy carried out by a bourgeois government.

Instead of the defence of the rights of nations to self-determination to the point of separation and the complete liberation of the colonies and dependent countries—the theory of the civilising rôle of imperialism in the colonies and support for their own bourgeoisie in oppressing national minorities and plundering dependent countries and colonies.

There is not a single principle of Marxism which the leaders of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade union movement have not tried to distort and refute. There is not a single revolutionary action of the workers under the banner of Marxism which they have not tried to break by deception, strike-breaking and the murder of the workers.

What has happened to the theories of Social-Democracy in face of stern historic facts?

The devastation of the world economic crisis and the tremendous poverty of the toiling masses brought by the crisis, the use of merciless mass terror by the bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants, the growth of bourgeois democracy into Fascism, the end of the relative stabilisation of capitalism and the transition to a new cycle of revolutions and wars—all these have scattered like smoke the theories which Social-Democracy put forward in opposition to revolutionary Marxism.

But *Marxism is marching forward victoriously.* Continued and developed in Leninism, it is being carried into practice in the U.S.S.R.

The revolutionary teachings of the working

class, slandered and falsified by *Social-Democracy*, the theory of the despised, the exploited and the oppressed, has become the theory of the working class which rules on one-sixth of the earth's surface, the theory of many millions of workers, struggling in capitalist countries against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in the heroic civil war, in the fights against imperialist intervention, in which the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union firmly held on to its power and retained the expropriated means of production.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in the struggle for Socialist industrialisation, in which the workers of the Soviet Union, filled with the enthusiasm of shock work, transformed a backward agrarian country into an industrial country, raising the standard of living of the workers and completely liquidating unemployment.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in the struggle for the collectivisation of millions of small and middle peasant farms, in the struggle for the formation of giant Socialist agricultural farms, and in the liquidation of the last capitalist class, the kulaks.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to victorious action in carrying out the first Five Year Plan, in which the proletariat of the Soviet Union proved that the working class is capable of creating the new as well as destroying the old.

Marxism-Leninism was the guide to revolutionary action when the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. showed that it was fully possible to construct Socialist society in a single country and that the Soviet system is the only economic system which has no crises, and overcomes difficulties which are insuperable for capitalism.

Marxism-Leninism was, and is, the guide to victorious action which made the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin victorious, showed it the path, steeling it and making it capable of conquering all difficulties, of capturing the strongest fortresses.

The first Five Year Plan was triumphantly carried out in the hostile surroundings of the whole capitalist world and international Social-Democracy, with the help of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. It was triumphant only because the leading party of the Soviet proletariat, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, uncompromisingly defended Marxism-Leninism in incessant struggle against every falsification from the right and the "left."

The C.P.S.U. under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the continuer of the work of Marx and Lenin, enriched, and is still enriching, the teach-

ings of Marx and Lenin on proletarian dictatorship by solving the task of constructing Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Marxism-Leninism is marching to victory in the capitalist countries, where the revolutionary upsurge is growing.

In China, the masses of workers and peasants, organised into a Soviet Government on an enormous territory, and fighting heroically under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party for their national and social liberation, against the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang, against Japanese and world imperialism, pointing the way to the workers of Japan, India, Indo-China and all the enslaved colonial peoples.

The German, Polish and Bulgarian workers and peasants, the proletarians and the toilers of other capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Communist vanguard, in the struggles against Fascism and Social-Fascism, are carrying out the behests of Marx and Lenin, struggling for the majority of the working class for the revolutionary struggle, for Soviet Germany, Soviet Poland, Soviet Bulgaria.

The heroic working class of Germany will not be broken by frenzied Fascist reaction which reflects the convulsions of the expiring capitalist system.

Marxism-Leninism is marching forward victoriously in the heroic strikes and uprisings of the Spanish proletariat and exploited peasants, in which the Communist Party is winning the leadership of the working masses from anti-Marxist anarcho-syndicalism and reformism.

Marxism-Leninism is marching forward in the struggles of the millions of workers, small peasants and toiling peoples of all the imperialist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, against the capitalist offensive, against reaction and Fascism, against terror, against imperialist war, in defence of the Soviet Union from armed intervention.

The entire ideological superstructure of capitalism is crashing everywhere. In this general crisis of bourgeois ideologies, only the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism receive new proofs of their truth every day.

"The teachings of Marx are all-powerful, because they are true" (Lenin).

No wonder that the old falsifiers of Marxism, the arch enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the Social-Fascist leaders of the Second International, are again making an attempt to cloak themselves with Marxism. They are now making the discovery that there are "two Marxist parties," one of which is the party of Social-Fascism.

They do this to hinder the united front of the revolutionary and Social-Democratic workers, to keep them away from the struggle against the

capitalist offensive, against Fascism, against imperialist war, and to drive them into the arms of the class enemies.

They do this to prevent the unity of the proletarian class movement, split by the treachery of the Second International, from being restored under the banner of the Communist International.

Think carefully, Social-Democratic workers and you proletarians who belong to the reformist trade unions!

Is it possible that Marxism means in one party struggles for higher wages, for unemployment relief and organisation of struggles against the oppression of capitalist rationalisation — and in the other: support of wage-cuts and reduction of unemployment relief, and support and encouragement for capitalist rationalisation and compulsory labour?

Is it possible that Marxism means for one party revolutionary readiness for sacrifice in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, imprisonment, shooting, hanging, as was the case with *Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg* and thousands, tens of thousands of revolutionary proletarians throughout the capitalist world,—while for the other party — ministerial posts in bourgeois governments, posts of police chiefs, hangmen of the revolutionary proletarians, as was the case with *Noske and Zörgiebel*?

Is it possible that Marxism means in one party proletarianism, determined revolutionary struggle against imperialist war—while in the other party it means defence of the bourgeois fatherland, Pacifist deception in order to cover up imperialist war preparations, and slander of the Soviet Union, *the only fatherland of the international working class*?

Is it possible that Marxism in one country led by the Communist Party to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the expropriation of the means of production of the capitalists, to the rise of proletarians to heads of gigantic Socialist enterprises—while in the other country it is leading to the growth of capitalist enslavement under the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party?

Is it possible that Marxism in one country led to Socialism and in the other country — to Fascism?

Think it over, proletarians! Can there be two kinds of Marxism? Give your answer to the first Communist, to the first revolutionary proletarian—the fighter for the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin—you come across.

Think it over and decide whether or not we are right when we declare that *Marx belongs to the Communists.*

To us, the Communists, who, at the head of the millions of proletarians in the daily uncom-

promising class struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, are carrying out his great teachings.

To us, Communists, who, in the Soviet Union are the master builders of the Socialist society, who, in the imperialist and colonial countries are defending and protecting with our life's blood Marxism-Leninism, defending Socialism; which has been carried out in the Soviet Union. To us, Communists who are struggling for the liberation of all those who are oppressed by capitalist exploitation from the slavery of capitalism, struggling for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for world Communism.

Marx belongs to the Communists!

To us, the Communists who have carried Marxism-Leninism to the countries of the Near and Far East, to China and India, to Indo-China, to Arabia, to colonial Africa, and to the semi-colonial countries of South and Central America and who have extended the fighting front of the proletariat for Socialist society by drawing the oppressed peoples into the fight against the common enemy, against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Marx belongs to the Communists!

To us, the class-conscious revolutionary workers in imperialist and colonial countries, who are organising and leading strikes against wage-cuts and against dismissals, organising the struggle of the unemployed for relief and social insurance.

Marx belongs to us, the fighters against reaction, Fascism, terror and imperialist war, to us, who through our revolutionary struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, are organising the toiling peasants and the oppressed peoples.

To us young working men and working women, for whom capitalism has taken away our means of livelihood and the possibility of vocational training. To us, who are struggling courageously and with determination, in order to avoid the fate of our fathers, and not to become cannon fodder in imperialist wars; to us, who are not willing to live the life of exploited wage-slaves.

Marx belongs to the revolutionary proletarian fighters, for Marx above all was a revolutionist, and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are the teachings of the organisation and leadership of the revolution against capitalism.

Marx belongs to those who are carrying out his teachings in practice.

Proletarians! Make his teachings yours! Bear them to all corners of the earth! Strengthen the class-consciousness of the working class.

Strengthen the united front of all workers, under the leadership of the international of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the international of struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, for Socialism, carry into practice the teachings of Marx.

The victorious movement of revolutionary Marxism cannot be held back by the Fascists,

the followers of the collapsing capitalist system! The dying capitalist system cannot be saved either by vile provocations against the working class or by the bloody terror of Fascist gangs.

Workers of the world, unite!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Death of Karl Marx

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

To the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association.

Citizens,

THE delegates of the different sections will give you detailed reports on the progress of our Association in their respective countries. The report of your general council will mainly relate to the guerilla fights between capital and labour—we mean the strikes which during the last year have perturbed the continent of Europe, and were said to have sprung neither from the misery of the labourer nor from the despotism of the capitalist, but from the secret intrigues of our Association.

A few weeks after the meeting of our last Congress, a memorable strike on the part of the ribbon-weavers and silk-dyers occurred in Basle, a place which to our days has conserved much of the features of a mediaeval town with its local traditions, its narrow prejudices, its purse-proud patricians, and its patriarchal rule of the employer over the employed. Still, a few years ago a Basle manufacturer boasted to an English secretary of embassy, that "the position of the master and the man was on a better footing here than in England," that "in Switzerland the operative who leaves a good master for better wages would be *despised* by his own *fellow-workmen*," and that "our advantage lies principally in the length of the working time and the moderation of the wages." You see, *patriarchalism*, as modified by modern influences, comes to this — that the master is good, and that his wages are bad, that the labourer feels like a mediaeval vassal, and is exploited like a modern wages-slave.

That patriarchalism may further be appreciated from an official Swiss inquiry into the factory employment of children and the state of the primary public schools. It was ascertained that "the Basle school atmosphere is the worst in the world, that while in the free air carbonic acid forms only four parts of 10,000, and in closed rooms should not exceed 10 parts, it rose in Basle common schools to 20-81 parts in the forenoon, and to 53-94 in the afternoon." Thereupon a member of the Basle Great Council, Mr. Thurney-

sen, coolly replied, "Don't allow yourselves to be frightened. The parents have passed through schoolrooms as bad as the present ones, and yet they have escaped with their skins safe."

It will now be understood that an economical revolt on the part of the Basle workmen could not but mark an epoch in the social history of Switzerland. Nothing more characteristic than the starting point of the movement. There existed an old custom for the ribbon-weavers to have a few hours' holiday on Michaelmas. The weavers claiming this small privilege at the usual time in the factory of Messrs. Dubary and Sons, one of the masters declared, in a harsh voice and with imperious gesticulation, "Whoever leaves the factory will be dismissed at once and for ever." Finding their protestations in vain, 104 out of 172 weavers left the workshop without, however, believing in their definite dismissal, since master and men were bound by written contract to give a fourteen days' notice to quit. On their return the next morning they found the factory surrounded by gendarmes, keeping off the yesterday's rebels, with whom all their comrades now made common cause. Being thus suddenly thrown out of work, the weavers with their families were simultaneously ejected from the cottages they rented from their employers, who, into the bargain, sent letters round to the shopkeepers to debar the houseless ones from all credit for victuals. The struggle thus began lasted from the 9th of November, 1868, to the spring of 1869. The limits of our report do not allow us to enter upon its details. It suffices to state that it originated in a capricious and spiteful act of capitalist despotism, in a cruel lock-out, which led to strikes, from time to time interrupted by compromises, again and again broken on the part of the masters, and that it culminated in the vain attempt of the Basle "High and Honourable State Council" to intimidate the working people by military measures and a quasi state of siege.

During their sedition the workmen were sup-

ported by the International Working Men's Association. But that was not all. That society, the masters said, had first smuggled the modern spirit of rebellion into the good old town of Basle. To again expel that mischievous intruder from Basle became, therefore, their great pre-occupation. Hard they tried, though in vain, to enforce the withdrawal from it as a condition of peace, upon their subjects. Getting generally worsted in their war with the International, they vented their spleen in strange pranks. Owing some industrial branch establishments at Lorrach, in Baden, these republicans induced the grand-ducal official to suppress the International section at that place, a measure which, however, was soon after rescinded by the Baden Government. The Augsburg "Allgemeine Zeitung," a paper of world-wide circulation, presuming to report on the Basle events in an impartial spirit, the angry worthies threatened it in foolish letters with the withdrawal of their subscriptions. To London they expressly sent a messenger on the fantastic errand of ascertaining the dimensions of the International general "treasury-box." Orthodox Christians as they are, if they had lived at the time of nascent Christianity, they would, above all things, have spied into St. Paul's banking accounts at Rome.

Their clumsily savage proceedings brought down upon them some ironical lessons of worldly wisdom on the part of the Geneva capitalist organs. Yet, a few months later, the uncouth Basle vestrymen might have returned the compliment with usurious interest to the Geneva men of the world.

In the month of March there broke out in Geneva a buildings trade strike, and a compositors' strike, both bodies being affiliated to the International. The builders' strike was provoked by the masters setting aside a convention solemnly entered upon with their workmen a year ago. The compositors' strike was but the winding-up of a ten years' quarrel which the men had during all that time in vain tried to settle by five consecutive commissions. As in Basle, the masters transformed at once their private feuds with their men into a state crusade against the International Working Men's Association.

The Geneva State Council dispatched policemen to receive at the railway stations, and sequester from all contact with the strikers, such foreign workmen as the masters might contrive to inveigle from abroad. It allowed the "Jeunesse Dorée," the hopeful loafers of "La Jeune Suisse," armed with revolvers, to assault in the streets and places of public resort, workmen and workwomen. It launched its own police ruffians on the working people on different

occasions, and signally on the 24th May, when it enacted at Geneva, on a small scale, the Paris scenes which Raspail has branded as "Les orgies infernales des casse-têtes." When the Geneva workmen passed in public meeting an address to the State Council, calling upon it to inquire into these infernal police orgies, the State Council replied by a sneering rebuke. It evidently wanted, at the behest of its capitalist superiors, to madden the Geneva people into an émeute, to stamp that émeute out by the armed force, to sweep the International from the Swiss soil, and to subject the workmen to a Decembrist régime. This scheme was baffled by the energetic action and moderating influence of our Geneva Federal committee. The masters had at last to give way.

And now listen to some of the invectives of the Geneva capitalists and their press-gang against the International. In public meeting they passed an address to the State Council, where the following phrase occurs:—"The International Committee at Geneva ruins the Canton of Geneva by decrees sent from London and Paris; it wants here to suppress all industry and all labour." One of their journals stated, "That the leaders of the International were secret agents of the Emperor, who, at the opportune moment, were very likely to run out public accusers against this little Switzerland of ours."

And this on the part of the men who had just shown themselves so eager to transplant at a moment's notice the Decembrist régime to the Swiss soil, on the part of financial magnates, the real rulers of Geneva and other Swiss towns, whom all Europe knows to have long since been converted from citizens of the Swiss republic into mere feudatories of the French Credit Mobilier and other International swindling associations.

The massacres by which the Belgian Government did answer in April last to the strikes of the puddlers at Seraing and the coal miners of Borinage, have been fully exposed in the address of the General Council to the workmen of Europe and the United States. We considered this address the more urgent since with that constitutional model government, such workmen's massacres are not an accident, but an institution. The horrid military drama was succeeded by a judicial farce. In the proceedings against our Belgian general committee at Brussels, whose domiciles were brutally broken in by the police, and many of whose members were placed under secret arrest, the judge of instruction finds the letter of a workman, asking for 500 "Internationales," and he at once

jumps to the conclusion that 500 fighting men were to be dispatched to the scene of action. The 500 "Internationales" were 500 copies of the Internationale, the weekly organ of our Brussels committee.

A telegram to Paris by a member of the International, ordering a certain quantity of powder, is raked up. After a prolonged research, the dangerous substance is really laid hand on at Brussels. It is powder for killing vermin. Last, not least the Belgian police flattered itself in one of its domiciliary visits, to have got at that phantom treasure which haunts the great mind of the continental capitalist, viz.: the International treasure, the main stock of which is safely hoarded at London, but whose offsets travel continually to all the continental seats of the Association. The Belgian official inquirer thought it buried in a certain strong box, hidden in a dark place. He gets at it, opens it forcibly, and there was found—some pieces of coal. Perhaps, if touched by the hand of the police, the pure International gold turns at once into coal.

Of the strikes that, in December, 1868, infested several French cotton districts, the most important was that at Sotteville-les-Rouen. The manufacturers of the Department de la Somme had not long ago met at Amiens in order to consult how they might undersell the English manufacturers in the English market itself. Having made sure that, besides protective duties, the comparative lowness of French wages had till now mainly enabled them to defend France from English cottons, they naturally inferred that a still further lowering of French wages would allow them to invade England with French cotton. The French cotton workers, they did not doubt, would feel proud at the idea of defraying the expenses of a war of conquest which their masters had so patriotically resolved to wage on the other side of the channel. Soon after it was bruited about that the cotton manufacturers of Rouen and its environs had, in secret conclave, agreed upon the same line of policy. Then an important reduction of wages was suddenly proclaimed at Sotteville-lés-Rouen, and then for the first time the Normand weavers rose against the encroachments of capital. They acted under the stir of the moment. Neither had they before formed a trades union nor provided for any means of resistance. In their distress they appealed to the International committee at Rouen, which found for them some immediate aid from the workmen of Rouen, the neighbouring districts, and Paris. Towards the end of December, 1868, the general council was applied

to by the Rouen committee, at a moment of utmost distress throughout the English cotton districts, of unparalleled misery in London, and a general depression in all branches of British industry. This state of things has continued in England to this moment. Despite such highly unfavourable circumstances, the general council thought that the peculiar character of the Rouen conflict would stir the English workmen to action. This was a great opportunity to show the capitalists that their international industrial warfare, carried on by screwing wages down now in this country, now in that, would be checked at last by the international union of the working classes. To our appeal the English workmen replied at once by a first contribution to Rouen, and the London Trades Council resolved to summon, in unison with the general council, a metropolitan monster meeting on behalf of their Normand brethren. These proceedings were stopped by the news of the sudden cessation of the Sotteville strike. The miscarriage of that economical revolt was largely compensated for by its moral results. It enlisted the Normand cotton workers into the revolutionary army of labour, it gave rise to the birth of trades unions at Rouen, Elboeuf, Darnetal, and the environs; and it sealed anew the bond of fraternity between the English and French working class.

During the winter and spring of 1869 the propaganda of our Association in France was paralysed, consequent upon the violent dissolution of our Paris section in 1868, the police chicaneries in the departments, and the absorbing interest of the French general elections.

The elections once over, numerous strikes exploded in the Loire mining districts, at Lyons, and many other places. The economic facts revealed during these struggles between masters and men, struck the public eye like so many dissolving views of the high-coloured fancy pictures of working class prosperity under the auspices of the Second Empire. The claims of redress on the part of the workmen were of so moderate a character, and so urgent a nature that, after some show of angry resistance, they had to be conceded, one and all. The only strange feature about those strikes was their sudden explosion after a seeming lull, and the rapid succession with which they followed each other. Still, the reason of all this was simple and palpable. Having, during the elections, successfully tried their hands against their public despot, the workmen were naturally led to try them after the elections against their private despots. In one word, the elections had stirred their animal spirits. The governmental

press, of course, paid as it is to misstate and misinterpret unpleasant facts, traced these events to a secret mot d'ordre from the London General Council, which, they said, sent their emissaries, from place to place to teach the otherwise highly satisfied French workmen that it was a bad thing to be overworked, underpaid, and brutally treated. A French police organ, published at London, the "International" (see its number of August 3) has condescended to reveal to the world the secret motives of our deleterious activity. "The strangest feature," it says, "is that the strikes were ordered to break out in such countries where misery is far from making itself felt. These unexpected explosions, occurring so opportunely for certain neighbours of ours who had first to apprehend war, makes many people ask themselves whether these strikes took place on the request of some foreign Machiavelli, who had known how to win the good graces of this all-powerful association." At the very moment when this French police print impeached us of embarrassing the French government by strikes at home a Prussian paper accused us of embarrassing the Northern German Bund with strikes, in order to crush German industry for the benefit of foreign manufactures.

The relations of the International to the French strikes we shall illustrate by two cases of a typical character. In the one case the strike of St. Etienne and the following massacre at Ricamari, the French Government itself will no longer dare to pretend that the International had anything whatever to do with it. In the Lyons case it was not the International that threw the workmen into strikes, but, on the contrary, it was the strikes that threw the workmen into the International.

The miners of St. Etienne, Rive-de-Giers, and Fumery had calmly but firmly requested the managers of the mining companies to reduce the working day numbering 12 hours hard underground labour and review the wages tariff. Failing in their attempt at a conciliatory settlement they struck on the 11th of June. For them it was of course a vital question to secure the co-operation of the miner that had not yet turned out to combine with them. To prevent this the manager of the mining companies requested and got from the Prefect of the Loire a forest of bayonets. On the 12th of June the strikers found the coal pits under strong military guard. To make sure of the zeal of the soldiers thus lent to them by the government, the mining companies paid each soldier a franc daily. The soldiers paid the companies back by catching, on the 16th June, about 60 miners eager to get a

conversation with their brethren in the coalpits. These prisoners were in the afternoon of the same day escorted to St. Etienne by a detachment (150 men) of the fourth regiment of the line. Before these stout warriors set out an engineer of the Dorian mines distributed to them 60 bottles of brandy, telling them at the same time they ought to have a sharp eye on their prisoners' gang, these miners being savages, barbarians, ticket-of-leave men. What with brandy, and what with the sermon, a bloody collision was thus prepared for. Followed on their march by a crowd of miners, with their wives and children, surrounded by them on a narrow defile on the heights of the Moncel, Quartier Ricamarie, requested to surrender the prisoners, and, on their refusal, attacked by a volley of stones, the soldiers, without any preliminary warning, fired with their chassepots pell-mell into the crowd, killing 15 persons, amongst whom were two women and an infant, and dangerously wounding a considerable number. The tortures of the wounded were horrible. One of the sufferers was a poor girl of 12 years, Jenny Petit, whose name will live immortal in the annals of the working class martyrology. Struck by two balls from behind, one of which lodged in her leg, while the other passed through her back, broke her arm, and escaped through her right shoulder. "Le chassepot avait encore fait merveille."

This time, however, the government was not long in finding out that it had committed not only a crime, but a blunder. It was not hailed as the saviour of society by the middle class. The whole municipal council of St. Etienne tendered its resignation in a document, denouncing the scoundrelism of the troops, and insisting upon their removal from the town. The French press rung with cries of horror! Even such conservative prints as the *Moniteur Universel* opened subscriptions for the victims. The government had to remove the odious regiment from St. Etienne.

Under such difficult circumstances it was a luminous idea to sacrifice on the altar of public indignation a scapegoat always at hand, the International Working Men's Association. At the judicial trial of the so-called rioters, the act of accusation divided them into 10 categories, very ingeniously shading their respective darkness of guilt. The first class, the most deeply tinged, consisted of workmen more particularly suspected to have obeyed some secret mot d'ordre from abroad, given out by the International. The evidence was, of course, overwhelming, as the following short extract from a French paper will show:—"The interrogatory

of the witnesses did not allow 'neatly' to establish the participation of the International Association. The witnesses affirm only the presence, at the head of the bands, of some unknown people, wearing white frocks and caps. None of the unknown ones have been arrested, or appear in the dock. To the question: Do you believe in the intervention of the International Association? A witness replies: I believe it, but without any proofs whatever!"

Shortly after the Ricamarie massacres the dance of economical revolts was opened at Lyons by the silk-winders, most of them females. In their distress they appealed to the International, which, mainly by its members in France and Switzerland, helped them to carry the day. Despite all attempts at police intimidation, they publicly proclaimed their adhesion to our Society, and entered it formally by paying the statutory contributions to the general council. At Lyons, as before at Rouen, the female workers played a noble and prominent part in the movement. Other Lyons trades have since followed in the track of the silk-winders. Some 10,000 new members were thus gained for us in a few weeks amongst that heroic population which more than thirty years ago inscribed upon its banner the watchword of the modern proletariat: "Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant!"

Meanwhile the French Government continues its petty tribulations against the International. At Marseilles our members were forbidden meeting for the election of a delegate to Basle. The same paltry trick was played in other towns. But the workmen on the Continent, as elsewhere, begin at last to understand that the surest way to get one's natural rights is to exercise them at one's personal risk.

The Austrian workmen, and especially those of Vienna, although entering their class movement only after the events of 1866, have at once occupied a vantage-ground. They marched at once under the banners of Socialism and the International, which by their delegates at the recent Eisenach congress, they have now joined en masse.

If anywhere, the liberal middle-class has exhibited in Austria selfish instincts, its mental inferiority, and its petty spite against the working class. Their ministry, seeing the empire distracted and threatened by an internecine struggle of races and nationalities, pounces upon the workmen who alone proclaim the fraternity of all races and nationalities. The middle-class itself, which has won its present position not by any heroism of its own, but only by the signal disaster of the Austrian army

hardly able as it is, and knows itself to be, to defend its new conquests from the attacks of the dynasty, the aristocracy, and the clerical party, nevertheless wastes its best energies in the mean attempt to debar the working class from the rights of combination, public meeting, free press and free thought. In Austria, as in all other states of continental Europe, the International has supplanted the *ci-devant* *spectre-rouge*. When, on the 13th of July, a workmen's massacre on a small scale was enacted at Brunn, the cottonopolis of Moravia, the event was traced to the secret instigations of the International, whose agents, however, were unfortunately invested with the rare gift of rendering themselves invisible. When some leaders of the Vienna workpeople figured before the judicial bench, the public accuser stigmatised them as tools of the foreigner. Only, to show how conscientiously he had studied the matter, he committed the little error of confounding the middle-class League of Peace and Liberty with the working men's International Association.

If the workmen's movement was thus harassed in Cis-Leithanian-Austria, it has been recklessly prosecuted in Hungary. On this point the most reliable reports from Pesth and Pressburg have reached the general council. One example of the treatment of the Hungarian workmen by the public authorities may suffice. Herr van Wenckheim, the Hungarian Home Minister, was just staying at Vienna on public business. Having for months been interdicted from public meetings and even from entertainments destined for the collection of the funds of a sick club, the Pressburg workmen sent at last delegates to Vienna, then and there to lay their grievances before the illustrious Herr von Wenckheim. Puffing and blowing his cigar the illustrious one received them with the bullying apostrophe, "Are you workmen? Do you work hard? For nothing else you have to care. You do not want public clubs; and if you dabble in politics we shall know what measures to take against you. I shall do nothing for you. Let the workmen grumble to their heart's content!" To the question of the workmen whether the good pleasure of the police was still to rule uppermost, the liberal minister replied: "Yes, under my responsibility." After a somewhat prolonged but useless explanation the workmen left the minister telling him, "Since state matters influence the workmen's condition, the workmen must occupy themselves with politics, and they will certainly do so."

In Prussia and the rest of Germany the past year was distinguished by the formation of

trades unions all over the country. At the recent Eisenach congress the delegates of 150,000 German workmen from Germany proper, Austria and Switzerland, have organised a new democratic social party, with a programme literally embodying the leading principles of our statutes. Debarred by law from forming sections of our association, they have, nevertheless, formally entered it by resolving to take individual cards of membership from the General Council. At its congress at Barmen the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein has also reaffirmed its adhesion to the principles of our association, but simultaneously declared the Prussian law forbade them joining us.

New branches of our association have sprung up at Naples, in Spain, and in Holland.

At Barcelona a Spanish, and at Amsterdam a Dutch organ of our association is now being issued.

The laurels plucked by the Belgian Government on the glorious battlefields of Seraing and Frameries seem really to have roused the angry jealousy of the Great Powers. No wonder, then, that England also had this year to boast a workman's massacre of its own. The Welsh coalminers, at Leeswood Great Pit, near Mold, in Denbighshire, had received sudden notice of a reduction of wages by the manager of those works, whom, long since, they had reason to consider a most incorrigible petty oppressor. Consequently, they collected aid from the neighbouring collieries, and, besides assaulting him, attacked his house, and carried all his furniture to the railway station, these wretched men fancying in their childish ignorance thus to get rid of him for good and all. Proceedings were, of course, taken against the rioters, but one of them was rescued by a mob of 1,000 men and conveyed out of the town. On the 28th May two of the ringleaders were taken before the magistrates of Mold by policemen under the escort of a detachment of the 4th Regiment of the Line, "The King's Own." A crowd of miners, trying to re-secure the prisoners, and, on the resistance of the police, and the soldiers, showering stones at them, the soldiers—without any previous warning—returned the shower of stones by a shower of bullets from their breechloaders (Snider fusils). Five persons, two of them females, were killed, and a great many wounded. So far there is much analogy between the Mold and the Ricamarie massacres, but here it ceases. In France, the soldiers were only responsible to their commander. In England they had to pass through a coroner's jury inquest; but this coroner was a deaf and daft old fool, who had to receive the witness's

evidence through an ear trumpet, and the Welsh jury, who backed him, were a narrowly prejudiced class jury. They declared the massacre "Justifiable Homicide."

In France the rioters were sentenced from three to eighteen months' imprisonment, and, soon after, amnestied. In England they were condemned to ten years' penal servitude! In France the whole press resounded with cries of indignation against the troops. In England the press was all smiles for the soldiers, and all frowns for their victims! Still, the English workmen have gained much by losing a great and dangerous illusion. Till now they fancied to have their lives protected by the formality of the Riot Act, and the subordination of the military to the civil authorities. They know now, from the official declaration of Mr. Bruce, the Liberal Home Minister, in the House of Commons—firstly, that without going through the premonitory process of reading the Riot Act, any country magistrate, some foxhunter or parson, has the right to order the troops to fire on what he may please to consider a riotous mob; and, secondly, that the soldier may give fire on his own hook, on the plea of self-defence. The Liberal Minister forgot to add that under these circumstances every man ought to be armed, at public expense, with a breechloader in self-defence against the soldier.

The following resolution was passed at the recent General Congress of the English Trades Unions at Birmingham:—"That, as local organisations of labour have almost disappeared before organisations of a national character, so we believe the extension of the principle of free trade, which induces between nations such a competition that the interest of the workman is liable to be lost sight of and sacrificed in the fierce international race between capitalists, demands that such organisations should be still further extended and made international. And as the International Working Men's Association endeavours to consolidate and extend the interests of the toiling masses, which are everywhere identical, this Congress heartily recommends that Association to the support of the working men of the United Kingdom, especially of all organised bodies, and strongly urges them to become affiliated to that body, believing that the realisation of its principles would also conduce to lasting peace between the nations of the earth."

During last May a war between the United States and England seemed imminent. Your General Council, therefore, sent an address to Mr. Sylvis, the President of the American National Labour Union, calling on the United

States' working class to command peace where their would-be masters shouted war. The sudden death of Mr. Sylvis, that valiant champion of our cause, will justify us in concluding this report, as an homage to his memory, by his reply to our letter:—"Your favour of the 12th instant, with address enclosed, reached me yesterday. I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow working men across the water: our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth: labour occupies the same low condition, and capital is the same tyrant in all parts of the world. Therefore, I say our cause is a common one. I, on behalf of the working people of the United States, extend to you, and through you to those you represent, and to all the down-trodden and

oppressed sons and daughters of toil in Europe, the right hand of fellowship. Go ahead in the good work you have undertaken, until the most glorious success crowns your efforts. That is our determination. Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous monied aristocracy on the face of the earth. This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win through the ballot-box: if not, then we will resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."

By order of the Council,

R. APPEGARTH, Chairman.

COWELL STEPNEY, Treasurer.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Gen. Secretary.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE LONDON GENERAL COUNCIL

read at the Public Session of the International Congress.

The Hague, September 6, 1872.

Workers,—

Since our last Congress in Basle two great wars have changed the aspect of Europe—the Franco-German war and the civil war in France; a third war preceded both these, accompanied them and has been continued after them—the war against the International Working Men's Association.

The Paris members of the International had publicly and expressly told the French people: to vote for the plebiscite means nothing but voting for despotism in the inner affairs of France, and for war abroad. They were arrested on the eve of the plebiscite, on April 29, 1870, under the pretext of participation in a conspiracy, which was said to have been hatched for the purpose of murdering Louis Napoleon. Simultaneous arrests of members of the International took place at Lyons, Marseilles, Brest, and in other towns. In its declaration of May 3, 1870, the General Council said: "This last conspiracy is a fitting match to its two predecessors of grotesque memory; the noisy methods of violence resorted to by the French government can have no other object than the successful manipulation of the plebiscite." We were right. We can now see from the documents which, after the collapse of the December government, have been published by its successors, that this last plot was woven by the Bonapartist police themselves. In a superb

circular which Ollivier sent to his agents a few days before the plebiscite, he actually wrote as follows:—"The leaders of the International must be arrested; otherwise the plebiscite cannot be a success." After the plebiscite comedy was over, however, the members of the Paris Federal Council were condemned by Louis Bonaparte's judges merely for their participation in the International, and not for being concerned in any alleged conspiracy. The Bonapartist government thus found it necessary to usher in the most disastrous war which has ever befallen France by a preliminary campaign against the French sections of the International Workingmen's Association. Let us not forget that the working class of France arose like one man to reject the plebiscite. Nor let us forget that the Stock Exchanges, the Cabinets, the ruling classes, and the press hailed the plebiscite as a brilliant victory of the French imperial power over the French working class. (Address of the General Council on the war, dated July 29, 1870.)

A few weeks after the plebiscite, when the Bonapartist press was beginning to kindle bellicose instincts among the French people, the members of the Paris International, undaunted by the persecution of the government, issued their appeal of July 12 to "The Workers of All Nations, in which they denounced the intended war as criminal folly, told their brothers in Germany that "their division would result only

in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine," and declared: "We, the members of the International, know no national boundaries." Their appeal met with an enthusiastic echo in Germany, so that the General Council could say with justice in its manifesto of July 23, 1870: "The very fact that in the precise moment when official France and official Germany were hurling themselves into a fratricidal war, the workers of France and Germany sent messages of peace to one another—this great fact, unexampled in the history of the past, shows that in contrast to the old world with its social misery and its political madness, a new society is growing up which will have no other foreign policy than that of peace, because it knows no other home policy than that of labour. Those who are paving the way for this new society are the members of the International." The members of the Federal Council remained under lock and key until the proclamation of the Republic. Meanwhile the other members of the Association were daily denounced before the mob as Prussian spies. With the capitulation of Sedan the Second Empire ended as it had begun, with a parody; and at that moment the Franco-German war entered upon its second stage. It became a war against the French people. After all its solemn declarations that it was only taking up arms to ward off foreign attack, Prussia now threw off the mask and proclaimed a war of conquest. From now on it found itself obliged to fight not only against the Republic in France, but simultaneously against the International in Germany. We can here only indicate the course of this struggle. Immediately after the declaration of war the greater part of the territory of the North-German League — Hanover, Oldenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Brunswick, Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the Province of Prussia—were placed under a state of siege and delivered over to the tender rule of General Vogel von Falkenstein. This state of siege, which was proclaimed as a means of protection against invasion threatening from without, immediately changed into a state of war against the members of the German International. On the day after the proclamation of the republic in Paris, the Brunswick Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, which formed a section of the International within the barriers imposed by the national laws, issued its manifesto of September 5. It called upon the workers to oppose with all their might the dismemberment of France, and to demand an honourable peace for France and the recognition of

the French Republic. The manifesto declared the intended annexation of Alsace-Lorraine to be a crime, the consequences of which would be to transform all Germany into a Prussian barracks and to make war a European institution. On September 9 Vogel von Falkenstein had the members of the Brunswick committee arrested and conducted in chains a distance of 130 German miles to Lötzen, a Prussian fortress on the Russian frontier, where their shameful treatment served as a fitting counterpart to the magnificent reception of the imperial guest at Wilhelmshöhe. As imprisonment, banishment of workers from one German state into another, suppression of workers' newspapers, military brutalities and police chicanery of every kind did not keep the International vanguard of the German working class from acting in the spirit of the Brunswick manifesto, Vogel von Falkenstein, in a decree of September 21, prohibited all meetings of the Social-Democratic Party. On October 5 this prohibition was revoked by a second decree in which he cunningly commands his police spies personally to report to him all individuals who by public demonstrations may encourage France in its resistance to the peace conditions imposed by Germany, in order that he may keep such people from mischief during the duration of this war. Leaving the cares of the war abroad to his Moltke, the King of Prussia gave a new turn to the war at home. On October 17, he dispatched an order in Council from Versailles to Hanover that Vogel von Falkenstein should temporarily transfer his Lötzen prisoners to the Brunswick district court, which court on its part must either find legal grounds for their arrest or deliver them back into the safe keeping of the terrorist general.

Vogel von Falkenstein's disciplinary measures were, of course, imitated throughout the whole of Germany, while Bismarck in his diplomatic circular irritated Europe by coming forward as an indignant champion of the right of free speech and of free right of assembly for — *the peace party in France*. At the very time when he was demanding a freely elected National Assembly for France, he had Bebel and Liebknecht arrested in Germany as punishment for having upheld the International in opposition to him in the North-German Parliament, and with the object of preventing their reelection at the coming elections.

His lord and master, Wilhelm the Conqueror, gave him support with a new order in Council from Versailles which prolonged the state of siege, *i.e.*, the suspension of all bourgeois right for the whole period of the election. In

actual fact he maintained the state of siege in Germany until two months after the conclusion of peace with France. The obstinacy with which he insisted upon the state of siege at home, and his repeated personal interference against his own German prisoners prove that even amid the rattle of triumphant arms and the fanatical jubilation of the entire German bourgeoisie, he is frightened of the growing party of the proletariat. This was an involuntary gesture of homage from material force before moral strength.

If the war against the International had hitherto been localised—first in France from the days of the plebiscite until the fall of the empire, afterwards in Germany during the whole period of the republic's resistance against Prussia—it became general from the setting up of the Paris Commune and after its fall.

On June 6, 1871, Jules Favre issued his circular to the foreign powers demanding that the members of the Commune be handed over as common criminals, and appealed for a crusade against the International as the enemy of the family, of religion, of order, and of property — so aptly represented in his own person. Austria and Hungary immediately took up the cue. On June 13 a police raid was started against the alleged leaders of the Budapest workers' union. Their papers were confiscated, and they themselves arrested and prosecuted for high treason. Various delegates of the Vienna International, just then paying a visit to Budapest, were taken off to Vienna for further proceedings against them. Beust asked for and received from his parliament an additional sum of three million gulden "for expenditure on political information which, as he complained, had become more indispensable than ever as a result of the dangerous expansion of the International over the whole of Europe." From this time on the working class in Austria-Hungary were subjected to a veritable reign of terror. Even in its last death agonies the Austrian government still clings with the strength of despair to its old prerogative of playing the Don Quixote of European reaction.

A few weeks after the circular of Jules Favre, Defaure laid before his chamber of Junkers, a law, which has now come into force, according to which it is a crime to belong to the International Working Men's Association, or even to share its principles.

As a witness before the Junker commission on Defaure's proposed measure, Thiers boasted that the law had sprung from his own ingenious brain. It was he, he said, who first discovered the infallible panacea that the International

must be treated in the way in which the Spanish Inquisition treated heretics. But even in this point his claim to originality will not bear examination. Long before he was ordained the saviour of society the Vienna law courts had already laid down the real jurisprudence which members of the International might expect at the hands of the ruling class. On July 26, 1870, the most prominent men in the Austrian workers' party were condemned for high treason to several years of severe imprisonment with one day of liberation per month. The grounds for the sentence were as follow:—

"The prisoners themselves admit that they have adopted the programme of the German Workers' Congress at Eisenach (1869) and acted in accordance with it. This programme includes the programme of the International. The aim of the International is to emancipate the working class from the rule of the possessing classes and from political dependence. This emancipation is incompatible with the existing institutions of the Austrian State. Thus, whoever accepts and spreads the principles of the programme of the International, is committing an action calculated to cause the overthrow of the Austrian government, and is therefore guilty of high treason."

On November 27th, sentence was passed on the members of the Brunswick Committee. They were punished with terms of imprisonment of varying length. In giving grounds for its sentence, the court referred expressly to the reasons given for the Vienna sentence as though referring to a legal precedent.

At Budapest the accused from the workers' union, after suffering for nearly a year the same shameful treatment as that to which the British government had subjected the Fenians, were brought before the court on April 22, 1872. Here the public prosecutor demanded that the same jurisprudence be applied as had been established at Vienna. The court, however, acquitted them.

In Leipzig on May 27, 1872, Bebel and Liebknecht were sentenced to two years' confinement in a fortress for action calculated to cause high treason.

The reasons given for this sentence were the same as those in the Vienna verdict. Only in this case the jurisprudence of the Vienna judges was backed up by the vote of Saxon jurymen.

In Copenhagen the three members of the General Committee, Brix, Pio, and Geleff, were arrested on May 8 this year; they were arrested because they had declared their firm resolve to hold an open-air meeting despite police orders

to the contrary. After their arrest they were told that socialist ideas are in themselves incompatible with the existence of the Danish state, and that therefore the mere spreading of these ideas is tantamount to a crime against the Danish constitution. Once again the jurisprudence of the Vienna law court. The accused are still under arrest awaiting preliminary examination.

The Belgian government, favourably noted for its sympathetic answer to Jules Favre's demand for extradition, hastened to lay before its Chamber of Deputies, through the hand of Malou, a hypocritical reprint copy of Defaure's law.

His Holiness Pope Pius IX. said in an address to a deputation consisting of Swiss catholics: "Your government, which is republican, deems itself obliged to make a severe sacrifice for what is called freedom. It grants rights of sanctuary to a number of people of the most evil sort; it suffers that sect of internationals who should be treated by all Europe as Paris has treated them. These gentlemen of the International, who are not gentlemen at all, are to be feared because they are working in the service of the eternal enemy of god and mankind. What is to be gained by protecting them? One should pray for them." Hang them first and pray for them afterwards!

Supported by Bismarck, Beust and Stieber, the emperors of Austria and Germany, met together in Salzburg in September, 1871, to found a holy alliance—so-called—against the International Workingmen's Association: "'Such a European alliance,' declared Bismarck's private *Moniteur*, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 'is the only possible salvation of the state, of the church, of morality, in short of everything which constitutes European states.'" Bismarck's real aim was, of course, to assure himself of alliances for a future war with Russia, and the International was held up before the eyes of Austria merely as a red rag is held up before a bull.

Lanze suppressed the International in Spain with a simple decree. Sagesta declared it to be outlawed in Spain; he hoped, perhaps, in this way to put himself on a better footing with the English money market.

The Russian government, which, since the emancipation of the serfs, has been reduced to the dangerous expedient of making timid concessions to the popular clamour one day and withdrawing them again the next, found in the general hue and cry against the International a pretext for the intensification of reaction at home. Abroad, it had hope of probing into the

secrets of the association. It did, in fact, succeed in finding a Swiss judge who, in the presence of a Russian spy, conducted a search of the apartment of Outines, a Russian member of the International, and former editor of the Geneva paper *Egalité*, the organ of our Swiss Latin section. Even the republican government of Switzerland was only prevented by the agitation of the Swiss International from delivering up refugees from the Commune to Thiers.

Finally, the government of Mr. Gladstone, being unable to interfere in Great Britain, at least proved its goodwill by the police terrorism which it exercised in Ireland against our section then in the process of formation, and by the orders it gave to its representatives abroad to collect information relating to the International.

However, all measures of repression which the ingenuity of various European governments could devise, pale before the campaign of slander which was launched by the lying power of the civilised world. Apocryphal stories and secrets of the International, shameless forgery of public documents and private letters, sensational telegrams, etc., followed fast upon one another; all the floodgates of calumny which the mercenary bourgeois press had at its disposal, were suddenly thrown open, and let loose a cataclysm of defamation designed to engulf the hated foe. This campaign of calumny does not possess its match in history, so truly international is the scene on which it is enacted, and so complete is the agreement with which the most various party organs of the ruling classes conduct it. After the great fire in Chicago the news was sent round the world by telegraph that this fire was the hellish act of the International, and, indeed, it is to be wondered at, that the hurricane which laid waste the West Indies was not ascribed to this same satanic influence.

In previous public annual reports the General Council has customarily given a review of the progress of the association since the previous congress. You, workers, will respect the reasons which lead us to make an exception in this case. Moreover, perhaps the reports of the delegates from the various countries—and they know best how far they can go—will perhaps make good this defect. We will confine ourselves to saying that since the Basle Congress, and especially since the conference held in London in September, 1871, the International had gained ground among the Irish in England and in Ireland itself; in Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, that it has firmly organised itself in the United States, and that branches exist in Buenos Aires, Australia, and New Zealand. The difference between a working

class without an International and a working class with an International Association is most strikingly shown if we look back to 1848. It took many years before the workers themselves recognised the work of their own champions in the June insurrection of 1848. The Paris Commune was immediately acclaimed with delight by the proletariat of all countries.

You, the deputies of the working class, meet

together in order to consolidate the militant organisation of a league whose aim is the emancipation of labour and the extirpation of national struggles. Almost at the same moment the crowned dignitaries of the old world are meeting together in Berlin to forge new chains and hatch new wars.

Long live the International Workingmen's Association!

THE BAROMETER INDICATES STORM

THE barometer of the international working class movement is indicating storm. Every additional month of crisis is a blow to the whole imperialist system equal, in force, to the greatest military defeat. The capitalist system is completely lost in the labyrinth of its contradictions. The productive forces have come into the most acute conflict with capitalist productive relations. Poverty and want, starvation and unemployment, are mobilising the toiling masses against capitalism. The gigantic successes of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the successful culmination of the first Five Year Plan, indicate the road to Socialism to hundreds of millions of toilers in all continents and lands. As against the downfall and chaos of the capitalist world and the violent persecution of the toiling masses by the Fascist bourgeoisie, the Communist International puts forward an international, proletarian, united struggle *for proletarian dictatorship, for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production throughout the world, and for the reconstruction of human society on Socialist lines*; the Communist International offers the road taken by the October proletarian revolution.

The revolutionary theory and tactics of the greatest revolutionaries and thinkers in the history of mankind, of *Marx*, of *Engels* and of *Lenin*, which led to the brilliant victory of the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., is the guide to action of hundreds of millions of proletarians; of the poorest peasants and of the toiling oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, who are rising to wage *the only just war—the war against their oppressors*. The leader of the masses in this revolutionary struggle is the Communist International, the “international party of proletarian uprisings and proletarian dictatorship” (Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Communist International) which “uniting as it does the revolutionary workers, who lead the millions of oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie and its ‘Socialist’ agents . . . re-

gards itself as the historical successor to the ‘Communist League’ and the First International led by *Marx*, and as the inheritor of the best of the pre-war traditions of the Second International” (Programme of the Communist International). The creation of an international revolutionary party like the Communist International was the chief concern of *Karl Marx* during the whole of his life, and was finally achieved by *Lenin*.

From the earliest days of his political activities *Marx* worked for the creation of an international revolutionary party of the proletariat. Already in September, 1843, in a letter to *Arnold Ruge*, he wrote about the creation of a party—“the organiser of the true struggle.” In 1844, together with *Engels*, he already began practical work in this direction, and in 1846 the *Communist Correspondence Committee* was formed under his leadership, and in 1847 the *Communist League*, the first embryo of the Marxist international revolutionary party. A straight road runs from this League to the *International Workingmen's Association*—to the First International, which was founded in 1863, and left its deep impress upon the development of the working class movement of the world.

Between the epoch of *Marx* and *Engels*, the epoch of the struggle and activities of the First International and the epoch of the new international association of workers—the Communist International founded by *Lenin*—there lies a long stage of development and struggle by Marxism. But at the same time during this period, the proletarian class parties (which had grown extensively) fell under the influence of reformists and centrists who took the road of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. There was only one party—the Bolshevik party led by *Lenin*, together with a small group of revolutionary elements in other countries—which in these years fought on behalf of revolutionary Marxism. This party of the working class which alone based itself firmly on Marxism—the Bolshevik party

—grew into a mighty political force and led the proletariat to victory in the October Revolution of 1917.

"The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave an impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centres of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919, the Communist International was formed, and for the first time in world history the most advanced strata of the European and American proletariat were really united in the process of practical revolutionary struggle with the proletariat of China and India and with the coloured toilers of Africa and America." (Programme of the Communist International.)

Marxism grew into a mighty *material force*, embodied in the U.S.S.R. and a numerous army of Communists, imbued with the Marxist doctrine, throughout the capitalist world. Now against the Marxist party of the world, the Communist International, all the material and spiritual forces of the bourgeoisie are being mobilised, all the Fascist storm troops, gas bombs, police tanks and aeroplanes are being set in motion, the most incongruous, foulest provocations and frauds are being organised.

Since the time of Marx much has changed in the capitalist world, but almost nothing has changed in the *methods* of struggle used by the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletarian party. The struggle to destroy the revolutionary working class movement and to prepare for a new war, just as in the days of Marx, is accompanied by "sacred persecution, war" (K. Marx) against the Communist International. All that is now being done by the bourgeoisie against the Communists and Marxism is an exact replica of what was done before, during and after the Paris Commune, and about which Marx, in his report on behalf of the London General Council to the Hague Congress in September, 1872, spoke as follows:

"However all measures of repression which the ingenuity of various European governments could devise, pale before the campaign of slander which was launched by the lying power of the civilised world. Apocryphal stories and secrets of the International, shameless forgery of public documents and private letters, sensational telegrams, etc., followed one fast upon another; all the floodgates of calumny which the mercenary bourgeois press had at its disposal were suddenly thrown open and let loose a cataclysm of defamation designed to engulf the hated foe. This campaign of calumny does not possess its match in history, so truly international is the scene on which it is enacted, and so complete is the agreement with which

the most various party organs of the ruling classes conduct it. After the great fire in Chicago the news was sent round the world by telegraph that this fire was the hellish act of the International, and indeed, it is to be wondered at that the hurricane which laid waste the West Indies was not ascribed to this same satanic influence." (Marx.)

In the sixty-second year after Marx had written these words, on February the twenty-eighth, 1933, the telegraph spread news throughout the world, in the face of which, the old canard of the ruling classes, of incendiarism "organised" by the International in Chicago, pales in insignificance. "The Communists have burned down the German Reichstag!" This contemptible provocation on the part of the German Fascist Government, which aimed at destroying the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world, was so abominably organised that it met with no support even among world bourgeois public opinion, with all its approval of terroristic action against Communists. The London "News-Chronicle" declared that "the statement that German Communists had anything to do with the fire is simply absurd"; and all the more prominent organs of the press in England, in France, in Czecho-Slovakia and so on, are of the same opinion. But this piece of provocation had to serve as an excuse for making the Communist Party illegal, for arresting hundreds and hundreds of toilers; an excuse for using the Communist danger to frighten the petty-bourgeois masses before the elections; as an excuse for creating the right atmosphere for mediaeval Bartholomew nights against the workers and for hurling blows at the German workers "on a legal basis." The ruling classes are conducting their war against the Communist International and Marxism by means of provocation, calumny, false documents, because *all the weapons of force in their hands are insufficient to inflict the losses they desire upon the sturdily growing Communist movement.* Pilsudski's Fascist régime has not only not eradicated, but has not even weakened, the Polish Communist Party; in spite of the terror, it has grown and brought more and more new hundreds of thousands of Polish proletarians and peasants under its influence. The Bulgarian hangman, Zankov, despite the mass shootings, the calumny and the provocation, has been unable to throttle the Bulgarian Communist Party, which has now mustered around itself the majority of the working class, and is leading a considerable section of the toiling peasantry. The Hungarian hangman, Horthy, has not found it possible to eradicate the deep traditions of Soviet Hungary, and in

his parliament his ministers are once more using the name of Bela Kun to affright the souls of the Hungarian petty-bourgeoisie, while around the banner of struggle for proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, ever vaster proletarian and peasant masses are uniting. Even ten years of bloody terror and the most subtle system of torture and provocation have not enabled Mussolini to destroy the Italian Communist Party which, with every day that passes, becomes the leader of ever increasing vast masses of workers. The more so is it impossible for repressive measures, for "apocryphal stories" of underground passages in Karl Liebknecht House, and the "secrets of the International" fabricated by Fascist bandits, or for fables about the "Muscovites," "the hand of Moscow" and "Moscow Gold," to destroy the German party, to "eradicate Marxism," to break the will of six million German toilers, who are prepared to fight to abolish the capitalist system.

The "Communist Plot" in Germany, beginning with the burning of the Reichstag — this fable was not believed by the most reactionary bourgeois newspapers of Europe, for the whole world knows the ways and methods used by the Communist Party to reach its goal. To accuse it of "plots" like this one is an old trick, which has been used time and time again by counter-revolution; it is always an excuse for settling accounts with the Communists. The numerous declarations made by leaders of the Nazis on the day before the burning of the Reichstag clearly show that they alone were interested in preventing the Reichstag from meeting; that it was they who set themselves the task of organising any sort of provocation to destroy the Communist Party, the only party that fights to defend the last remains of democracy, that fights for bread, for work, for the power of the toilers, for proletarian dictatorship. The bogus plot was a scheme to scare simultaneously the social-democrats and force them to be obedient citizens of the "Third Empire," a loyal weapon in the hands of the modern Cavaignacs, and their accomplices, in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. *War against the Communist Party and Marxism in Germany*, which has been begun by the German bourgeoisie, is an indication of the fact that the bourgeoisie is preparing to take up a big civil war against the whole of the working class of Germany, that it is directly preparing for a new imperialist war. *Imperialist war and civil war against its own proletariat, war against the Communist International, the Communist Party and Marxism — these three wars are closely inter-connected.* In March, 1872, Marx already laid on record that war

against the International Workingmen's Association preceded the Franco-Prussian war and civil war in France, and accompanied them.

The German proletariat is in the greatest danger. It is sought to deprive it of leadership in the coming big class battles. But the increased provocation of the Fascist bourgeoisie, the introduction of the system of political banditism, terror and shootings, is proof of the fact that the historic time has come for the end of capitalist rule.

Only a short period of power remains to the bourgeoisie.

* * * *

How is it that Germany has arrived at Fascist dictatorship?

How is it that the German bourgeoisie has decided to make a frontal attack upon the proletariat, to open civil war in the land?

The Weimar Republic is bankrupt. The masses are in the greatest poverty and want. A considerable section of the organised forces of the proletariat are still under the influence of Social-Democracy, and have not yet rejected their democratic illusions. Among great proletarian masses the determination to enter the last mortal struggle against the bourgeoisie is still lacking. But the ruling classes already cannot rule in the old way. There is still no sign of a way out of the crisis. The exploiting classes already see the prospects of the revolutionary downfall of their power. Consequently, counter-revolution is mobilising its forces with all the energy at its command, to meet the gathering forces of revolution. But counter-revolution has no economic resources to mitigate the desperate want of the people. For this reason it has turned to adventurous schemes, feeling its own doom. For this reason it has taken the leap into the unknown, and itself let loose civil war.

The bourgeoisie wants to consolidate its position while the masses are still hesitant; it has opened fire first. But it does not see that it is executing the democratic illusions of the masses. It does not notice that it has, itself, raised the immediate issue: *Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or proletarian dictatorship.*

Fascist dictatorship in Germany is the consequence of the lack of prospects, the despair, the hopelessness of the German bourgeoisie, which has hurled itself into open adventurism.

Two circumstances made possible the broad mobilisation of counter-revolutionary forces against revolution in Germany.

First, the fact that Germany was conquered and robbed in the 1914-1918 imperialist world war, that the German people's national feelings are wounded, they have no equal rights in the

family of big nations, and have been subject to dual exploitation: by their own capitalists and, in addition, by foreign capitalists who forced the Versailles Pact on Germany and forced her to pay reparations. This circumstance was exploited, and on these grounds there grew up the mighty forces of bestial nationalism and chauvinism, directed *first and foremost against proletarian internationalism*, against the only party which linked up the true national emancipation of Germany with the proletarian revolution, and directed, secondly, *against political parties which for fourteen years have pursued a policy of open submission to the Versailles Treaty*. The unprecedented increase in poverty and want among the masses, the pauperisation of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, made it possible for this bestial nationalism to attract millions of class-unconscious, petty-bourgeois, narrow-minded people, seeking to free themselves from the yoke of capitalism, but who are still deceived into believing that this aim can be achieved as a result of war, as a result of crushing internationalism, the working class movement and the Communist Party.

Second, the fact that the German bourgeoisie, after the downfall of the Wilhelm Monarchy in 1918, was able, with the help of Social-Democracy, to crush the beginnings of the proletarian revolution, although the bourgeoisie was not in a position to put the masses immediately back into their pre-war position. It was compelled to extend labour legislation and openly invite the Social-Democrats as its main social bulwark to the government. The Junkers, landlords, dukes and barons, Kaiser's officers and officials had to take a back seat for the time being, although the bourgeois republic, led by Social-Democracy, dared not touch a hair of their heads, dared not deprive them of a farthing of their incomes. All the terror of the November Republic was directed against the working class alone. The plan to enslave Germany in 1918 could have been countered only by *a mass uprising, only by the revolutionary popular war of the proletariat* against their oppressors, which would have led to a mighty revolutionary upsurge throughout the European countries, and to the amalgamation of all the forces of the international proletariat throughout Europe against the bourgeoisie of the victorious countries. In order to fight against the enslavement of Germany, a broadening of the place d'armes of revolutionary struggle inside Germany was necessary, the movement of the masses should have been raised to a higher stage, to the stage of real revolutionary civil war against the oppressors, leading this movement to revolutionary terror against the reactionaries,

exploiters and oppressors. The political consciousness of the masses should have been aroused and they should have been led forward to the institution of proletarian dictatorship and the struggle for a victorious proletarian revolution in league with the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. The German Social-Democrats, who found themselves at the head of the mass movement, did the exact opposite. They crushed the revolutionary working class movement to prevent its spreading and consolidating, to prevent any real revolutionary upsurge of the masses in the direction of war for their own social and national emancipation. In order to fight against the masses, Social-Democracy made a pact with the Kaiser's generals. They promised complete immunity not only to the property of the bourgeoisie, but also to the counter-revolutionary Junkers. But the ruling strata of the Wilhelm monarchy never forgave the fact that the November Republic pushed them into the background, even if only for a time. When the extremely deep crisis shook the foundations of the Weimar Republic, when a deep crack was formed in the bourgeoisie itself, then *the darkest forces of to-day, the stinking remains of unburied feudal society, the mediaeval reactionaries, Hohenzollerns and Wittelsbachs, retired Wilhelm officers, who had not died of starvation thanks to their pensions paid handsomely by the Weimar Republic, crept out of their holes and united round the National-Socialist Party, to fling themselves into a deadly struggle with the proletariat who were demanding bread, work and power, and who were threatening capitalism, incapable of feeding its slaves, with proletarian revolution*.

These two circumstances led to the downfall of the Weimar Republic—and the setting up of Fascist dictatorship.

This, at the same time, is the downfall of German Social-Democracy, the downfall of the Second International.

This is the bankruptcy of the theory of "democratic Socialism," the theory which betrayed Marxism in 1914 and rejected the theory of proletarian dictatorship and preparations for realising the proletarian revolution.

Preparations for revolution and its leadership, this is the pivot around which all the thoughts of Marx rotated. *Everything comes second to the tasks of proletarian revolution*—this was the axiom of the mighty proletarian teacher. It was this axiom which was the starting point for him when, in the epoch of bourgeois revolutions and national-liberation wars he supported one movement and fought against other movements. His axiom was to *reinforce the strength of the prole-*

tariat, to free the proletarian movement from foreign elements and Liberal hangers-on, to widen the place d'armes for revolutionary struggle, to raise each movement to a higher level, to raise the national-liberation movement to the level of a revolutionary popular fight, by drawing in the masses and leading them to revolutionary terror against the reactionaries, exploiters and oppressors, and to lead them to proletarian dictatorship.

All Marx's doctrine from beginning to end of his political life was penetrated through and through with these fundamental points. These were his leading ideas in the 1848 revolution, during the 1871 Paris Commune, and to the end of his life. As regards the 1848 revolution, he welcomed the fact that the proletariat put forward their own demands which were incompatible with the existence of the bourgeois order, despite the fact that this drove the bourgeois Liberals away from Communism. As regards the wars for national emancipation, Marx strongly criticised the bourgeois nationalists for their inconsistency and bartering methods, declaring that a people desirous of winning its independence, cannot limit itself to the usual methods of warfare. Mass uprisings, a revolutionary war and partisan troops are means which can be used to make a small people big; only in this way can a weak army offer resistance to a stronger, better organised army. He recommended that the same measures should be used as those adopted during the French revolution of 1789, dictatorial methods including revolutionary terror. He considered that the sacrifices in connection with the movement for Italian emancipation at Navarre would have been insignificant if a real revolutionary war had begun immediately after the military failure, if the section of the Italian army that was saved had declared itself the nucleus of a general national uprising, if the ordinary strategical warfare of the army had been converted into a national war like that of the French in 1789. He saw the signs of a transition to national warfare in the leadership of the Hungarian uprising by Kossuth; therefore he welcomed the uprising

Marx and Engels never became supporters of the peaceful road to Socialism or of "True Democracy," as the Social-Democrats assure us. On December, 1844, Frederick Engels wrote to Bebel as follows:

"As for true democracy and its rôle in the future, I do not agree with you. It is quite obvious that in Germany it plays a more secondary role than in countries with an older industrial development. But this does not prevent it—for

in this capacity it has already acted at Frankfurt—from becoming the last fortress for the whole of bourgeois, and even feudal, economy for a definite time. At a moment like this we find the whole of the reactionary classes behind it, strengthening it; all that was reactionary then dons the democratic mask. It has been like this with every revolution: the most compliant of all the parties capable in general of forming a government comes to power just because the conquered see in it their last hope of salvation. The whole of the bourgeoisie and the remains of the feudal propertied classes, a large section of the petty bourgeoisie and agricultural population then rally around the extremist bourgeois party which will be most revolutionary in words; and I consider it most likely that this party will be represented in the provisional government and will, for a short time, even constitute a majority."

(Marx and Engels' Archives, I. 6. p.297
Russian Edition.)

As such a party, leading the entire reactionary mass for the salvation of capitalism from proletarian revolution after 1918, Social-Democracy showed itself already in 1914 by openly betraying Marxism. All the forces of reaction followed in the wake of Social-Democracy, all the forces of bourgeois and even feudal society. But, at the same time it continued to call itself a Socialist, Marxist party, since a considerable section of the working class also remained under its influence. This was the meaning of the peculiar class collaboration which existed in Germany in 1914. Now, in the face of the growing danger of a new revolution, the bourgeoisie, having removed Social-Democracy from direct participation in the government, is staging a struggle against it through the Fascists, in order to force it to join the system of Fascist dictatorship, so that with Social-Democracy as a bulwark it can begin open Fascist terror.

Social-Democracy crushed the proletarian revolution in 1918 in Germany. Social-Democracy lured the masses with stories of the victory of Socialism by democratic means, without any sacrifices, without any deprivations. Social-Democracy has led to Fascism.

This means the *second historic downfall of Social-Democracy, the downfall of its mass influence, the beginning of a new exit from Social-Democracy on the part of vast working-class masses.*

* * * *

As a result of the dissatisfaction expressed by the working masses concerning the Social-Democratic policy, and their demand for a joint struggle with the Communists, the Bureau of the

Second International, in order to increase its influence, has issued an appeal to the workers of the world, in which it writes: "We call upon the German workers of all lands, in view of the tragic danger facing them, to cease all mutual attacks and together fight against Fascism. The Socialist and Labour International is always ready to enter into negotiations with the Communist International on the question of united struggle, as soon as the latter expresses its readiness to do so."

Communists are not opposed in principle to agreements with other parties concerning joint activities. In this they follow the example of Engels who, in 1883, in a letter to H. Triers, wrote that he was enough of a revolutionary, when circumstances required it, not to absolutely reject also this measure. The Communists follow the example of the Bolsheviks and Lenin, who during the Kornilov uprising invited the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries to enter into militant agreement for joint struggle against Kornilov, changed the form of their struggle against Kerensky for the time being, and reinforced the agitation for what might be called the "partial demands" put forward to Kerensky: for the arrest of Miliukov, for arming the Petrograd workers, for drafting reliable troops into Petrograd, etc. The Communist International did not believe in the sincerity of the Second International Bureau's proposal, and could not believe in it, in view of all their past behaviour. Nevertheless, in the present critical days it did not refuse the proposal. In its appeal to the workers of all countries, the Executive Committee of the Communist International declared that in the event of an immediate advance towards genuine joint struggle against Fascism and the capitalist offensive, it recommends the Communist Parties to accept the proposal of the Second International Bureau for "a cessation of mutual hostilities," but only during the joint struggle against the bourgeoisie, and on condition that the most relentless struggle should be carried on against everyone who violates the conditions of agreement in the work of operating the united front, as against strikebreakers undermining the united front of the working class. The Second International, therefore, now has an opportunity of proving in practice that its proposal was sincere, that it is really intending to take the road of struggle at last. But Social-Democracy fears the true united front of the workers more than the plague, for this united front can only be a front of *revolutionary struggle*. As for German Social-Democracy, it has already proved that while offering a proposal to the Communists, in the pages of "Vorwaerts," to conclude a pact of

non-aggression, it was urged by one motive; that the Communists should forget its past sins, and cease criticising it in the present, and that it should be free as before to betray the working class. Even on July 20th last year, after the dissolution of the Social-Democratic government in Prussia, the German Communist Party made the proposal to the German Social-Democratic Party and the All-German Federation of Trade Unions, to organise a joint strike against Fascism. In reply they qualified the Communist proposal to organise a joint strike as provocation, and thereupon turned it down. When Hitler came to power, the German Communist Party renewed its proposal; and was again refused. Now, when the reign of terror has begun, and when the ink had scarce dried on the "Vorwaerts" with its article by Stampfer on the need for concluding a "pact of non-aggression" between the Social-Democrats and the Communists, the leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, Wels, hurriedly quarantines himself from the Communists, as from the plague, and crawling on his belly before the Fascists, writes a letter to the "Most Respected Vice-Chancellor," Papen, to the effect that Social-Democracy has nothing in common with the Communists, that there exists no united front between them, and that "the exemplary discipline of the Social-Democratic Party in these days" should convince Papen that there is no need to close down the Social-Democratic press.

* * * *

The terror of the Hitler-Hugenburg-Papen Fascist government against the working class has considerably hastened the trend of history, but not in the direction desired by these gentlemen. In the days and nights of the present reign of Fascist terror, millions of Social-Democratic workers are reflecting upon weighty considerations and forming new conclusions: they see that the Fascists are aiming blows, not only at the Communists, but at them as well, and that at the same time Mr. Noske receives from Hitler the pension he asked for and Mr. Wels licks the boots of the hangmen. The Social-Democratic working class masses are rapidly drawing the practical conclusions and turning their backs upon their treacherous leaders; they are extending the hand of fraternity to the Communists, who alone are honestly leading the fight for their emancipation and for the emancipation of the whole working class to its final conclusion. And the Communist Party and millions of proletarians who follow in its train are passing through a rapid, militant training under the blows of Fascist terror. In this party and in the minds of these millions of workers who vote for the Com-

munists, there remain, to this day, not a few legalist survivals, habits and illusions. Now, when the Hitler dictatorship is driving the Communist Party underground and terrorising the Communist workers, its numerous exemplary and invincible cadres rapidly increase and learn to combine illegal work with preparations for open mass revolutionary action. Never before have the words of Lenin in "Two Worlds," written in 1910, been so applicable to Germany:

"The irony of history has brought the ruling classes of Germany, which in the second half of the nineteenth century created the strongest state and reinforced conditions for the most rapid capitalist progress and the most stable constitutional legality, to a position where this legality, *their* legality, *has to be smashed*, must be smashed in the name of bourgeois domination . . . The time is now approaching when this fifty years of German history *must*, by force of objective reasons, give place to another period. The epoch during which the legality created by the bourgeoisie was utilised is *giving place* to an epoch of mighty revolutionary battles, and these battles will

actually mean the destruction of *all* bourgeois legality, of the *whole* of the bourgeois order; and *in form* it should begin—and is beginning—with panicky efforts on the part of the bourgeoisie to get rid of the legality which it created itself, and which has become insufferable. The Socialist proletariat will not for a moment forget that they are faced with inevitable revolutionary mass struggle, which will break down each and every form of legality, belonging to the bourgeois society which is doomed to die . . . This is the meaning of the peculiar pre-revolutionary situation in Germany to-day."

German Fascism has begun a devastating advance against Marxism and Communism. But Marxism and Communism are living and will live, and they now reply to Hitler and to the whole of bourgeois society, groaning in the throes of crisis and clutching at the last means of salvation; in the words of the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels:

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution."

WILHELM KNORIN.

THE PRESENT WORLD CRISIS IN THE LIGHT OF MARX'S TEACHINGS

THE capitalist world meets the fiftieth anniversary of Marx's death in circumstances of a mighty economic crisis which has shaken the foundations of the bourgeois world, which has knocked the bottom out of all bourgeois theories of the period of partial capitalist stabilisation—theories which were urging us not so long ago to believe that "capitalism is the finest creation of the human mind, the greatest miracle in the history of mankind, a miracle which we shall never be able to understand entirely, but can only be astonished at the enormity and brilliance of its technique."¹

All the theories about eternal "prosperity," about mitigating all the contradictions of capitalism, about the possibility of capitalism developing without crises, about the era of "organised capitalism"—in a word, all the "doctrines" and prognoses which an insolent American, less than a year before the present economic crisis, formulated thus: "We are only at the beginning of the period which will go down in history as the golden

age"²—all these theories are now smashed to atoms.

More than once, in the past, the bourgeoisie and their faithful lieutenants—the social-democrats—have buried Marx's theory of crises and his general theory of the inevitability of the "downfall of capitalism." On the twenty-fifth anniversary of Marx's death Lenin wrote about "those who refuted" Marx's teachings in an article in which he pointed out that all those who had introduced "corrections" into the doctrines of Marx had said that crises had now become less frequent, less violent, and that it is probable that the cartels and trusts will make it possible for capital to rid itself entirely of crises. They said that the "theory of the downfall of capitalism is bankrupt because of the tendency of class contradictions to become assuaged and mitigated."

²See the interesting American booklet, "Oh, Yeah!" 1932, in which are collected all the characteristic prognoses made by American businessmen and politicians during the present crisis.

³Lenin: "Collected Works," Vol. XII. Russian Edition. Page 185.

¹V. Sombart: "Prospects of Europe's Economic Development"—"Neue Freie Presse," 27.9.1928.

Already then Lenin violently resisted all these revisionists, the forerunners of modern social-fascism. Already then Lenin emphasised the fact that :

"The cartels and trusts which unite production have also under our very eyes increased the anarchy of production, the insecurity of the proletariat and the oppression of capital, thus sharpening class contradictions to a degree hitherto unprecedented. The latest gigantic trusts have shown with extreme clearness and to a very broad extent that capitalism is going forward to its doom, both in the sense of political and economic crisis and in the sense of the complete downfall of the capitalist system."

The present crisis, developing on the background of the general crisis of capitalism, is a brilliant justification of Lenin's prediction; the peculiar depth and longevity of the present crisis is a result of the fact, as the XII. E.C.C.I. Plenum formulated it, that :

"the domination of monopolist capital, which at the present day has brought under its sway almost the whole economy of capitalist society, makes it extremely difficult, in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, for the economic crisis to be brought to an end in the way which was usual for capitalism in the period of free competition." (XII. Plenum E.C.C.I.)

The present crisis has now forced even bourgeois scientists to ponder the doctrines of Marx, and compelled them to recognise what was admitted by Schmalenbach a few years ago, when he put the question: "What, indeed, are we experiencing to-day, if not the realisation of the predictions of the great socialist Marx?"⁵

In the massive works of bourgeois scientists, the question of the fate of capitalism is being raised ever more frequently. Even the arch-apologetic Berliner Konjunkturforschungsinstitut, which, in its recent work, set itself the task of drawing a picture of the development of world capitalism during the last 70 years, began its investigation with the question as to "whether we are experiencing a structural crisis, which it is possible to recover from, without the organisational reconstruction of economy."⁶

A few years ago a question of this kind could not, of course, have arisen in the pages of bourgeois writings.

The name of Marx is being mentioned ever

¹Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. XII. Page 186. Russian Edition.

⁵Schmalenbach: "Kapitalismus In Fesseln." "Vossische Zeitung."

⁶Industriewirtschaft. Entwicklungstendenzen der Deutschen und der internationalen Industrie 1860-1932. Berliner Konjunkturforschungsinstitut. 1933, p.5.

more frequently in works by bourgeois writers, who are endeavouring to make a serious examination of the present tendencies in capitalist development. In the work of the Berliner Konjunkturforschungsinstitut just mentioned, after an analysis of the comparative development of capitalist countries has been given, the conclusion is made in the formulation of Marx, that "the country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future." (Marx: "Capital," Vol. 1. Preface, Kerr & Co., Chicago, p. 13.)

Capitalist actualities are more and more confirming the correctness of Lenin's statement that "after Marx, any other sort of non-Marxist political economy can be talked about only for the purpose of duping the petty-bourgeois, even though he may be a 'highly civilised' petty-bourgeois." (Lenin: "Collected Works," Russian Edition, Vol. 27, p. 337.)

And the greatest proof of the correctness of Marx's theory is the October Revolution. Marx said :

"At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution." (Marx's "Critique of Political Economy." Kerr and Co., Chicago, p. 12.)

The victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, the grand successes of socialist construction in our country, the successful realisation of the first Five-Year Plan, the completion of the foundations of socialism in the U.S.S.R. are a mighty confirmation of the correctness of these words.

"The results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that it is the capitalist system of economy that is bankrupt and unstable, that it has become obsolete and must give way to another, higher, Soviet socialist system of economy, that the only system of economy that has no fear of crises and is able to overcome difficulties that capitalism cannot solve—is the Soviet system of economy." ("The Results of the First Five-Year Plan," Report to January Plenum C.C., C.P.S.U., J. Stalin. Modern Books, Ltd., page 61.)

* * *

The present world crisis has developed on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism. The inevitability of the dawn of the epoch of the

general crisis of capitalism follows quite clearly from the doctrines of Marx and Engels.

In the writings of Marx and Engels, especially of the latter, who had an opportunity of observing the beginning of the newly-forming epoch of imperialism, we find separate, isolated notes referring to the inevitability of the dawn of a new phase in the development of capitalism. For example, in a recently published manuscript on the Stock Exchange, referring to the year 1895, Engels writes in connection with Volume III. of "Capital," which volume is devoted to the rôle of credit in capitalist production:

"However, since 1885 when the book was written, changes have occurred which give the Stock Exchange a considerably greater, and ever-increasing, rôle, and which in its very latest development has a tendency to concentrate the whole of production, both industrial and agricultural, and the whole of circulation, as a means of connection and as a function of exchange—in the hands of the stockbrokers (Börsianer); thus the Stock Exchange becomes the most prominent representative of capitalist production."

Here, therefore, we have an ingenious outline of the changes which began to creep into capitalism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In a later work by Engels we find an ingenious forecast of the coming of the general crisis of capitalism, in which Engels emphasises the fact that the further development of capitalism will inevitably lead to a situation when

"The period of welfare which now separates one crisis from another, under pressure from the excessively increasing productive forces, will entirely disappear; when crises will be separated from each other by short periods of boom resulting from weak, half-frozen, industrial activities, and when industry, trade and all modern society would have to die from an excess of vital energy which can find no expression, on the one hand, and of absolute exhaustion, on the other—were it not for the fact that this abnormal condition carries within itself its own means of salvation, and were it not for the fact that industrial development at the same time brings into being the class which alone is capable of taking upon itself the leadership of society, namely the proletariat. The proletarian revolution will then be inevitable, and success a foregone conclusion."

The doctrine of Marx to suit the new conditions of imperialism was developed by Lenin, who,

"Bolshevik." No. 23-24, 1932. (Russian Publication.)

*Marx and Engels: Collected Works, Vol. VIII., p. 111. (Russian Publication.)

"basing himself on the fundamental arguments put forward in Marx's 'Capital,' gave the basis of a Marxist analysis of imperialism, as the last phase of capitalism, revealing its source, and the circumstances of its inevitable doom." (Stalin.)

And, finally, in the works of Comrade Stalin, the gifted disciple of Lenin, who is perpetuating the cause of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, we find on the basis of Lenin's analysis of the post-war crisis of capitalism, the theory of the general crisis of capitalism.

Only by using as a basis the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, is it possible to understand the present crisis of capitalism.

* * *

Intoxicated "with the successes" of increased industrial production during the period of partial stabilisation, "with the successes" which were hailed by the world bourgeoisie and social-fascism as the period of eternal prosperity, the bourgeois apologists, during the years which directly preceded the present economic crisis, gave no thought to the possibility of a crisis. Here we were reminded time and time again of the usual picture during the period preceding a crisis, of which Marx was so scornful in his earlier works:

"Has it ever been known," wrote Marx, "since the times of the 'prosperous Robinson,' the fine Chancellor of the Exchequer who, in 1825, just before a crisis, opened Parliament with the prediction that there would be unprecedented, stable prosperity, that the bourgeois optimists ever foretold or foresaw a crisis? There has never been a single period of prosperity during which they have not made use of the opportunity to prove that this time the medal has no other side, that this time inexorable fate has been conquered." (Marx's "Letters on England.")

And now, on the eve of the present crisis, we hear from the authors of "Recent changes in the economy of the United States"—this famous work of the mighty American bourgeoisie—that "the Americans have managed to bring equilibrium between production and consumption, to put an end to the intermittent movement of production, i.e., the crisis . . . That production can develop to an unlimited extent, since one requirement gives birth to another."

The social-fascists followed in the wake of these "bourgeois optimists"† arraying their optimism in the theory of "organised capitalism." Even as early as in January, 1930, the organ of the Austrian Marxists, "Kampf," wrote: "Capitalism has organised economy, organised it on an international scale. It has abolished free com-

† For voluminous details, see Bela Kun, "Marxism and Social Democracy," Modern Books, W.L.P.

petition . . . And as for the anarchy of production, there is nothing more to be said about it.”

Only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International, armed with the Marxist-Leninist analysis, pointed out, in the heat of all this excitement on the part of the prophets of eternal prosperity, that “from partial stabilisation develops an intensive crisis within the capitalist system, the developing crisis shatters stabilisation—such is the dialectic of capitalist development at the present historical moment.”¹⁰

The crisis, which then broke out, overthrew all these haughty bourgeois theories about post-war capitalism like a house of cards. There even began to take place a sort of re-estimation of values as well, in regard to the pre-crisis period of post-war capitalism. The British government—the wisest lieutenant of the oldest land of capitalism—in its note to the United States, dated December, 1932, was compelled to make the statement that “the period of prosperity 1923-1929 was to a considerable extent illusory.”

The crisis has thrown world capitalism back far beyond the pre-war period. The colossal destruction of material values during the present crisis is clearly illustrated by statistics concerning the fall in value of world capitalist industrial production. On the basis of figures from the Berliner Konjunkturforschungsinstitut it can be stated that in 1930 the value of world industrial production was lower than 1928 by 26 billion marks, in 1931 by 62 billion marks, and in 1932 by 110 billion marks. Thus, in 1932 alone, capitalism showed a deficit in its production of commodities, as against its “normal” productive possibility, of 110 billion marks! The enormity of this sum can be clearly understood if it is compared with the fact that the total value of the entire production of German industry during favourable years represents a sum of 80 billion marks.

The value of world capitalist production has been curtailed very considerably, and yet we are faced with enormous over-production, while millions of people are starving, have no homes, are without clothing. The crisis has revealed most keenly the decay, the parasitism of modern capitalism. It is absolutely in vain that the bourgeois apologists have been seeking during the past few months for any signs of improvement in the development of the crisis. By using the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the sum total of modern conditions, the entire futility of statements to the effect that the crisis has already

worn itself out, and that the transition to depression has already begun, can be proved once and for all.

The assertion that the transition to the phase of depression has already begun is made by the world bourgeoisie on the basis of analogies with other previous crises. But “the present crisis is not merely a repetition of the old crises” (Stalin). The present crisis is developing in circumstances of monopolist capitalism, on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism. The bourgeois theoreticians and the social-fascist scribes cannot and will not understand this.

Indeed, during previous capitalist crises, as the crisis deepened there was always at the same time created dialectically the necessary factors for the transition to the next phase of the cycle—depression. The fall in prices, depreciation of a considerable section of capital, the drop in wages and increased exploitation of the workers, led on the one hand to a position where the reserves of commodities which accumulate during the period of crises were brought into the sphere of consumption; and, on the other hand, the sum total of all these conditions created the factors necessary for an increase in capital values and became the turning point for new capital investments. But the fact that the present crisis is developing in entirely different circumstances has laid its stamp on the whole mechanism of the present economic crisis.

Marx pointed out that “a crisis is always the signal for large new capital investments, consequently, looking at it from the point of view of the whole of society, it gives, to a more or less degree, a new material basis for the next cycle of turnover” (“Capital,” Vol. II., Part 2). But now, when the productive apparatus is not working to the full, *already in the pre-crisis period*, when the monopolist organisations are preventing to a considerable degree the destruction of part of the constant capital, in order to modernise it, when the existence of monopolies leads to a situation where the prices of means of production are constantly high, the necessary factors for renewing constant capital on a broad scale are not being created, and have not yet been created. Numerous facts go to prove this: the colossal curtailment of building (in the U.S.A., for example, the sum total of new building contracts in 1932 represented only 20 per cent. of the figure before the crisis); the catastrophic drop in new emissions (in the U.S.A. the emission of new industrial values in 1932 represented 0.5 per cent. of that in 1929); the sharp drop in orders for all kinds of machine construction. Even the greatest optimists in the bourgeois camp are compelled to admit that as regards building the “new material basis” for the

¹⁰“Kampf.” 30.1.30.

¹⁰Report of the XV. Congress of the C.P.S.U. Page 23. C.P.G.B., 1928.

next cycle, things are extremely bad for capitalism. For example, the Berliner Konjunkturforschungsinstitut in its review, published on Christmas Eve, when it is correct in the bourgeois world to say only pleasant things to readers, had to declare that "there are no prospects as regards any considerable increase in private investments. As might be expected, as a result of the unutilised productive apparatus, and the situation on the market, there is no demand for capital, either for extending the productive apparatus or for creating a new one."¹¹

Furthermore, one of the factors which created the necessary conditions for overcoming the capitalist crisis during previous crises was the destruction of part of the capital as a result of the bankruptcy of capitalist enterprises: "The destruction of capital," wrote Marx, "brought about by crises signifies a depreciation in the sum of values which, for this reason, can no longer renew the processes of their reproduction, like capitals of the same size" ("Capital," Vol. II., Part 2).

The depreciation of a considerable part of capital then created the possibility of an increase of the capital value of the remaining part of the capital: simultaneously, insolvencies led to the centralisation of capital. All this takes place to a certain extent in the present crisis. But at the same time, the policy adopted by modern capitalist States to save individual large monopolist enterprises by means of subsidies and all forms of financing—also hinders the destruction of the non-productive enterprises, and hinders the "normal" road to overcoming the crisis.

It was a whole year ago that the well-known professor, Eckert, wrote that "State assistance to support bankrupt enterprises means that the crisis does not fulfil its capitalist function; of destroying the weaker enterprises."¹²

Further, one of the ways of overcoming previous capitalist crises was to find new selling markets. It was long ago in the "Communist Manifesto" that Marx pointed out that "the bourgeoisie gets over these crises . . . by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones."¹³

But at the same time, in a much later work, Marx emphasised the fact that "in the same measure that the mass of products grows, and therefore the needs for extensive markets, in the same measure does the world market shrink ever more and ever fewer markets remain to be exploited, since every previous crisis has sub-

jected to the commerce of the world a hitherto unconquered or but superficially exploited market."¹⁴

These tendencies, which are intrinsic to capitalism, become further developed in circumstances of the general crisis of capitalism, in circumstances of the domination of monopolies, in view of the world agrarian crisis and colonial revolutions, and first and foremost, owing to the fact that the U.S.S.R. has dropped out of the framework of capitalist economy; and they led to a situation where it has become more and more difficult to overcome the present crisis by means of using new markets. Every day the struggle for foreign markets becomes more acute. Every day it becomes increasingly more impossible for certain capitalist countries to sell their commodities. The figures for foreign trade of the most important countries during the first months of 1933 show a further curtailment of the turnover of foreign trade and a further contraction of the selling markets.

In these conditions, the bourgeoisie of certain countries are seeking for a way out of the crisis along the road of violent attacks against the working class, along the road of fascisation of State power, along the road of seizing new markets from other countries by armed force, along the road of preparations for new intervention against the U.S.S.R. The crisis has to a gigantic degree sharpened the contradictions between classes, the contradictions between the separate imperialist Powers. The crisis has shaken the capitalist system to its foundations. It has put an end to the period of partial stabilisation, and now the transition to a new period of revolutions and wars has come.

* * *

There is nothing which so clearly demonstrates the triumph of the Marxist theory as does the complete bankruptcy of bourgeois science, which is doing its utmost to explain the causes of the present crisis, to find a cure for it. The insolvency of bourgeois science is clearly demonstrated by the fact that modern official bourgeois science has never gone farther than the fameless epigones of Ricardo of which Marx wrote:

"They were the great storms of the world market in which the conflict of all the elements of the capitalist process of production discharge themselves, and whose origin and remedy were sought in the most superficial and abstract spheres of this process, the sphere of money circulation." (Marx: "Critique of Political Economy." Kerr & Co., Chicago, page 12.)

Just as then, bourgeois economists see only that

¹¹ Wöchentlicher Bericht den Konjunkturforschungsinstitut.

¹² Weltwirtschaftliche archiv. January, 1932.

¹³ "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels. Page 15. Martin Lawrence, Ltd.

¹⁴ Marx: "Wage-Labour and Capital." Page 47. Martin Lawrence, Ltd.

"the most general and most palpable phenomenon in commercial crises is the sudden, general decline of prices following a prolonged general rise." We know that now the most widespread explanation of the causes of the crisis, according to bourgeois economists, is the fall in prices. Hence the infinite number of schemes for creating conditions which will facilitate a rise in prices, hence the theory of the need for extending the circulation of money ("regulated" inflation), for extending credits, the demand for direct inflation; for the modern "weather exorcisers" (Marx), also go no further than the followers of Ricardo, who considered that "the general decline of prices of commodities is explained by the rise of the value of money, above its intrinsic value in consequence of an inadequate currency." (Marx: "Critique of Political Economy." Kerr & Co., Chicago, page 257.)

At the same time in capitalist science the antiquated bourgeois theories about it being possible to revive industry by extending the volume of credits is finding more and more expression. Marx long ago emphasised all the hopelessness of attempts of this kind, when he wrote: "The superficiality of political economy shows itself in the fact that it looks upon the expansion and contraction of credit, which is a mere symptom of the periodic changes of the industrial cycle, as their cause." (Marx: "Capital," Vol. I. Kerr and Co., Chicago, page 694.)

But the ruling classes in capitalist countries were quick to listen to all these discoveries of Messrs. Wagemann, Cassell, Keynes, Salter and so on, long ago proved bankrupt by Marxist science; and almost universally these profound recipes for saving capitalism are being practically adopted. All kinds of organisations were created to extend credits to national economy, to buy up the surplus raw materials; there was an increased emission of money; in a word, all possible measures were taken to stop the fall in prices, and to "set in motion" once more the economic machine. Marx long ago jeered at these measures, when he emphasised the fact that: "This entire artificial system of forced expansion of the process of reproduction cannot, of course, be remedied by having some bank, like the Bank of England, give to the swindlers the needed capital in the shape of paper notes and buy up all the depreciated commodities at their old nominal values." (Marx: "Capital," Vol. III. Kerr & Co., Chicago, page 576.)

During the last few months the development of the crisis has again been witness to the brilliant exactitude of the Marxian analysis of the laws of capitalism. After the short-lived increase in prices in the summer and beginning of autumn of

1932, there was again a sharp drop, and already by the beginning of February of this year, prices reached the lowest level for the whole period of the crisis in the United States, for example. It was also impossible to raise the "economic activity" by means of extending credits. Even the most prominent representatives of the bourgeoisie have to admit this now. For instance, at the Bondholders' meeting of the "Westminster Bank," one of the largest English banks, held in the beginning of February this year, the President, R. Becket, said in his speech:

"Until quite recently the view was widely held that internal economic recovery could be stimulated by cheap money and credit expansion. The history of the last 12 months, both in the United States, and in this country (i.e., in England) has done much to discredit this theory. The United States has made what they call "reflation," which is really the wide extension of the basis of credit—the keystone of its policy for restoring internal trade activity. The lack of any success attending that policy is illustrated by the large increase of American unemployment and the rapid decline in American industrial production."¹⁵

And Becket thereupon considered it necessary to emphasise that any hopes for an approaching end to the crisis are unfounded:

"There are those," he said, "who affect to believe that the great world depression is wearing itself out in a natural way and that recovery will come through the ordinary progress of a trade cycle. Such optimism seems to me to be dangerous, because it has little apparent foundation."¹⁶

Indeed, the events of the last few weeks completely justify the pessimism of this prominent representative of the bourgeoisie: new bankruptcies among American banks (especially in Michigan State), the curtailment of the turnover of foreign trade, the increase in the number of unemployed—all go to prove again and again the futility of trying to "cure" the present crisis by means of the prescriptions of bourgeois quacks.

And it is not surprising that the voice of the more serious bourgeois press is becoming more and more pessimistic. In regard to the latest events in the United States, the London "Statist" in an article on "International Economic Prospects," emphasised that:

"The fear that a new outbreak of bank failures is imminent in the United States, on top of the unbalanced budget and the large scale of unemployment are facts which—it must be frankly faced—may ultimately endanger the

¹⁵Westminster Bank Review, February, 1933. Page 5.

¹⁶Westminster Bank Review, February, 1933. Page 3.

existence of the gold standard in the United States. Should a renewal of hoarding cause America to suspend gold payments, the final catastrophe in world trade would be reached."¹⁷

In this respect it is characteristic that not only in estimating the position in the United States, but also in reviewing the position in other countries, especially England (about which was recently written that it is in a better position than all the other countries), a pessimistic note is beginning to predominate in the bourgeois press. The "Economist" in a special supplement on "Commercial History of 1932," writes:

"And the New Year began with a general sense that unless the world made much more rapid progress in 1933 than in 1932 towards a solution of the major problems of international security, exchange stability and reasonable freedom of trade, the coming months held all the elements of renewed and intensified depression."¹⁸

Now the world bourgeoisie is sowing new illusions to the effect that the coming conference will be able to find a way to overcome the crisis. Among the proposals which the Conference has to consider we find once more questions of a rise in prices, the extension of credits, and the redistribution of the gold reserve. The "unfair" distribution of gold is still put forward by a considerable section of the bourgeois economists as one of the main reasons for the continuance of the crisis. Bourgeois economists, of course, ignore the simple truth that "gold exports are but an evidence of a crisis, not its cause,"¹⁹ and they continue to "prove" that by redistributing the gold reserves it will be possible to create conditions which will bring about a new, more favourable economic situation. But each month shows more clearly that all these efforts and prescriptions for curing the crisis, by means of "miracle-making" proposals, are absolutely useless. And still more, we find as an obstacle in the way of accepting any kinds of measures proposed, for example, by committees of experts for calling world economic conferences—the extremely deep contradictions between the interests of the Imperialist Powers. For this reason the London "Statist" of February 11, 1933, wrote sadly that "with the passage of time the prospects of the World Economic Conference reaching any substantial degree of success seem generally thought to be diminishing." It is inevitable that this new attempt to get out of the crisis by using the pre-

scriptions of the modern "exorcists of the economic weather" will break down.

The capitalist system during the last few years has demonstrated its insolvency to the full. The socialist system, which is being built up in the U.S.S.R. has fully confirmed the doctrines of Marx concerning the unprecedented development of productive forces being possible only when the fetters of capitalist domination are broken, only when the proletariat take over the reins of power from the bourgeoisie.

The existence of the Soviet Union, the gigantic successes of socialist construction, and "the results of the Five-Year Plan have refuted the assertions of bourgeois economists to the effect that the capitalist system of economy is the best of all systems, that any other system is unstable, and incapable of standing the test of the difficulties connected with economic development."²⁰ Not only in Marx's days, but not so long ago during the first years of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., the whole of the world bourgeois press was unanimous in denying the possibility of building up a new system, in denying even the idea of the possibility of building up a new system, in denying even the idea of the possibility of putting a new, higher system in the place of capitalism. For the bourgeoisie, capitalism was not merely a historically transitional system, but a permanent category. But the unprecedented crisis of recent years, on the one hand, and the gigantic successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. on the other, have shaken the faith of the bourgeoisie in the invincibility of capitalism. More and more we find the bourgeois press recognising the fact that the U.S.S.R. is building up a new system which knows none of the crises common to capitalism. And in this respect it is enough to refer to the recent works of the Berliner Konjunkturforschungsinstitut, which, at any rate, cannot be accused of any sympathy for the U.S.S.R. A few years ago the director of this institute, who, incidentally, is also chief of the German statistical board, Professor Wagemann, in classifying the degree of development of certain countries, attached the U.S.S.R. to those countries with a "semi-capitalist system of economy"! Now the author of the latest works of that institute, R. Wagendorf, using the same classification as that previously drawn up by Professor Wagemann, leaves the U.S.S.R. out of the scheme, in which are included the highly capitalist, semi-capitalist and pre-capitalist countries. Instead of giving a general index of development of production for all countries of the world, as was practised by the institute until recently, the U.S.S.R. is now left

¹⁷Statist, 18.2.33.

¹⁸"Economist" Supplement, 18.2.33.

¹⁹Marx: "Capital," Vol. III. Kerr and Co., Chicago. Page 578.

²⁰Stalin: "The Results of the First Five Year Plan." Page 61.

out of the general index, for, as the author writes, "if we wish to follow the development of production exclusively in *capitalist* countries and find an all-inclusive expression for it, it is expedient not to include the U.S.S.R." Behind this shame-faced statement, however, there is hidden the recognition of the fact, as was formulated in another review of the same institute, that "the development of production in the U.S.S.R. deviates from the cycle of the situation of world capitalist industry."

If even the bourgeoisie are forced to recognise the successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., then for the world proletariat they are of enormous importance, for "the successes of the Five-Year Plan mobilise the revolutionary forces of all countries against capitalism."²¹

Never before were the sufferings of the prole-

²¹Stalin: "The Results of the First Five Year Plan." Page 15.

ariat so terrible under capitalism as now, during the present crisis. Marx wrote long ago: "But capital not only lives upon labour. Like a master, at once distinguished and barbarous, it drags with it into its grave the corpses of its slaves, whole hetacombs of workers *who perish in the crisis.*"²²

But the more desperate the position of the proletariat, the position of the toilers in all the capitalist countries, the position of the toilers in the colonial countries, the stronger becomes the indignation of the masses, the higher rises the tide of the revolutionary movement.

We are faced very sharply now with the question of the struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis to counteract the capitalist way out. The proletariat, led by the Communist International, is marching boldly into decisive battles for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

²²Marx: "Wage-Labour and Capital." Martin Lawrence. Page 48.

MARXISM AND LABOURISM

"The repudiation of Marxism by the Fabians and its 'recognition' by Kautsky and Co., make not the slightest difference to the matter when it comes to actual policy."

Lenin: "English Pacifism and English Aversion to Theory."

BRTAIN has long been the citadel of struggle against Marxism on the part of Fabians and Labourites, dominant in the working-class movement, that is, a citadel of open bourgeois influence, in the Labour movement. "The British School of Socialism" has been held up by its supporters as the alternative of Marxism. From its influence ran directly the main stream to build up opportunism. Its ideology, rejected and condemned in the old pre-war International, is at the present day dominant in the "Labour and Socialist International" of the betrayal of Marxism. The impossibility of Marxist penetration in Britain has for half-a-century been the boast and hope of the world bourgeoisie.

To-day, half-a-century after Marx's death, the situation is visibly changing. The "British School of Socialism" is in open bankruptcy. After the experience of the decade and a half since the war, of the two Labour Governments, of the General Strike, and of the present crisis, the old Labour theory is heavily discredited and begins to be disclaimed as out of date even by its leading exponents. The path of politics and of the class struggle in Britain, despite all the efforts to the contrary, has followed the predictions of Marxism. A widespread awakening to Marxism is spreading in the working-class move-

ment. For the first time, a considerable section of the Labour leadership is endeavouring to conceal its bourgeois policy under semi-Marxist phrases. Communism, now the sole and unchallenged representative of Marxism in Britain, can see with confidence these signs of change as symptoms of the deeper process at work, that revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in the coming period will become the recognised theory and practice of the British working-class.

I. THE FOUNDATIONS OF LABOURISM—THE DENIAL OF MARXISM.

"The founder of British Socialism was not Karl Marx, but Robert Owen, and Robert Owen preached, not 'class war,' but the ancient doctrine of human brotherhood."

This typical statement of British Labour theory and policy, with the direct disclaimer of Marxism and class war, was made by Sidney Webb in his chairman's address to the Labour Party Conference in 1923 (in the same speech in which he proclaimed the "inevitability of gradualness" and prophesied a Labour parliamentary majority for 1926).

The 'British School of Socialism' or British Labour theory is commonly stated to be an indigenous growth of the working-class movement in Britain, sprung up naturally from British conditions, without any knowledge of Marx or Marxism, and without need of such foreign importations. The reality is not so simple. It is true that the conditions of world monopoly of British capitalism and cor-

ruption of the upper strata and leadership of the working-class provided the social basis for opportunism and for its temporary success. The conscious political theory of British Labourism was, however, directly formed after Marxism had begun to develop in Britain, in conscious opposition to Marxism, as a middle-class attempt to counter and defeat Marxism. The subsequent endeavours to trace a line of connection with Owen are an invention after the event. Owenism had long disappeared as a living force when modern Socialism began in England in the 'eighties; and modern Socialism began in England as Marxist Socialism, with whatever defects and weaknesses, nevertheless explicitly as Marxist Socialism and building on the working-class. The "*British School of Socialism*" was consciously worked out by Liberal middle-class elements as a means to counter and defeat the rising influence of Marxism in the working-class.

That this was the conscious aim of Fabianism, the theoretical basis and origin of British Labourism, is abundantly clear from its history. The official "History of the Fabian Society" by its secretary, E. R. Pease, published in 1916, sets out (in its "Review of Thirty Years") as the main achievement of Fabianism the fight against Marxism:

"Its first achievement was to break the spell of Marxism in England.

"The Fabian Society freed English Socialism from this intellectual bondage, and freed it sooner and more completely than Revisionists have succeeded in doing anywhere else" (p. 236).

Up to 1890, says Pease, English Socialism was dominated by Marxism. He means the Marxism of the Social Democratic Federation (founded 1884) and of the Socialist League (founded 1886), both of which were very far, in fact, from understanding Marxism correctly and suffered from extreme sectarian weaknesses, but nevertheless proclaimed Marxism as their basis. The impression of a middle-class observer of the Socialism of the 'eighties in England (before Fabianism) is thus described by Pease:

"The Socialism of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League, the two societies which had hitherto represented Socialism to the general public, was altogether revolutionary. Socialism was to be the result of an outbreak of violence, engineered by a great popular organisation like that of the Chartists or the Anti-Corn Law League, and the Commune of Paris in 1871 was regarded as a premature attempt which pointed the way to future success. The Socialist Government thus established was to reconstruct the social and industrial life of the nation according to a plan supposed to be outlined by Karl Marx. . . . Socialism up to 1890 was generally regarded as insurrectionary, dogmatic, utopian and almost incomprehensible" (p. 90).

This was the actual original British School of Socialism, which marched under the banner of Marxism as described through the hostile eyes of a Fabian observer. In this school, all the older Socialist working-class leaders: Tom Mann, Burns, Tillett, Thorne, etc., grew up. Whatever its faults and very great mistakes, chiefly sectarian, it had no class-peace, parliamentary servility or evolutionary cant.

The Fabians were a small group of government officials and journalists who took on themselves the task to counter this. For this purpose they organised themselves in a small middle-class group, apart from the existing socialist organisations with their predominantly working-class membership. On the question why they did not at the start enter into the working-class Socialist movement, but "kept themselves to themselves like ultra-respectable suburbans" Pease explains as follows:

"In the early years it was not possible. The Social Democrats of those years asserted that unquestioning belief in every dogma attributed to Marx was essential to social salvation, and that its only way was revolution, by which they meant, not the complete transformation of society, but its transformation by means of rifles and barricades; they were convinced that a successful repetition of the Commune of Paris was the only method by which their policy could prevail. The Fabians realised from the first that no such revolution was likely to take place, and that constant talk about it was the worst possible way to commend Socialism to the British working-class. And, indeed, a few years later it was necessary to establish a new working-class Socialist society, the Independent Labour Party, in order to get clear both of the tradition of revolutionary violence, and of the vain repetition of Marxian formulas. *If the smaller society had merged itself in the popular movement, its criticism would have been voted down, and its critics either silenced or expelled*" (p. 162).

The position here expressed is plain and frank. At the outset Fabianism, or the school of so-called "evolutionary" "constitutional" "parliamentary" Socialism, later declared to be the natural expression of the genius of the British working-class, was not only purely and solely a middle-class invention, but was at the outset admittedly *against the stream* and fully *unpopular* with the awakening socialist workers; if it had "merged itself in the popular movement, its criticism would have been voted down, and its critics either silenced or expelled."

Only step by step was it possible to build up, actually from the ranks of the Liberal Party (the MacDonald—Hardie—Snowden stratum), a new corps of opportunist socialist workers' leaders, who absorbed the teachings of Fabianism, and were able to ally themselves with the trade union bureaucracy

in building up opportunism in the Labour movement, which swamped the old Social Democratic sects.

Engels had already in the 'eighties emphasised the special importance for Social Democracy in England to establish close contact with the existing deeply-rooted mass organisations of the workers, the trade unions, and had indicated the form of the Labour Party as a possible necessary stage in the development of the political working-class movement in England. But the existing Social Democratic Federation under Hyndman was not capable of comprehending or realising, or even attempting to realise, this task. The leadership of the rising political working-class movement, which had been in their hands in the 'eighties (with Fabianism in full fear of being "silenced or expelled"), consequently passed in the 'nineties to petit-bourgeois socialism, with Fabianism triumphant. The Independent Labour Party, which was formed in 1893 as an attempted union of the gathering political working-class and socialist elements, fell—fully into the control of Liberal opportunist leadership. Strengthened on this basis, the Liberal opportunist leadership was able to extend its hold with the Labour Representation Committee in 1900 (set up by the vote of the Trades Union Congress), reaching to the formation of the Labour Party in 1906—the parliamentary representation partly of non-political, partly of Liberal working-class organisations—and thus to fix its grip with finally full success on the political forms of the rising mass movement.

Why was Liberal opportunism thus successful in defeating Marxism in Britain during the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century? First, because of the theoretical and practical weakness of the representatives of Marxism in Britain (Social Democratic Federation). Secondly, because opportunism, based on the corruption of the upper strata of the working-class by the English bourgeoisie—who for the purpose used the monopolist position of English capitalism, which was rapidly developing into imperialism—had already made deep inroads into the economic movement then existing and among the reformist trade union bureaucracy which was already formed and developing. Thirdly, because of the direct assistance of the then powerful Liberal Party in building up the new forms; nearly all the Labour seats won up to and including 1906 were presented to it by the Liberal Party, which withdrew its own candidates from Liberal seats in favour of the Labour candidates. *Thus the bourgeoisie, in the shape of the Liberal Party, directly assisted, both theoretically and practically, the building up of the opportunist Labour Party as the best bulwark against Marxism.* The failure of Marxism to win a hold in Britain during this epoch was thus based on special and temporary conditions, and not at all on any "unsuitability," as

the bourgeoisie and their opportunist supporters imagined.

What was the programme which Liberal opportunism put forward to replace Marxism for Britain? Once again, we can find its clearest and most conscious expression in its theoretical basis and origin, Fabianism. The subsequent Labour Party leaders—the MacDonalds, Snowdens, Hendersons and Lansburys, are in fact only popular megaphones of the original Fabian circle of ideas, adapting these in forms to deceive the workers (for the open expression of Fabianism has always remained unpopular in the Labour movement), and serving them up with every kind of dressing, ethical, Christian, trade unionist, or liberal-democratic.

The aim of Fabianism was expressed from the outset with complete clearness—to *adapt the Socialist movement in Britain to British bourgeois institutions.* Pease summarises the essence of Fabianism, in contrast to Marxism, in a sentence:

"It accepted economic science as taught by the accredited British professors; it built up the edifice of Socialism on the foundations of our existing political and social institutions,"

i.e., on the foundations of capitalism. The definition of the 1908 Preface to "Fabian Essays" is no less precise:

"We set ourselves two definite tasks: first, to provide a parliamentary programme for a Prime Minister converted to Socialism as Peel was converted to Free Trade; and, second, to make it as easy and matter-of-course for the ordinary respectable Englishman to be a Socialist as to be a Liberal or a Conservative,"

i.e., to make the Socialist Party a bourgeois party parallel to the Liberal and Conservative Parties. Webb, the principal theorist of the Labour Party, has put the aim with even more brutal plainness:

"It was indispensable for Socialism in England that it should be consistent with the four rules of arithmetic, with the Ten Commandments, and with the Union Jack. There should be no confiscation."—(Sidney Webb on "Fabianism Justified," "Times," 6/11/24.)

"*The Union Jack*," i.e., British patriotism and imperialism. "*The Ten Commandments*," i.e., religion. These are the conscious bases of the "British School of Socialism," in the words of its principal theorist. And the practical conclusion is immediately added: "*No confiscation.*"

Here we reach the essence of British Labour theory as the antipodes of Marxism. Beneath all the interminable disquisitions about the "evolutionary" conception of social development as opposed to "dogmatic" "catastrophic" conceptions, about the "Darwinian" "biological" conception as opposed to "Hegelian metaphysics," about "modern up-to-date

economics" as opposed to "obsolete economic fallacies," about "practical politics" as opposed to "revolutionary romanticism," about "peace" and "democracy" as opposed to "violence" and "dictatorship," the real essence and root remains the same. That essence is: Private Property and the British Capitalist State.

From this the rest follows, that is, the practical realities of Labourism as opposed to the ideological dress ("peace," "progress," "democracy," "socialism"). These are:

First, *Denial of Revolution*. This is the first unchanging dogma of Labourism. It is presented in a hundred forms: (a) that revolution is impossible in Britain owing to the strength of capitalism; (b) that revolution would plunge the working-class in misery and starvation; (c) that revolution is alien to British traditions; (d) that revolution is alien to the practical spirit of the British working-class; (e) that revolution is imminent and threatening, and that only the Labour Party can save the State. This last is an argument to deceive the working-class. Typical is the statement of Henderson, then secretary to the Labour Party, in his "Aims of Labour," published in 1918, when the world revolutionary wave was rising:

"Revolution is a word of evil omen. It calls up a vision of barricades in the streets and blood in the gutters. No responsible person, however determined he or she may be to effect a complete transformation of society, can contemplate such a possibility without horror."

Nevertheless

"Unless we are very careful, these ideas will rule the thoughts of masses of the people in the post-war period."

Against this danger the only safeguard is the Labour Party:

"The Labour Party can rehabilitate Parliament in the eyes of the people"

The Labour Party was in fact the instrument that saved British bourgeois rule in the post-war crisis. It plays this rôle to this day.

Second, *Denial of the Class Struggle*. Although built in fact upon the proletarian mass organisations, the Labour Party explicitly denies any class basis in its outlook or policy, and makes its appeal to all classes.

"The Labour Party appeals to men and women of good-will in all classes of the community." ("Labour and the Nation," official programme of the Labour Party, adopted in 1928).

"The class-war idea belongs to the pre-socialist and pre-scientific phase of the Labour Movement." (J. R. MacDonald, "Socialism and Society," p. 123).

"The Labour Party does not stand for any class or section within society, but for all classes." (J. R. Clynes, at Battersea, 25/2/23.)

The contradiction between the actual class basis of the organisation and membership of the Labour Party, and its principles and policy of denial of the class struggle, we shall have occasion to examine further as one of the principal dynamic forces through which the apparently defeated Marxism is finally defeating and exploding Labourism.

Third, *Maintenance of Capitalism*. The very vaguely expressed nominal socialistic aim (actually without any mention of Socialism) inserted in the Party objects since 1918 is rendered finally meaningless by the entire programme and policy, which is directed solely to the maintenance and reorganisation of capitalism. Even the original proposals of "nationalisation" within the capitalist State have passed increasingly into the background, and given place to conceptions of rationalisation, state control and the "public corporation," i.e., independent capitalist trust under State auspices—actually identical with the present Liberal Party programme. The practical policy has been one of full co-operation with the imperialist bourgeoisie including the enforcing of wage-cuts by arbitration, police action against workers on strike, etc.

"I want every business man and every business manager to realise that the Labour Government is not their enemy, but that every Minister in this Government wants to take him by the hand as a man and a brother, and help to make his commercial or industrial enterprise more successful than it has been in the past." (H. Morrison, Labour Minister of Transport, at Hendon, 30/6/29)

The economics of the Labour Party is revealingly illustrated in one of the most recently published pamphlets, "Why a Labour Party?" issued for wide circulation in 1932:

"The share of the product of industry which falls to the lot of the workers is too small.

"It will not do at all to suppose that the *chief* purpose of a worker's labour is to make profits for the employers, even if *one of the less important purposes of work is to help even employers to live* (italics ours).

Profits are thus fully accepted as legitimate; the proletarian must "help even employers to live," but the share of the workers should be larger. This is the full liberal-capitalist outlook of the Labour Party, exemplified also in the acclaiming of Fordism, etc.

Fourth, *Maintenance of the British Empire*. This rôle of the Labour Party is of special importance to British capitalism, since the control of the colonies is the pivot of British bourgeois rule, and the drawing in of a section of the working-class into sharing in the exploitation of the colonies and in fragments of the colonial profits is the root of opportunism. Marx insisted again and again that the complete liberation, in the sense of full separation, of the colonies (Ireland)

was the indispensable condition for the liberation of the British working-class.

"The English working-class will never do anything before it has got rid of Ireland" (Letter to Engels, 10 Dec., 1869).

"The separation of Ireland is the only possible form of Irish liberation which must be included in the programme of the British workers' party." (Letter to Engels, 30 Nov., 1867.)

The line of the Labour Party is the exact opposite. The line of the Labour Party is, in the name of hypocritical phrases of "the British Commonwealth of Nations," "trusteeship," "progressive self-government," etc., to fight on the side of British imperialism against the national-revolutionary movement in the colonies, to *maintain by violence* the despotic domination of 400 millions of people.

"There is no reason for breaking up the British Empire. . . . Our duty is to transform the British Empire of domination into a Commonwealth of Free Peoples." (Lansbury, now Leader of the Labour Party, in "Lansbury's Labour Weekly," 23/5/25.)

"Instead of breaking up the British Empire, we are going to solidify the British Empire." (Henderson, speech at Hull, "Daily Herald," 21/3/31.)

The reality of this policy is a reality of violent coercion and armed force. There is no longer here even the formal pretence of "peaceful methods" and "democracy," on which the Labour Party sets such store when it is a question of the workers' struggle for freedom in the Metropolis. The Labour Government's air bombing of defenceless villages with slaughter of men, women and children in Iraq or the Indian frontier provinces, is the measure of Labour "peaceful methods"; just as the Labour Government's gaoling of 60,000 Indians in a single year in 1930 (an extreme of coercion reached by no Conservative Government before or since) is the measure of Labour "democratic principles."

* * * *

These, in summary form, are the essentials of the Labour policy which is presented to the British workers in the guise of "peaceful progress," "practical politics," "democracy," "reform" and the "gradual advance to Socialism."

We have here an overt struggle against Marxism in every sphere, the direct expression of bourgeois policy and of conscious acceptance of and co-operation with the bourgeois state and imperialism against the workers and against the subject colonial peoples.

We have now to examine where this line has led the British working-class, and what it has achieved in the way of the promised "evolutionary advance to Socialism," "practical gains" or "peaceful progress," as contrasted with the line of Marxism-Leninism, demonstrated in the Soviet Union.

II. THE GRAVE IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS OF LABOURISM

After the overwhelming effects of the crisis, the failure of the two Labour Governments, the departure of the two principal leaders, MacDonald and Snowden, to join the Conservatives, and the crushing defeat of the Labour Party at the 1931 elections when the number of Labour seats in Parliament was reduced from 265 to 46, the grave ideological crisis of the Labour Party became clear.

Already in 1916 the "History of the Fabian Society" previously quoted, in its concluding chapter "The Lessons of Thirty Years" had to admit:

"It must be confessed that we have made but little progress along the main road of Socialism. Private ownership of capital and land flourishes almost (sic) as vigorously as it did thirty years ago. Its grosser cruelties have been checked, but the thing itself has barely been touched. Time alone will show whether progress is to be along existing lines" (p. 243).

That was after thirty years. Follow up now after forty years. There is a sharp change in the whole political situation. Broad sections of the workers are being revolutionised. The ground is no longer firm under the feet of the capitalist lawyers in the working class. They are beginning to understand that the workers cannot be talked to in the same language as before. In order not to lose their hold on the masses, even the Fabians are beginning "to doubt" that they can manage without the revolution, and are beginning to "recognise" Marxism. In 1931 a new edition of "Fabian Essays" was published with a preface entitled "Fabian Essays Forty Years Later—What They Overlooked." Here we learn:

"The distinctive mark of the Fabian Society among the rival bodies of Socialists with which it came in conflict in its early days was its resolute constitutionalism. When the greatest Socialist of that day, the poet and craftsman, William Morris, told the workers that there was no hope for them save in revolution, we said that if that were true, there was no hope at all for them, and urged them to save themselves through Parliament, the municipalities and the franchise.

"It is not so certain to-day as it seemed in the 'eighties that Morris was not right" (italics added). The workers trusted the promises of the reformist leaders. They sought "to save themselves through Parliament, the municipalities and the franchise." They voted Labour Governments into office. What is the outcome? The new Fabian Preface continues:

"The Treasury Bench has been filled with Socialists. Yet, so far as Socialism is concerned, it might as well have been filled with Conservative bankers or baronets."

Let us turn to its principal theoretical leadership, the

Webbs. Under the stress of the world revolutionary wave, and the shaking of the capitalism they had believed so solid, the Webbs wrote a book of a type new for them, no longer on details of State and municipal administration, Labour legislation, trade unionism, etc., but for the first time on capitalism, "The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation" (1923).

"Before the Great War there seemed to be a substantial measure of consent that the social order had to be gradually changed, in the direction of a greater equality in material income and personal freedom, and of a steadily increasing participation, in the control of the instruments of wealth production, of the wage-earning producers. . . .

"We thought, perhaps wrongly, that this characteristic British acquiescence on the part of a limited governing class in the rising claims of those who had found themselves excluded from both enjoyment and control, would continue and be extended; and that while progress might be slow, there would at least be no reaction."

They can no longer hide from the workers what is clear to every proletarian, namely, that the policy of capitalism after the war, they find, is to

"drive back the mass of the population behind the positions gained during the last half-century."

The progress of "the class war," and its growing intensity, they fear,

"makes revolution as inevitable as war."

On the other hand, they are compelled to admit in their 1932-33 writings after their Russian journey (also under pressure from below on the part of the workers, who no longer want to listen to insolent, open calumnies against the Soviet Union) the triumphs of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. What, then, is their conclusion? Is it to admit their basic error and the proved correctness of Marxism-Leninism? Not at all. Their only conclusion remains the old bourgeois conclusion and is to "warn" the capitalists, and promise them their help in realising peace and collaboration between the classes.

"We must, therefore, solemnly warn our capitalists and Governments. . . ."

"In an attempt, possibly vain, to make the parties understand their problem and each other better, we offer this little book."

Finally, if we turn to the leader of "Left" Labourism, Maxton, we find the same declarations of failure.

"So far as the achievement of our major purpose, the creation of a new social order is concerned, I say frankly, that twenty-seven years of effort on my part in the working-class movement seem to have ended in failure, and this applies also to the efforts of every section of our movement." (Maxton, at Sheffield, "New Leader," 30/12/32.)

In subsequent discussion, Maxton has endeavoured

to argue that this confession of failure applies equally to Marxism or Communism as to Labourism. This is only an attempt to conceal the real meaning of the historic lesson. The line of Marxism-Leninism, the line of Communism, which has already proved its correctness theoretically in relation to the whole development in England and every question of the working-class movement, has still to be tried in practice by the British working-class, when it will equally show its power in practice to defeat capitalism and realise Socialism. The line of the organised British working-class movement, of its leadership and policy, has been the line of Labourism, of the denial of the revolutionary class struggle. And it is the line of Labourism that has led to the present disastrous outcome.

The facts are, indeed, too heavy for the exponents of Labourism to be able to escape admitting them. In place of "peace," "progress" and "reform" (the typical Liberal slogans of Labourism), or of the "gradual advance to Socialism," the workers have been led into the bloodiest war in history for the profit of imperialism, worsening of standards, wholesale unemployment, and successive defeats. The standards of the workers, their real wages, have been almost continuously lowered since the beginning of the twentieth century, and have fallen most heavily in the past decade, during the period of Labour "prosperity" and of two Labour Governments. The working-class organisations under reformist leadership have proved powerless to stem the capitalist offensive; the class strength and aggressiveness of the capitalists is greater than ever; even those reforms which the working-class wrangled from the bourgeoisie as a by-product of its revolutionary struggle, are now being systematically taken away from them. The relative and absolute impoverishment of the working-class is increasing. The bourgeoisie has even been able to take advantage of the fact of the discrediting of the Labour Party in the eyes of the labouring mass in order to build up the most reactionary Government of modern British history, the National Government.

Capitalism, is more completely undermined, shaken, weakened by the blows of the economic crisis and the growing activity of the masses, who are learning from their own class experience and from the agitation carried on by the Communist Party how to wage the revolutionary struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Labourism inevitably broke down on contradictions upon which it was built. Labourism is in fact the continuance of Liberalism in an advanced stage, when the working-class is already awakening to political consciousness and advancing to independent struggle, and when Liberalism can only seek to maintain itself and carry on its work of deceiving the workers and inculcating class peace by grafting itself

on to the rising working-class movement. But this means a complete contradiction at its root from the outset.

The Labour Party, which represents the interests of the upper stratum of the working-class—the Labour aristocracy that has been bribed by the bourgeoisie—and which embodied in its organisation the broad masses of the working-class, denies the class struggle. Herein lies the fundamental contradiction which is rending the Labour Party.

The Labour Party was able to take the advantage of the rising temper of the working-class in the pre-war period which found expression in their mass desertion from the old capitalist parties and in the enormous increase in votes cast for the Labour Party which reached to four millions, five millions, eight millions (1929), and even in the recent slump (1931) six millions. Of its 2,060,000 members (1931), 2,023,000 are members through their trade unions, that is, on the basis of the class struggle.

But the entire theory, policy, propaganda and practice of the Labour Party, and especially of the Labour Party leadership, is opposed to the class struggle, and calls for unity with capitalism, unity with the capitalist State, acceptance of capitalist State responsibility, continuity of State policy, etc.

It requires no profound knowledge of Marxism to understand that here is a conflict which will inevitably increase, through successive explosions, to final disruption. It is completely obvious that the contradictions we have indicated will grow and lead to the emancipation of the great mass from the influence of labourism only on condition of the most active participation of the Communist Party.

The policy and practice of the Labour Party of unity with the bourgeoisie draw it closer and closer into the tasks and responsibilities of capitalism in decline. The Liberal illusions and promises, with which its propaganda sets out, are soon found to be in conflict with the realities and necessities of capitalism in a period in which the rôle of Liberalism is disappearing. Instead, the tasks are tasks of repression against the working-class and the colonial peoples, of restricting reforms, of intensifying exploitation, of preparing and conducting the new imperialist war, and intervention against the Soviet Union. Governmental experience hastens the process started long ago by which social reformism passes into social fascism. The projects of nationalisation rapidly pass into the background. In this connection J. H. Thomas in 1927 gave a revealing picture of the Labour Government of 1924 :

“When the Labour Government came in, the Cabinet spent a good deal of time discussing nationalisation and its application. We found,”

said Mr. Thomas, “that the difference between the platform and the board-room is the difference between the impractical and the practical.” (“Manchester Guardian,” 9/8/27.)

In the place of nationalisation is developed the theory of expanding social reform, of increasing taxation of the rich to pay for increasing social services to the workers. Left Labourism develops this into a whole new theory of “Socialism,” which is closely connected with the “theory of high wages,” worship of Fordism, of the American model, etc., current in 1925-29.† But this, too, soon comes up against the realities of capitalism. Capitalism in decline, so far from being disposed to make increasing concessions, is concerned to fight to win back those already granted. With declining industry and trade, and falling receipts from taxation, the Labour Government finds itself faced with budget deficits, and with the consequent necessity, not of increasing, but of cutting down the social services. So comes the crisis of 1931, the split and collapse of the Labour Government, and the electoral debacle. The split of the Labour Government, be it noted, the division of Henderson and MacDonald, of the Labour Party and the National Government, was not as to whether the social services should be cut, but only as to the amount they should be cut, whether by £56 millions or £70 millions (according to Snowden, the majority of the Labour Cabinet approved cuts totalling £76 millions, against the cuts of £70 millions of the National Government).

From this point a new theory is evolved by the Labour Party corresponding to the needs of capitalism in the period at the end of capitalist stabilisation, a theory of the “limitations of social reform,” that there is a “limit to the taxation of the rich for the benefit of the poor” (Morrison). This final retreat even from social reforms is presented as the “End of Reformism” and return to pure Socialist doctrine. With this final phase of Labour theory to-day, which is closely connected with the new left manoeuvres of social-fascism and the beginnings of attempts at the distortion of Marxism, we shall deal further in the next section.

The 1931 crisis and collapse was the turning point of Labour Party development. From this point the ferment spreads throughout the membership of the Labour Party, and the hitherto continuous rise gives place to a heavy slump in the number of supporters. Questionings of all the old doctrines begin, and this is reflected even in the utterances of the leadership. The Independent Labour Party on the left breaks away from the Labour Party, and proclaims its conversion to the principles of Marxism. The *Disintegration of Reformism* begins.

† See the same author “Socialism and the Living Wage.”

III. THE "REVIVAL OF MARXISM" — "LEFT" MANOEUVRES AND THE BOURGEOIS FALSIFICATION OF MARXISM.

On every side in Britain to-day a new and widespread awakening of interest in Marxism is visible, both within the working-class movement, and also in bourgeois intellectual circles, among the younger scientists, technicians, etc. This is the inevitable result of the work of the Communist Party and of the economic crisis, which has smashed into ruins all the facile assumptions of Liberalism and Labourism in Britain, and proved the powerful vindication of Marxism-Leninism by facts.

The Labour Party leadership has now to adapt itself to this new situation, in which the fundamental basis of Labourism has begun to be questioned and doubted by the workers. A process of adaptation takes place, which expresses itself in a series of "left" manoeuvres (replacement of Henderson in the leadership by Lansbury), in a search for a new programme, in disclaimers and repudiations of the old policy (responsibility for which is thrown entirely on the departed leaders, MacDonald and Snowden), and attempts to play with phrases of a vaguely Marxist character—"revolution," "class struggle," "collapse of capitalism," etc. This struggle to keep the revolutionised working masses within the ranks of the Labour Party, while the Labour Party and trade unions become grafted more and more to the Government which grows ever more fascist, is carried out with the typical division of Labour between "right" and "left." The "right" (official Labour Party leadership) is still cautious in its approach, clings in essence to the old ideology, only plays rhetorically with the new phrases, and, although beginning to flirt with half-patronising, half-approving references to Marxism, is careful, with a few exceptions, to keep clear of any profession of acceptance of the principles of Marxism. The "left" (Independent Labour Party leadership) proclaims loudly a complete break with the old and a full acceptance of Marxism.

This development is a new stage of the fight of Marxism in Britain. *Hitherto the dominant policy has been to kill Marxism by silence or by simple and barefaced misrepresentation* (the "refutations" of Marxism in the earlier Labour literature of the MacDonalds, Snowdens, Bertrand Russells, etc., belong only to the museum of curiosities). *This policy has broken down.* In this as in other respects, *the Social Democratic methods of the distortion of Marxism as a cover for opportunism* begin to be learnt in Britain; the supposedly invincible "peculiarities" of the British movement step by step dwindle and disappear; the mutual assimilation of British Labourism and Continental Social Democracy goes increasingly forward, as their social basis and actual policy is identical. The younger school of Labour Party

theorists (Cole, Rowse, Laski) to-day all profess themselves Marxists, and use scraps of Marxist formulae to justify the most commonplace Liberal reconstructionist policies. A widespread "Marxist" educational movement, the "Labour College Movement," which originally began on a small scale over twenty years ago as a revolt of militant Marxist workers against both Labour Party and trade union officialism, is to-day taken over by the official trade union movement, and holds classes covering some 8,000 worker students, who are taught an extremely diluted form of bourgeois "Marxism" acceptable to the Labour Party and to the Trades Union Congress General Council. (The principal present theorist of this movement, Woodburn, writes on "Would Marx Have Joined the Labour Party?" in "Forward" 3/9/32, and reaches the answer "Yes," on the grounds that the Communist Manifesto programme of immediate measures to be carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat in that epoch is identical with the present Labour programme!) Finally the Independent Labour Party, with some 12,000 members, proclaims acceptance of "revolutionary Marxism," and even proclaims discipleship of Lenin, while maintaining in fact a parliamentary democratic opportunist programme.

All this is evidence of a shifting of forces in the British Labour Movement, of the beginning of a widespread streaming towards Marxism in the ranks of the politically conscious workers, which Labourism is seeking to meet and absorb, and keep away from Communism. The fight of Communism as the representative, both historically and in principle, of Marxism-Leninism in Britain is carried forward to a more advanced stage. The fight is no longer merely against the old unconcealed Liberal-Labourism (with the thinnest utopian-ethical "socialistic" covering) which was hitherto the dominant form of bourgeois ideological enslavement of the workers. The workers are advancing beyond this, are advancing, partly unconsciously, but also among sections consciously, towards Marxism, towards revolutionary struggle. The fight now develops in increasing measure against the new form of Labourism, against the bourgeois distortion of Marxism, which becomes the final ideological barrier to the transition of the vast masses of the British proletariat on to the side of Communism.

The Labour Party leadership which keeps the masses back from the struggle for its daily economic and political interests to-day, proclaims the "End of Gradualism," "No More Reformism," "Only Socialism," "Revolution, Not Reform," etc. Lansbury, speaking as representative of the Labour Party at the 1932 Trades Union Congress, declared the aim "not to reform, but to revolutionise, the capitalist system." ("Times," report, 8/9/32.)

The Chairman's address of the Trades Union

Congress called for no more "patching" of the capitalist system, but its "complete destruction." The Chairman's address to the Labour Women's Conference in 1932 declared :

"The time has come to abandon palliatives : to replace the old system, instead of trying to amend it." ("Daily Herald," 15/6/32.)

Sir Charles Trevelyan, speaking at Transport House, the Labour Party Headquarters, declares :

"The Labour Party's policy is frankly revolutionary." ("Daily Herald," 23/1/33.)

What is the meaning of these declarations of the Labour Party for "revolution," as against "reform," etc.? Has the Labour Party, then, changed its programme? Not at all. The actual programme adopted at the last Labour Party Conference in 1932 is not only a continuation of the whole previous line of capitalist reorganisation, but is actually the most complete expression of the system of the "public corporation" or capitalist trust under "business control" yet reached by the Labour Party. The practical policy of the Labour Party continues one of co-operation with capitalism, of the united front with the National Government on all major issues (e.g., China, Anglo-American debts issue, opposition to unemployed "violence," etc.); indeed, the statement of Henderson speaking as leader of the Labour Party in September, 1932, on the National Government, may be recalled :

"I am not taking exception to the fact that we have to-day what is called a National Government ; what I do take exception to is the manner of its formation." (House of Commons, 8/9/32.)

The Labour Party, that is to say, has no opposition to the National Government, as such, to coalition as such ; all the Labour Party objects to is the "manner of its formation," that the Labour Party as a whole was not brought into coalition, but that one section of the leadership formed it behind the backs of the others.

What is the meaning of these loud utterances about "the end of reform"? These utterances, of course, do not mean the transition of Labourism to the revolutionary road. They mean only that the bourgeoisie is taking back all the concessions, all the social reforms, which it granted in the post-war years, fearing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. These utterances mean, moreover, that Labourism is reconstructing its ideology on new lines to suit the *new* period which has dawned at the end of the epoch of reforms. The reformist leaders can no longer utilise their rôle of purveyors of the capitalist crumbs to the workers in order to appear as "practical" leaders, and even the fight for concessions becomes part of the revolutionary fight. But the reformist leadership endeavours to meet the situation by making a sudden change of front, and with a great show of revolutionary virtue proclaiming the "End of

Reformism." In this way Social Democracy adapts itself to the political line of capitalism in the crisis, and performs its double service, at once drawing the workers away from the actual immediate struggle against the capitalist offensive as now impossible of success, and at the same time meeting their rising discontent with revolutionary-sounding phrases and every kind of left manoeuvre.

If we turn now to "Left" Social Fascism, to the "Revolutionary Marxism" of the Independent Labour Party, we find a very much more extreme stage of the same basic phenomenon and line—corresponding to the much more extreme stage of revolutionisation of the left workers. Once again, a sudden volte-face of the reformist leadership ; once again, in a far more extreme form, the revolutionary phrase, once again the same essential bourgeois programme at bottom ; and once again, under cover of the revolutionary phrase, practical opposition to the immediate struggle and its tasks.

The Independent Labour Party at a Special Conference at Bradford in July, 1932, decided by a vote of 241 to 142 to disaffiliate from the Labour Party, and adopted a new programme which is officially described by its leadership as "revolutionary" and "Marxist."

This fact is a fact of immense historical importance for the whole development of the movement in Britain.

The Independent Labour Party has been for forty years the leader of reformism, of the fight against Marxism, in the working-class. It has been the founder of the Labour Party, its main propagandist machine, and the main basis of the reformist leadership (MacDonald, Snowden, Hardie, in particular ; the majority of the Labour Party leaders have been members of the I.L.P.). Until the last election, the majority of Labour Members of Parliament have been members of the I.L.P. ; it has been an essential part of the inner ruling machine, and played a leading part in the fight against Communism, in the expulsion of the Communists from the Labour Party, and in the establishment of closer discipline in the Labour Party.

To-day the I.L.P. finds it necessary to break its connection with the Labour Party, and to proclaim its allegiance to Marxism. This fact is a demonstration of the transformation taking place in the working-class, and of the rapid advance of the "left" workers. It is the open confession of bankruptcy of the previous leadership of Labourism, a bankruptcy to which the direct transference of MacDonald and Snowden to the ranks of Conservatism is the pendant and counterpart.

But it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between the genuine advance and seeking of the mass of the membership of the I.L.P. who are approaching a split with Labourism and a transition to Marxism-Leninism and the rôle of the I.L.P. reformist leaders,

who, after having preached and practised every kind of reformist deception for a lifetime, have under the force of circumstances and the pressure of the membership proclaimed a sudden conversion to Marxism, without in practice changing their line. That we have here to do with a *manoeuvre to defeat the advance of Marxism-Leninism, that is, of Communism*, is obvious from an examination of their utterances and from the actual programme put forward. Indeed, as one of their present-day "Marxist" "theorists" Middleton Murry (actually a fashionable bourgeois litterateur of a mystical-religious type, with no more knowledge of Marxism than of the working-class movement), has naïvely expressed it in a book entitled "The Necessity of Communism," much acclaimed at present by the I.L.P. :

"The only remedy against Russian Communism in this country is English Communism."

By "Russian Communism" the author makes subsequently clear that he means "*bloody violence*" and "dictatorship"; by "English Communism" he means *a Labour Government and a minimum wage*.

The General Secretary of the I.L.P., Paton, states with regard to the new constitution and programme :

"The new constitution in both thought and expression marks a definite break with the traditional outlook of the I.L.P. Its basis is definitely Marxist." ("New Leader," 15/7/32.)

Similarly, an editorial statement of the I.L.P. organ declares :

"The new constitution of the I.L.P. . . frankly accepts the Marxian philosophy of the class struggle." ("New Leader," 22/7/32.)

Thus the claim is made that the new programme of the I.L.P. is "definitely Marxist." But the reality is not there.

The new programme of the I.L.P. still reveals the old opportunist line on every question, theoretical, economic, political, and, above all, on the burning questions of the revolutionary struggle and the conquest of power. There is no attempt to give a clear stand on the State, on bourgeois democracy, on imperialism and revolution, on the relationship of the colonial question and revolution, on the forcible overthrow of the bourgeoisie, on armed insurrection, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the rôle of the Party. On the contrary, we find the following :

"The Independent Labour Party believes that electoral activity for the capture of all the organs of government, national and local, is essential, recognising that such control would be of the greatest importance in the change from capitalism to Socialism."

We are here on the plane of the most commonplace Labour parliamentarism, the full plane of capitalist-democratic politics. There is nothing here of the Marxist conceptions of revolutionary parliamentar-

ism as the use of elections and parliament as only a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda. Electoral and parliamentary activity is to be carried on "*for the capture of all the organs of government.*" Here we have the typical, the basic Labour conception of winning a parliamentary majority to take over the capitalist State machine ; which means in practice, if there is to be any question of a parliamentary majority, developing the I.L.P. as a full parliamentary capitalist-democratic governmental party.

That this is the full conception and intention of the "Marxist" I.L.P. leadership is abundantly clear from their statements. Thus Maxton promised at Bradford "to try to get a parliamentary majority for the I.L.P. in the next five years." And when certain left delegates tried to "substitute a clause which would place more emphasis on creating a revolutionary movement where Parliament would be used for propaganda purposes only," Beckett, on behalf of the platform, secured its rejection with the statement:

"He pointed out the difficulty of trying to fight parliamentary elections if the public at the same time had to be told that Parliament was of no use. If the I.L.P. did not believe in municipal and national government, it would have to work underground to bring about a real revolution. He urged that the I.L.P. should work through local and national machinery for government, and man it with people it could trust." ("New Leader," 5/8/32.)

Thus the official policy is revealed as unadulterated *parliamentary ministerialism*, which is correctly shown to involve *rejection of revolution*.

What, then, of "revolution" and "revolutionary working-class struggle" and the "revolutionary conquest of power," of which the I.L.P. to-day speaks so much? The programme contains the following statement as the only light on this question :

"It (I.L.P.) realises that the interests behind capitalism are likely to offer resistance, by any and every means, to any attempt to dispossess them of their economic and political power on which their privileges depend, and particularly in the circumstances of a complete economic breakdown, to resort to some form of dictatorship in opposition to economic and social changes. The minds of the workers must be prepared for such a situation, and they must be ready to meet it and overcome it by the use of their mass strength for the capture of power."

This is the total lead of this "Marxist" programme on the central question of the conquest of power. The capitalists in certain circumstances may, are "likely" to, "resort to some form of dictatorship." Thus there is no capitalist dictatorship at present. Of proletarian dictatorship there is no mention. Only "if" the capitalists resort to certain measures,

have established, apparently, some kind of open fascist dictatorship, only then should the workers "use their mass strength for the capture of power." What is meant by this there is no attempt to explain; and it is obvious that there is no intention of any serious meaning. But one thing is made clear by the explanations of the leadership. There is to be no question of armed struggle. The Chairman of the I.L.P., Brockway, has explained that the I.L.P. must stand for "*a pacifist technique of revolution*"; the aim must be to

"contribute to the revolution a technique in which the main method will be, not armed conflict, but action by the working-class to take control over industry in their disciplined strength."

In the same way Brockway has explained on another occasion that by "revolution" the I.L.P. means only "*a revolution in the sense of a complete transformation*"; while Murry, the I.L.P. "theorist" of Marxism, warned the Bradford Conference:

"Keep the revolution in the right place—in your hearts and minds."

This is, in fact, the familiar line of Left Labourism. The statement of A. J. Cook, even in his most active left period in 1925, may be recalled:

"Some men said, 'Let us have a revolution,' but he had never said that. He believed in revolution, but *a revolution of a mental character*, in which the mind should be changed." (A. J. Cook, reported in the "Daily Herald," 23/3/25.)

It is clear that what we have here, presenting itself to the British workers in the name of Marxism, and even daring to fortify itself further with most copious references to Lenin, is nothing but a typical reformist-pacifist, bourgeois farrago, without the slightest character of even a remotely elementary approach to a revolutionary programme or to Marxism-Leninism.

Not the programme is here significant, but the movement in the working-class which made it

necessary for its leaders to begin using a "left" manoeuvre like this programme. Where before the reformist leaders of the I.L.P. directly preached against Marxism, against class struggle, and against revolution, to-day they are compelled to cloak their policy in the name of Marxism, in the name of class struggle, and in the name of revolution, and even to invoke the name of Lenin, in order to maintain their hold on the ears of the workers and carry on their policy of deception. That is the measure of the bankruptcy of Labourism among the "left" workers, and of where the "left" workers are moving. And the movement of the "left" workers may be regarded as the precursor of the general change of front of the working-class of England.

The militant proletarian elements of the I.L.P., who have already broken with the Labour Party, who have declared their will to advance to a revolutionary programme and to Marxism, will undoubtedly find their way, through the experience of the struggle, through the sharpening of discussion and the development of their own class-consciousness to the Marxism of Marx and Engels and Lenin, to Communism. The Communist Party must help them in this. For England the advance from Labourism to Marxism means the advance to Communism; this is perfectly well understood by both rival camps, on both sides of the barricade. Step by step, ever more rapidly, the English working-class is advancing from Labourism to Communism. And when the stage is reached when ever more vast masses of the workers begin to come over to the platform of Communism, the Communist Party of Great Britain will grow into a mighty class party, which will embrace all the revolutionary class-conscious elements among the working-class in England and unite them in one disciplined revolutionary organisation, prepared to fight for power, for proletarian dictatorship.

R. PALME DUTT.

Publishers' Note

The publishers regret the inordinate delay in the publication of this issue, due to mechanical breakdown.

MARX AND WORKING-CLASS UNITY

ANDRE MARTY

THE trend of development of the class struggle in the period of deepest capitalist crisis is yet another clear proof to wide sections of the proletariat of the fallacy of the illusion that the working-class can expect any improvement of their position from "peaceful collaboration" with the bourgeoisie, as advocated many years by social-democracy. Vast masses of workers are being imbued with an understanding of the correctness of Marx's words: "The emancipation of the working-class must be the work of the working-class itself." The working masses are being convinced on the basis of their own experience, that the most serious obstacle to realising this historic task of the working-class is the scattered proletarian fighting front, and the lack of a common aim on the part of the working-class during its fights. The desire for unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie is spreading to broad sections of the workers, who have hitherto lent ear to the social-democratic practice of unity with the bourgeoisie, and hostility to the revolutionary workers. They now raise their voices for unity with these same revolutionary workers, in order, with their combined, unanimous forces, to restrain the capitalist advance and overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. The working-class masses are rejecting the "strategic recipe" of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, which proposes that two detachments of the one working-class should "advance separately and strike together." They want to march into the fight together, and not hinder their decisive struggle, or be beaten separately.

The problem of unity of the working-class in its intensifying class struggle against the bourgeoisie has now become one of the central questions of the international revolutionary movement. The pressure from the working masses who are striving for the unity of the working mass has forced even the most arrant reformist splitters, who sabotage the fight of the working-class, to pretend that they are zealous apostles of unity. Social-democracy in all countries is doing its utmost to throw the blame for a split in the working-class, during class battles, upon the "sectarian," "one-sided," "intolerant" Communists. "Bolshevik sectarianism," declares the leader of the "left"-wing of the French Socialist Party, Zyromski, "which brought about the split, still remains the chief obstacle to uniting the forces of the working class*." "The Communist International is nothing but a splitting organisation on an international scale," writes Schifrin, the Menshevik theoretician, of German social-democracy.†

The working-class was united until the Communists separated from social-democracy; therefore, the Communists must be made to reject their "exaggerations," their "dogmatism," and it will be then possible to set up the "old broad unity" by "peaceful agreement" between the Communists and Social Democrats—this is the somewhat simple social-democratic thesis. Vandervelde most significantly reminds us of the "unity" realised in the pre-war Second International. "There was a time," said he‡, "on the eve of the world war, when there existed international socialist unity, from the ultra-moderate English trade unions, from Henderson and MacDonald, to Lenin, to the most extreme representatives of revolutionary social-democracy." Masked subjection, behind centrist phrases, of the interests of the workers, who stand for class war, to the petty-bourgeois interests of opportunist collaboration with the bourgeoisie, inside the framework of the pre-war unity of the Second International—this is the "ideal of unity," by which Vandervelde, Friedrich Adler, Paul Louis and Co. want to draw the attention of the working masses from their joint struggle against the bourgeoisie. And, moreover, they talk in the name of Marxism, whose principles, they say, demand "unity" of this kind. Paul Louis, the leader of the "Proletarian Unity Party," the bourgeois fattened group of Communist renegades, demands, for example, "unity obtained in the light of Marxist principles" and interprets this to mean unprincipled amalgamation and unity of the Communists with the Social Democrats by way of diplomatic negotiations, round a green baize table, and the rejection of the united front struggle of the working masses against the bourgeoisie.

But is this the true road to the unity of the working-class as taught by the founders of scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels, the first mighty leaders and organisers of the Socialist working-class movement?

In the history of the international working-class movement, the Communists of the Third International were not the first to be accused of a "splitting mania" of "fanaticism," of a "craving for power" and intolerance towards other "also Socialist" tendencies. They share this fate with Marx and Engels. The Proudhonists and Bakuninists, the opportunists in the ranks of German social-democracy and the Possibilists in France, untiringly accused the gifted leaders of the "Communist League" and the International, both during their lifetime and after their death, of the very same sins; and Marx's and Engels' intolerance towards them was regarded as violation of the unity of the working-class. All the efforts of

* "Bataille socialiste," November, 1932.

† "Gesellschaft," January, 1933.

‡ "Europe Nouvelle," December 24, 1932.

social-democracy to depict Marx and Engels as the founders of the fetishism of unprincipled unity, of the kind to be found in the Second International of the pre-war period, come to grief against hard historical facts. Not the Bolsheviks and the Third International, but the Second International, long before the world war, flung all the traditions of Marx's leadership of the First International on the question of unity, and all the direct and unambiguous reminders of Marx and Engels on this question, into the dustbin.

Marx and Engels were sterling fighters for working-class unity. During the entire course of their lives, they waged a ruthless struggle, crowned with splendid results, against everything that was a hindrance to working-class unity in the class struggle of the proletariat. They untiringly fought against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences, which restrained the working-class from the class struggle, and the corporate and national limitations of those who, confused in their own narrow class interests and national prejudices, could not perceive the general class interests of the international proletariat; the sect which was for "reviving peace," which counterpoised their recipes promising bliss to the mass movement of the workers. For the struggle against capitalist rule and the influence of the democratic petty-bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, in order to overcome sectarianism and national limitations, they created the International Working Men's Association, the first organisation of international revolutionary working-class unity. They considered it of immense importance that the working-class should be united in its economic and political battles against the bourgeoisie.

"All efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the workers of different countries; " wrote Marx in the Preamble to the Constitution of the First International.

Marx and Engels fought implacably against sectarian "ultra-left" denial of working-class unity, against the rejection of the unification of the working-class mass, who had not reached a high level of class-consciousness. Communists are not splitters, but the organisers of the working masses in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. Whereas :

"a sect seeks the *raison d'être* of its existence in its *point d'honneur*, not in that which it has *in common* with the class movement, but in *the special talisman* (*besonderen schibboleth*) which makes it different from that movement,"*

the "Communist Manifesto" on the other hand, emphasises the fact that the Communists

"have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. . . . The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be reformer.

"They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."*

Therefore the Communists are in no way aloof from the partial interests of the working-class, but they always link them up with the common interests of the working-class as a whole, with the "interests of the future," with the revolutionary prospects of the movement; and subject the partial interests to the common interests of the whole working-class. Hence the fact that the Communists march forward and fight together, not merely with those sections of the working-class who share their Communist views, but also with all those workers who are more or less class-conscious, who more or less clearly orientate upon and participate in, the various forms of the "existing class struggle."

"I think," wrote Engels, referring to the experience of the First International, "that the whole of our practical activity has proved that the common movement of the working-class can be adhered to at all points along its march, without losing or concealing the principles of the working-class movement or even its organisation."†

Engels on no account was imagining any sort of unity between Communists and other tendencies in the working-class movement in the form of a compulsory "organisational bloc"; his idea was unity in the form of joint struggle against the class enemy, with the safeguarding of complete freedom of criticism as soon as the joint fight ended or the conditions of struggle were violated. His idea was that, as a general rule, there should be organisational independence for the class-conscious elements among the working-class.

Moreover, Marx and Engels never expected to realise unity even in those countries where unity among various groups and sects was an urgent matter of the day, where it was not a question, of course, of incongruous unity between petty-bourgeois and revolutionary tendencies as a result of negotiations and agreements on the part of the leaders, but was dependent upon "achieving" unity from below as the work of the masses, i.e., when the class-conscious ("independent") workers are given the parliamentary tribune from which they can influence the more backward sections of the workers.

In his letter to Sorge, on the position of the English movement, Engels wrote :

* "Communist Manifesto," Martin Lawrence, Ltd.

† Letter to Wishneshevsky, January 27, 1887.

* Marx's letter to Schweitzer, October 13, 1868.

"There is not the slightest chance of getting any sort of unity among the workers' leaders. But nevertheless the masses are moving forward, true, slowly, and the while fighting for consciousness, but nevertheless quite obviously. Things here will go as they did in France, and previously in Germany: unity will be won as soon as there is a certain number of independent workers in Parliament."*

Marx and Engels severely censored all sectarians who kept themselves aloof from the still non-revolutionary working masses under the pretext of "pure ideas" or even "faith" in Marxist doctrine, accepted as a dogma. It is impossible to overlook the ideological and political backwardness of wide working masses; it must be overcome by criticism, by the class-conscious elements in the working-class movement assuming the leadership in the process of joint struggle on the basis of the experiences of the working masses themselves.

Engels, arguing against the sectarianism of the American Socialists who neglected the class struggle in their zeal to safeguard the purity of the faith, wrote as follows to Wishneshevsky:

"The best way to find theoretical clarity of conception is to learn on your own mistakes, to learn wisdom at the expense of your own losses. And there is no other way for a mighty class."†

"Overlooking" the backwardness of the working masses has always been the source of sectarian denial of working-class unity; it was so not only during Marx's time. Lenin and Stalin, as pursuers of Marx's line of working-class unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, also fought against the idea of "overlooking" the backwardness of the reformist working masses, which at one time was advocated by Trotsky (on the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee) and the "ultra-lefts" in capitalist countries.

However, Marx and Engels were also valiant fighters against proletarian unity with the petty-bourgeoisie; they were in the front line of the struggle to separate the working-class from all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, groups and tendencies, which were trying inside the ranks of the working-class movement—frequently under the name of "Socialists"—to deaden the class struggle, to restrain the workers from the class struggle. Marx and Engels, interpreting working-class unity to mean unity in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, never refused to enter into an energetic struggle against all varieties of opportunism, of those who carried the influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie into the movement of the working masses on the pretext of maintaining "unity."

* Engel's letter to Sorge, May 12, 1894.

† Karl Marx and F. Engels: "Letters." Moscow edition, 1931, page 356.

The proletariat is not isolated from the remaining classes of bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie has at its command innumerable means of influencing separate sections of the working-class, and individual groups in the working-class movement. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence, inherent in the very essence of bourgeois society, is the greatest obstacle to working-class unity in the struggle for its genuine class interests. Consequently, Marx and Engels waged determined warfare during their whole lives to root out the agents of the bourgeoisie from the ranks of the working-class movement, to isolate petty-bourgeois tendencies from the working-class masses.

"In a petty-bourgeois country like Germany," wrote Marx and Engels in 1879 to the German Social Democrat leaders, these (bourgeois and petty-bourgeois) ideas are certainly justified, but only *outside* the social democratic working-class party. If these gentlemen want to form a social-democratic petty-bourgeois party, they have a perfect right to do so. Then we could negotiate with them to form a bloc, etc., under certain conditions. But inside the working-class party they are a foreign element.

"The break with them is only a matter of time."

Thus, in their epoch, when the petty-bourgeoisie still played a much more independent rôle than during the epoch of imperialism, Marx and Engels considered it possible to negotiate with petty-bourgeois tendencies on the question of the fight against the common enemy, but they categorically protested against "organised unity" with petty-bourgeois Socialists. On the other hand, when deciding upon tactics, they always took the degree of maturity of the masses who had come into the movement into consideration, and never refused to fight against opportunist leaders, for they considered that to isolate them was the first step necessary in raising the class-consciousness of the masses to a higher plane.

Engels, writing to Bernstein on November 11, 1884, in connection with the spread of mass social-democratic influence in the backward parts of Germany, said:

"We cannot bring the masses over to our side, if they do not gradually develop. Frankfurt, Munchen, Königsberg cannot become proletarian centres like Saxony, Berlin and the coalmining districts. Petty-bourgeois elements among the leaders will for a time find among the masses here just the background they have lacked up to now. That which for some has been so far a reactionary tendency may now be produced here, on a local scale, as an essential feature of progressive development. This would require a change in tactics, so that the masses would be led forward, and the worst leaders prevented from coming to the top."

The struggle against right and "left" opportunism as a form of foreign class influence in the ranks of the

working-class movement, and of the proletarian party, was considered an essential factor by Marx and Engels in connection with the maintenance of the class character of the working-class movement, the only means capable of facilitating working-class unity against the bourgeoisie. Therefore sentimental "considerations of unity" have never blunted Marx's and Engels's sharp criticism on two fronts.

They never glossed over a situation where a split in the party was inevitable, and were for unity only in so far as unity served the interests of the class struggle. They never made a fetish of unity, and a large part of the fight during their lifetime was fought to separate the working-class movement from other tendencies, was against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, right opportunist and sectarian policies, which, in one form or another, had become an obstacle to the joint struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie.

Engels, writing to Bebel on the split in the French Party between the Guesde supporters and the "possibilists" (28/10/1882), said :

"Unity is a fine thing while it is possible, but some things are more important than unity. He who for a lifetime has fought like Marx and I have, against fake socialists more than against anybody else (we looked upon the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever engaged in encounters with individual bourgeois)—will never be alarmed because the inevitable struggle has come upon us."

Marx and Engels mercilessly condemned opportunist utterances about unity at the expense of weakening the class struggle and the "licentious passion for fraternising with all those who declared their views to be Socialist." They declared that to advocate such unprincipled unity actually facilitated and camouflaged the split of the working-class in its class battles.

"We must not let ourselves be confused with shouts about 'unity,'" wrote Engels to Bebel. "It is just those who talk most about this slogan who are the chief incitors to splits ; for instance, the Bakunists to-day, the Swiss "Uties," who are the initiators of all the splits, and who talk of nothing so much as of unity. These unity fanatics are either mediocre, and want to mix all and sundry into one indefinite mass, which has only to be left for a while and the various elements thrown into one heap will come into more acute contradiction among themselves (in Germany you have an excellent example of this in the gentlemen who advocate conciliation between the workers and the petty-bourgeois) ; or else they are people who unconsciously (like, for example, Muhlberger), or consciously, want to falsify the movement. This is why these inveterate sectarians, mighty political mischiefmakers, and scoundrels, at times, drown all others in shouting for unity. We have never had so

much unpleasantness and trouble with anyone in our whole lives as with these noisy advocates of unity."*

Marx and Engels interpreted it as an essential dialectical process that *the working-class should be extensively united for class struggle, and should break determinedly with all elements representing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences, all the internal enemies of the working-class movement.* Unity against the bourgeoisie is impossible without separation from those tendencies which had become an obstacle in the process of development of the working-class movement, had become enemies of the class struggle.

In his letters, Engels more than once mentioned the dialectics of unity and splits.

"Incidentally, old Hegel said that the party which, having *made a split*, is able to withstand the split, has already proved in practice that its victory is assured. The movement of the proletariat inevitably progresses through different stages of development ; at each stage people are left behind who can go no further."

"Apparently," wrote Engels in another letter, "every working-class party in the large countries can develop only through internal struggles, as the dialectic laws of development dictate. The German Party became what it is in the fight of the Eisenachers and Lassallians, in which the actual fight itself played the most important rôle. Unity became possible only when the band of lumpen-proletarians, who had been moderately educated by Lassalle, as his weapons, had concluded their work."†

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies "conclude their work," i.e., become isolated from the masses in the process of class struggle, and this goes forward more quickly, the greater the mass of workers taking part in the struggle, and the more the masses free themselves from the influences of these tendencies on the basis of their own experience. Thus the united front becomes the necessary factor, in realising the exodus of the working masses from groups who have already played their part in the ranks of the working-class movement, and becomes the starting point for working-class unity on a higher plane.

Only from the viewpoint of this dialectic conception of working-class unity is it possible to understand the concrete position taken up by Marx and Engels on the questions of unity and splits, in the working-class movement of their time. The First International is a brilliant example of this. The International working men's Association set itself the task of uniting the scattered proletarian groups and sects for joint struggle and joint action ; and in the fire of this struggle sectarianism was overcome, the petty-bourgeois leaders of the sects were isolated, and the working-

* Letter to Bebel, June 20, 1873.

† Letter to Bernstein, October 20, 1882.

class was raised to a higher level of class unity. To achieve this end, Marx limited the practical tasks of the International to "points upon which the workers could directly agree and act jointly."* However, when the Bakuninist tendency became strong, and together with conditions created in the European working-class movement after the fall of the Paris Commune, threatened to convert the First International, under Bakunist leadership, into an obstacle to further class struggle, Marx unwaveringly preferred that the First International should retain its undivided proletarian character, even at the price of temporary ruin, rather than have unprincipled unity inside the International. On this subject Engels writes as follows :

"All kinds of good-for-nothings have attached themselves to the International. The sectarians already there have become bold and abused their affiliation to the International hoping that they would be allowed to commit enormous follies and low tricks. We would not stand this. Knowing full well that the bubble must burst some time or another, we tried not to let the catastrophe drag on, but to bring the International out of it pure and untainted. At The Hague the bubble burst. . . . Now the sectarian mischiefmakers are advocating conciliation and shout aloud that we are intractable, that we are dictators. Yet if at The Hague we had behaved compromisingly, if we had glossed over the maturing split, what would the consequences have been ? The sectarians, i.e., the Bakuninists, would have had additional time at their disposal to commit even greater follies and do even greater mischief in the name of the International ; the workers of the most advanced countries would have turned away in disgust, the bubble would not have burst, but would have gradually contracted as though pricked with a pin, and the coming Congress, that at which the crisis should have come, would have been converted into the meanest, most scandalous brawl since the whole principle had been sacrificed already at The Hague. Then would the International indeed have been ruined, ruined by 'unity.'"

After the downfall of the First International, Marx and Engels continued their energetic struggle both against the sectarian aversions of the Socialists to the non-Socialist working masses, and "cries on behalf of unity at any price" with petty-bourgeois tendencies. In England and in the United States, where the proletariat still had no independent Communist Party, where the bourgeoisie held considerable political and ideological influence over the working-class, Marx and Engels fought first and foremost against sectarianism, and for unity between

various sects and workers' groups inside one political party, independent of the bourgeoisie.

In Germany and France, where there already existed more or less Marxist, independent parties, Marx and Engels considered petty-bourgeois tendencies in the working-class movement, and unprincipled unity with "Socialist" representatives of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois interests, the chief danger. They consequently warned German social-democracy primarily against "glossing over contradictions by dissolving them in phrases" and against the consequences of uniting with opportunist, petty-bourgeois tendencies. In 1875 Marx and Engels warned the leaders of the Eisenach party against uniting with the Lassallians. When unity was, nevertheless, attained at the price of unprincipled concessions on the part of the Eisenachers, Marx and Engels assumed a hostile attitude towards them.

"We know how the actual fact of working-class unity is satisfying," wrote Marx in his famous letter to Bracke,** "but he is mistaken who believes that this momentary success is not bought at too high a price."

Four years later, the open activities of the opportunist Hechberg-Bernstein-Schramm group forced Marx and Engels to sharply raise the question of separating from these petty-bourgeois tendencies. From that time onwards Engels constantly reminded the German social-democratic leaders of the need to prepare for the inevitable break with the petty-bourgeois wing of the party.

"As soon as we have sufficient elbow-room again in Germany," wrote Engels to Sorge in 1885, "there will be a split and this will be to our advantage. A petty-bourgeois Socialist Party is inevitable in a country like Germany, where the petty-bourgeoisie, even more than historical rights, *keine Daten nicht hat.*"†

Engels saw clearly that the majority in the parliamentary fraction of the German, social-democracy was passing to the side of the bourgeoisie, and during the last year of his life he severely condemned all unprincipled "wailings about unity" which only created conciliatory tendencies to the opportunist Volmaar group which almost represented the usual type of popular party inside the Party.‡

In France the working-class movement developed in a different direction corresponding to the economic and social structure of the country. There was a split in the working-class party between the French Marxists, led by Guesde, and the Possibilists, who represented the opportunist tendency. Although Marx and Engels were well aware of Guesde's weak

* Letter to Bracke of May 3, 1875.

† Literally : "has no dates", i.e. no great historical traditions.

‡ Letter to Sorge, December 20, 1894.

* Marx's letter to Kugelman, October 9, 1866. See "Letters," Russian edition, p. 260.

points, they nevertheless made common cause with his party when it separated from the Possibilist minority.

"The long expected split has occurred in France" wrote Engels to Bebel (28/10/1882). "They are purely differences of principle as to whether the fight should be a class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or whether it is permissible to opportunistically renounce the class character of the movement and the programme, in cases where, more votes and more supporters could be obtained by doing so. Malon and Brousse were in favour of the latter, and thus they were for sacrificing the proletarian class character of the movement and made a split inevitable."

In 1893, when, as a result of successes won in the elections by the parties which called themselves Socialist, the parliamentary fractions, of all the Socialist Parties from Millerand to the Guesdists, united, Engels, who had no confidence whatever in this unprincipled unity, wrote to Sorge as follows on December 30, 1893 :

"Concentration is the slogan in France to-day, and I shall be glad if it does not also mean capitulation on the part of all the Socialists to the Millerandists, whose practical programme, without doubt, is considerably more radical than the Socialist."

The French Socialists did not take Engels' advice and the result was the disgraceful work of Millerand.

One of the two leaders of the International Working Men's Association—Engels—lived to see the birth of the Second International. He did everything in his power to ensure that the Second International should be formed under the hegemony of the revolutionary proletariat, and not under the leadership of the petty-bourgeois Possibilists ; that it should serve the interests of the class struggle, and not class conciliation. He fought a stubborn fight around the question of convening the First Congress of the Second International, against the Possibilists and the conciliators who wanted to unite the Possibilist and Socialist Congresses, in the latter of which the Marxists were playing the leading rôle. "The conciliation bubble in Paris has burst," Engels wrote joyfully to Sorge, after the unsuccessful effort to unite these parallel congresses. "Our sentimental conciliators, for all their expressions of friendship, deserve to get this hearty slap. . . . It will probably cure them for a time." However, Engels fought with the same energy for separation between the Second International and the anarchists, and welcomed the decision of the Brussels Congress of the Second International which excluded them, just as he had spoken in favour of a break with the German anarchist group headed by Most, and later in favour of the "youth" group separating from the working-class party. The fight on two fronts inside the working-class movement, which was untiringly waged by Marx and

Engels, proves that it is one of the most important factors of struggle against the bourgeoisie.

However, after Engels' death, the Second International entirely rejected Marx's viewpoint on the need for separating the working-class from petty-bourgeois elements and bourgeois agents. The unity which existed for the fifteen years before the imperialist war till 1914 inside the International, and which is so much praised to-day by Vandervelde and others, was built upon an absolute denial of Marx's principle of class unity, built upon a fetishism of unity, independent of whether unity serves the interests of the proletarian class struggle or not. This unity was not unity of the working masses for the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but it "subjected the interests of the proletariat to those of the petty-bourgeoisie *inside one party*" (Stalin). The centrists, who united with the revisionists, ministerialists, and liquidators under the slogan of unconditional unity of the working-class movement, were actually pursuing a policy of subjecting proletarian interests to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie. The contradictions were glossed over and the unity was false. The Bolsheviks alone fought determinedly and consistently in the spirit of Marx and Engels both in Russia, and in the International, to break this false unity, to break this bloc between proletarian and petty-bourgeois interests, and to separate the working-class from reformists and centrists. The unprincipled unity of the pre-war International, so valuable a weapon to Messrs. Vandervelde and Friedrich Adler, led to the "burgfrieden" (class peace) of August 4th, to the paralysing and breakdown of working-class resistance to the world imperialist war, to a split in the working-class in the post-war period into the Central, and the Western, European proletariat. The pre-war Second International was ruined by unity. Marx's "policy of a split" the consistent struggle of the Bolsheviks on two fronts, on the contrary, led to the realisation "from below" of practical unity among the decisive sections of the proletariat in Russia in their struggle against Tsarism and the bourgeoisie ; it led to the conquest of power by the proletariat. Following the road indicated by Marx towards working-class unity by means of splits, the Bolsheviks realised unity.

Under enormous pressure from the Socialist workers who are striving for a united front of struggle side by side with the Communists, a new manoeuvre of considerable dimensions is being adopted. The Social Democrats are now proposing to cease the "old quarrels," to forget the past and establish unity between the "two working-class parties" ; but at the same time they are sabotaging the united front of working-class struggle which is already approaching. The agreement between the Communists and Social Democrats of Hungary in March, 1919, and their unity on the platform of all power to the Soviets, despite the "organic unity," in spite of the common

platform, did not prevent the Hungarian Social Democrats from disorganising the Hungarian Soviet Republic from inside, and smashing the power of the Hungarian proletariat. And in 1922 social-democracy used the conference of the three internationals to adopt counter-revolutionary, extortionary manoeuvres to the Soviet Union, and for the purpose of new manoeuvres calculated to split the struggle of the international proletariat. But only a few weeks ago the German Social Democratic Party proposed that unity be realised, and at the same time, in the very same appeal, it rejected the proposal of the Communists concerning joint action in conducting a general strike against Hitler, and called upon the workers to "maintain order" and not to open fire "prematurely," thus clearing the way for the fascists. Social-democracy consistently subjects all "organic unity" of the working-class movement, and all "joint positions" occupied by workers' organisations, to the cause of deceiving the working-class and treacherously handing it over to the bourgeoisie. It wants to restore unhindered subjection of proletarian interests to bourgeois interests under the banner of unity. It wants to lead the proletariat to a new form of "class peace." It wants once more to paralyse the impending decisive proletarian struggle.

The Communist International advocates working-class unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The Communists of the Third International, like the Communists at the time of the "Communist Manifesto," "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole," and their policy does not lead to "splitting the working-class." They certainly are "one-sided" as regards the proletarian revolution and on behalf of proletarian dictatorship; but this is the only road indicated by Marx, to emancipation of the working-class *as a whole*, by the working-class. They certainly are "fanatically" in solidarity with the interests of the first proletarian State in the world. However, the fate of the Soviet Union, the stable fortress of Socialism, is insolubly linked up with the interests of the proletariat of all lands. They certainly violated the "class peace" advocated by the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agents. They certainly failed to safeguard "unity" with the Noske detachments, they certainly make sharp breaks with traitors to the interests of the working-class.

For the Communist International is leading the proletariat along the road to unity indicated by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

XIIth P L E N U M L I B R A R Y

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Resolutions and Theses 2d. 5cts. | Workers 2d. 5cts.
(Report by D. Z. Manuilsky, C.P.S.U.) |
| 2. "Prepare for Power." (The International Situation and the tasks of the sections of the Communist International) 4d. 15cts.
(Report by O. Kuusinen) | 5. "Fulfil the Decisions." (The C.P.s of France and Germany and the tasks of the Communists in the Trade Unions) 2d. 5cts.
(Report by O. Piatnitsky) |
| 3. "War in Far East." (The Danger of Imperialist War and Military Intervention in connection with the War which has broken out in the Far East) 2d. 5cts.
(Report by Okano, C.P. Japan) | 6. Great Britain, Ireland and America ... 2d. 5cts.
(Speeches by Gusev, Pollitt, Troy and an American Comrade) |
| 4. The Soviet Union and the World's | 7. XIIth Plenum Handbook (Propagandists' Guide to the decisions of the XII Plenum) 2d. 5cts. |

MARX, MODERNITY AND THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKER

KARL BREMER.

IF the impossible happened; if I were able to speak at the German Social-Democratic Congress, which is to take place at the end of March, as "co-reporter" to Mr. Rudolph Hilferding's report on Marx and Modernity, I should say something like this to the German social-democratic workers:

I am addressing the workers participating in this Congress, and not the leaders of social-democracy. Hundreds of thousands (even millions) of German workers, followers of social-democracy, are witnessing the advent to power of the national socialists, the wild havoc created by terror against the working class, and are asking themselves whether there were no means by which the working class could have avoided this experience; whether the policy of social-democracy is not to blame for all that has happened; and whether it would not be well to re-examine, and ponder over, the road that has been travelled which has led to the rule of fascism. These social-democratic workers are certainly quite capable of honestly and frankly looking the truth in the face and of drawing the necessary political conclusions from the situation which has been created. And the situation is one where their own leaders, now bankrupt, are having to conceal the traces of what they have said and done, at the same time, let it be said, continuing to do the same thing under a new mask.

The Communist workers, persecuted by the fascists and shot down from street corners, see in their struggle against fascism merely the continuation of the road along which they were travelling before. For them fascist dictatorship is nothing unexpected. When they constituted a mere handful in 1918, they said to the social-democratic workers: either the proletariat will use the defeat of the German bourgeoisie, the breakdown of State power as a result of military defeat and the November Revolution, in order to set up a working class government—proletarian dictatorship in the form of soviets—to deprive the bourgeoisie of the means of production and to organise socialist society; or the bourgeoisie, the landlords, the old officers, and the old bureaucracy will rise to its feet, will organise, will restore the apparatus of force, will take its bloody revenge for all the fright it experienced in the November days of 1918, and will create a régime of counter-revolution, reaction, exploitation, and persecution in Ger-

many, in comparison with which the Bismarck emergency legislation will seem a peaceful idyll. The world war and the victory of the Russian October Revolution opened the period of the downfall of capitalism; the bourgeoisie can endeavour to prolong the obsolete capitalist order and remain in power, only by binding the working class in chains, by setting up a régime of starvation and open fascist violence. The Communist workers do not have to deny their positions now. They have already prepared to meet the danger caused by the fact that social-democracy assisted to restore the power of the bourgeoisie. They have now only to close up their ranks, and to launch the struggle for a revolutionary united front from below against fascism with renewed activity; they have only to make their weapons still keener, weapons sharpened in 15 years of struggle. You, social-democratic workers, must understand what has happened, so that you can seriously fight to the end against the régime of barbarian fascist terror. We Communists are convinced that you will carry out this difficult task of reviewing the policy you have followed for many years; for we believe that the German working class, which was once the teacher of the International proletariat, cannot now submit to the yoke, cannot now become the slave of trustified capital, which has set up the power of the iron heel. To fight against this danger we must close up the ranks of the whole of the proletariat in a revolutionary united front of class struggle. But unity can be created only when the entire proletariat understands what has happened.

As I have already stated, the leaders of social-democracy, not only the German, but the entire Second International, are now compelled to make speeches which, whatever they may wish to the contrary, and however they mask them, nevertheless prove that they are bankrupt. Two points are set forth in their Manifesto of February 21, addressed in the name of the Bureau of the Second International to the workers of the world:

"The decisive struggle between fascism and the working class is on in Germany. Tremendous issues are at stake. If fascism should succeed in maintaining and consolidating its power in Germany, then the results of fifty years of proletarian class struggles will be lost together with German democracy, with the German Republic."

We shall not discuss the outward appearance of this German democracy here, or how it happened that it gave birth to the fascist monster which now threatens to swallow up the results of 50 years' struggle of the working class. We will just place the fact on record that the Second International, which always assured us that post-war "democracy" would lead to socialism, would grow into socialism, has now to recognise that this "democracy" has led to a social order which is a menace to fifty years' achievements of the working class. There is nothing surprising in the fact that these gentlemen, the leaders of the Second International, do not recognise that German fascism was able to come to power only thanks to the social-democratic policy. It is too much to ask people to bring in the death sentence against themselves. It is you who will bring in the death sentence against the Social-Democratic party, as soon as you understand wherein lies the treachery of social-democracy.

The second point of enormous importance which the Second International Manifesto recognises is expressed as follows:—

"While capitalism is throwing you into mass want and destitution, while it is organising the fascist bands against you, it is preparing the immeasurable disaster of a new war. We are already faced with the bloody fact of war in the Far East. But we are also faced with the danger that a situation will develop with growing speed in Europe which threatens to end in a new world war."

Why is it that this recognition of the danger of a fascist victory and the menace of a new war amounts to confirmation of the bankruptcy of international social-democracy? For the A.B.C. of Marxism allows us to foresee the danger of fascist victory, and that post-war imperialism gives birth to a new war, just as pre-war imperialism did. The point is just this, that the Second International buried all these ideas of Marx, denied them all, and put bourgeois ideas in their place. The chief theoretician of German social-democracy, Mr. Rudolph Hilferding, is addressing you on the subject of Marx and Modernity. It is not the first utterance since the war that he has made on this question. In 1924, in the first number of "Gesellschaft," founded by him, Mr. Hilferding wrote the following in an article entitled "Problems of our Times":

"In the economic sphere, the war and the post-war period have meant a considerable augmentation of the tendency towards concentration of capital. There has been a

mighty impetus in the growth of cartels and trusts. The period of free competition is coming to an end. Large monopolies are becoming the real masters of economy, the link with the banks is becoming stronger and stronger, and inside the banks, social capital is concentrated and at the disposal of the requirements of economy. The previously divided forms of industrial, commercial, and bank capital are now striving to unite in the form of finance capital."

And did Mr. Rudolph Hilferding call upon you to fight against the monopoly of trustified capital; did he call upon you to storm the citadels of the power of finance; did he say to you, as Marx did, that the hour has come to expropriate the expropriators? No! Mr. Hilferding drew quite different conclusions:

"This signifies the transition from capitalism and free competition to organised capitalism . . . Because of this there arises at the same time conscious order and guidance of economy. They are trying to overcome, on the basis of capitalism, the anarchy which was inherent in capitalism in the period of free competition."

And Mr. Hilferding sang hymns of praise to this conscious order, instituted by monopolist capitalism; he told you that with the domination of trustified capital, conditions of labour "would take on a more stable character, unemployment would be less menacing, and its results mitigated by insurance." Eight and a half million unemployed in Germany, forty million unemployed throughout the world—here, German workers, you have the proof of the blindness of leaders who have the insolence to call themselves, even now, the leaders of the proletariat, when they deny Marx and allow that the bourgeoisie can get rid of capitalist anarchy. Mr. Hilferding soothed you with the concessions which the bourgeoisie presented to you only because they feared the danger of Socialist revolution. Mr. Hilferding boasted about insurance for the unemployed, just as though it were commandments engraved in tablets of granite, although the bourgeoisie only expressed their readiness to give you insurance because it feared that you might deprive it of all it had. But Brüning, who "tolerates" social-democracy, in secret councils in which your leader Hilferding participated, had already begun to operate a systematic cut in unemployment relief, and Papen and Hitler are now finishing this robbery. To-day there are millions of workers who have not even a crust of bread, who do not even receive the miserable assistance which the bourgeoisie is still giving to

a section of the unemployed, to prevent the workers from making the revolution. But Mr. Hilferding did not want to see this, for he wanted you to look for help to "economic democracy," which is supposed to develop into "organised capitalism" with the assistance of social-democracy. Mr. Hilferding has not refused to "bring action to bear" on the development of society, God forbid! But his "action" amounts to helping the bourgeoisie to save capitalism by staging a fake struggle for "economic democracy." Monopolist capitalism was not socialism's last word, he said. It put forward the ideal of "economic democracy," which was to grow out of the present rule of the trusts. This slogan of economic democracy became the slogan of the entire German Social-Democratic party, and is expressed in the decisions of your party!

"The antagonistic basis of this organisation of economy, which is built upon conflicting interests, inevitably leads to a struggle. The more this organisation is broken down the more consciously economy is regulated, the more intolerable for the masses of producers is the usurpation of economic power and the social product by the owners of the concentrated means of production. The conscious regulation of economy comes into open contradiction, which can no longer be hidden, with the basis of private property, inherited from the previous epoch of unorganised capitalism. This contradiction is being removed by converting the hierarchically organised economy into an economy democratically organised."

How did Mr. Hilferding and social democracy want to fight its battle for the democratic conversion of monopolist capitalism, which would remove the contradiction between "the conscious regulation of economy" and "the basis of private property, inherited from the previous epoch of unorganised capitalism"?

This is how Mr. Hilferding answers:

"It is obvious that the institution of economic democracy is a colossal and complicated problem, which can be realised only in the course of prolonged historic processes: as economy becomes more and more organised by concentrated capital, it at the same time is *subjected more and more to democratic control.* (My italics.—K.B.) For, if the transition to political power from one class to another can be achieved in a comparatively short time, i.e., by means of revolutionary action, economics develop in the form of prolonged organic evolution."

"Economic democracy"! This is the key to the solution of the contradictions of monopolist

capitalism and the transition to socialism, and this economic democracy will find expression in the fact that capitalist production will become more and more subject to "democratic control." According to Hilferding, "democratic control" will mean that the workers, or representatives of workers' organisations, will be drawn into the leadership and control of industry, side by side with the capitalists. When this system of economic democracy is sufficiently developed, then it will be no longer difficult to solve the problem of a peaceful transition to power of the proletariat, and the abolition of private ownership of the means of production on the basis of modern "political democracy."

We shall refer to this peaceful transition to power a little later on; for the time being, a few words regarding economic democracy and democratic control of industry. The one aim of capitalist industry is capitalist accumulation by means of squeezing surplus value out of the worker. The capitalists can achieve this end only because they are the owners of the means of production, and their property is defended by the legislation and entire apparatus of force of the capitalist State. Is it conceivable that the capitalists would allow the workers themselves to take part in the guidance and control of industry, the one aim of which is to exploit the workers? This would be just as expedient, from the viewpoint of the capitalist, as to set an eagle on guard in a chicken run. The capitalists can allow workers on their consultative bodies, and do allow them, but only those workers whom they know in advance to be "workers' representatives" who have gone over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. True, the bolsheviks in Russia put forward the demand for workers' control at one time, but they put forward this slogan in a revolutionary situation, on the eve of the October revolution, as a means of mobilising the working masses for an armed uprising against the bourgeoisie.

"Social control" of industry can be instituted only by means of revolution. Mr. Hilferding wanted you to believe, however, that the workers have to be educated anew:

"Only in the course of this development do the producers gain the qualification and sense of responsibility which makes them capable of participating more and more in the guidance of industry; an essential factor of economic democracy is a new psychological outlook. Besides the school which the daily struggle provides, conscious educational work is also required. The problem of pedagogy is of cardinal importance in converting society."

Mr. Hilferding, the leader of German social-democracy, has put the problem of pedagogy in

the place of the problem of revolution. But as a pedagogue he has taken upon himself not only the task of raising the qualifications of the proletariat, and its sense of responsibility, but also that of influencing the capitalists in the pedagogical sense.

"Intellectuals of the Fabian Society once coined the phrase: 'We must educate our rulers.' This slogan must be realised."

Bourgeois democracy was to be the basis upon which Mr. Hilferding took it upon himself to educate the workers and capitalists. He is therefore triumphant when he says that "in the political sphere, war brought about the extension and consolidation of the democratic State system in the most important countries." But Marx taught us that the democratic system is only one of the forms of bourgeois rule. Therefore, Mr. Hilferding demands a "broader theory of the State." In his report at the Kiel Social-Democratic Congress, he refuted Marx's doctrine of the State:

"The definition given by Marx concerning the State is not the theory of the State to-day, because it refers to all State formations from the beginning of the existence of class society. And it is important for us to explain the points of difference in the development of the State."

Poor Marx talked himself into such generalities as that the State is the organ of domination of one class by another! In refuting this formulation of Marx, which he considers to be insufficient, Mr. Hilferding gives a concrete formulation of what he considers the German republic to be:

"Nowadays the will of the State is composed of the political will of individual citizens. The Reichstag is now not confronted with a cut-and-dried organisation of rulers; the latter have to appeal to the citizens every time in order to obtain confirmation of their rule in an ideological struggle with them."

Let the social-democratic workers, who failed to drive Mr. Hilferding off the platform at the Kiel Congress, now compare Marx's doctrine of the bourgeois State with the doctrine of this leader. This same "democratic State" which, according to the direct meaning of Mr. Hilferding's speech, is no longer the organ "of a cut-and-dried organisation of rulers"; whose "will," according to Hilferding, "is composed of the political will of individual citizens"; in which everything is decided, according to him, on the basis of a free "ideological struggle"; in which, despite "antiquated Marx," apparently no rôle is played by the fact that one of two classes has in its hands all the means of production, the army, the police, the courts, the schools and the overwhelming majority of newspapers—this same "democratic State" has now, without any break in its gradual

trend of development, and, moreover, with the active assistance of this same one-time minister, Hilferding, and his friends, *organically* grown into a fascist State headed by Hitler. Can Mr. Hilferding now dare to assert that behind Hitler's government there is no alliance of German trustified industrialists, who are demanding the abolition of tariff agreements; there is no organisation of junkers—the Landbund; there is no "Steel Helmet"—the organisation created by the landlords from participants in the war; there is no National-Socialist party with its storm troops—organised to smash the revolutionary workers; there is no Reichswehr and other "cut-and-dried organisations of the rulers"; that German fascism cannot smash the proletariat with fire and sword, and get weapons and money from "organised capitalism" for the purpose; that Mr. Hitler has to "appeal to his citizens every time in order to obtain confirmation in an ideological struggle"? The social-democratic workers, who have fallen under the bullets of the fascist hirelings, have an opportunity of learning by their own experience the true meaning of the "ideological struggle" which, according to Hilferding, is all that the ruling classes require.

In rejecting Marx's theory of the State and putting in its place the foulest doctrine of bourgeois democracy, the doctrine of a State above all classes, which is always used to deceive the working class, Mr. Hilferding fully completed the picture.

"After our German experience in 1918, and especially after the Russian experience, the use of the forces of class struggle—I speak of the use of real violence: firearms and cold steel—amounts no longer to a transitory putsch, but means a prolonged, extremely violent period of civil war, demanding extraordinary sacrifices. When the basis of democracy is destroyed, we are on the defensive and cannot choose; then we have to use all possible means. But not one socialist would say: socialism is nothing to me if I cannot use force to achieve it. I quote here the words of Otto Bauer: 'We shall not use this prescription, for we know that there is no greater obstacle in the way of socialism than civil war.'"

Mr. Hilferding demanded that the social-democratic workers should deny the revolution, for, firstly, democracy presumably presents all the measures necessary for "educating" the capitalists, which measures can force them to agree to create economic democracy. Civil war is not only unnecessary, but would be an obstacle in the way of convincing the capitalists and creating socialism. All Mr. Hilferding's subterfuge about being ready to use force if the enemy destroys the

foundation of democracy amounts to nothing, for from his whole conception it is inconceivable why the ruling classes, who have agreed with Mr. Hilferding to convert monopolist capitalism into economic democracy and hold soul-saving ideological talks with the "citizens," should suddenly open fire from machine-guns. Moreover, if civil war is a stumbling-block in the way of realising socialism, then how can a socialist, like Mr. Hilferding, take the road of civil war? And Mr. Hilferding, in the very same speech, said "If the State power of the proletariat comes as the result of civil war, then we, as socialists, will find ourselves in an extremely difficult position." *It is not surprising that Mr. Hilferding, to avoid this difficult position, says that "Bolshevism is a misfortune"* and calls upon the social-democratic workers to throw aside all the nonsense of Marx's teachings, the teachings which Frederick Engels, arguing with petty-bourgeois socialists in 1846, who were demoralising the German artisans living in Paris, formulated thus:

1. To defend the interests of the proletarians as against those of the bourgeoisie;
2. To realise this by abolishing private ownership and putting in its place social ownership;
3. To recognise no other means of realising these aims, except a violent *democratic* revolution."

Mr. Hilferding might have seized on Engels' words about the "democratic revolution," in order, as has been done more than once by the social democrats, to use the expression democratic revolution in opposition to the proletarian revolution which sets up proletarian dictatorship. But this was stopped long ago in arguments with Kautsky, who was denounced for making no difference between bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy and who, in consequence, now deems it necessary to imagine that under the proletarian dictatorship there is no democracy whatsoever. Therefore, for Mr. Hilferding, all this is nonsense—"this nonsensical formula to which we have been adhering for so long, is a real misfortune. We must get rid of it, once and for all." And German social-democracy got rid of this nonsense. In the Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx taught you, German workers, and taught the whole international proletariat, that:

"between the capitalist and the Communist social order lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. To this there would correspond a political period of transition, when the State could be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

And so that no doubt should be left in anyone's mind as to what the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat really is, Engels, the closest friend and collaborator of Marx, wrote to your leader, August Bebel, on March 28th, 1875, as follows:

"And since the State is merely a transitory institution, which is used in the struggle, during the revolution, in order to suppress the enemy by force, any talk about a free, national State is simply nonsense; while the proletariat continues to use the State, it does so not in the interests of freedom, but to suppress its enemies. And as soon as there is any opportunity of talking about freedom, then the State will cease to exist as such."

This mighty doctrine of Marx and Engels, which calls upon the workers to fight for power by revolution, to organise a State based on proletarian dictatorship to suppress the enemy—this mighty doctrine is thrown overboard as nonsense by the leaders of German social-democracy, and in its place we find the miserable doctrine of the renegade Kautsky, who in 1922 wrote the following in his "Proletarian Revolution and its Programme":

"Between the epochs of the purely bourgeois State, and the democratic State directed by the proletariat, there lies a period of the conversion of the one into the other. In the political transition period corresponding to it, the government, as a general rule, will take the form of a coalition government."

Social-democratic workers! Under the influence of your leaders, you have unwittingly denied the doctrine of Marx of proletarian dictatorship and the violent suppression of the capitalists, and have allowed yourselves, for many years, to be tied to the wheel of a government, in coalition with the bourgeoisie, which hoped in this way, first of all to strengthen democracy by using the "best" sections of the bourgeoisie, and then afterwards, with their assistance, to move forward to socialism and avoid civil war. You can now see for yourselves in practice all the consequences of this policy. You have before you a coalition government of Hugenberg, Hitler and Papen, a coalition government of reactionaries of all shades, representatives of the landlords and the Rhine-Westphalian iron and coal kings, a government of the old bureaucracy and the Kaiser Wilhelm generals. And the aim of this government is to smash the workers' organisations by means of bloody terror, to create an empire of the most savage exploitation, the most barbarian arbitrariness. All the preceding coalition governments, in which your party participated, have given birth to this government. Is it not true that the Ebert-Scheidemann government shot down the Berlin

workers in January, 1918, to safeguard the convening of the constitutional assembly? It is not true that it organised white-guard bands to train the leaders of the storm troops for bloody deeds and to smash the revolutionary workers? Is it not true that in 1923, on the strength of paragraph 48 of the Weimar constitution, it gave full powers to General Von Seckt, the Commander of the Reichswehr? Is it not true that your police-presidents have made the Red Front Fighters illegal, the militant organisation which fights against fascism, and thus left the way open for the fascist storm troops to grow and develop? Is it not true that the Muller government was the first to begin cutting down all forms of unemployed workers' benefits, and is it not true that the Brüning government was the outcome of the Muller government, and that it was supported by social-democracy as the "lesser evil"? Is it not true that social-democracy called upon you to vote for Hindenburg to prevent Hitler coming to power? Now that Hindenburg has called Hitler to power, when the storm troops of the national-socialists are smashing not only the Communist workers, but you social-democratic workers as well, because they know that you also do not want to become the unemployed slaves of capital, now you must be men enough to admit that Marx and his doctrine of the revolution of the dictatorship are living, and that all that your party has taught you ever since the war is dead, and is nothing but a millstone round your necks. Either you will throw this off and unite once more under the banner of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, under the banner of revolutionary, proletarian, dictatorship, under the banner of struggle for this dictatorship, or you will remain the slaves of fascism. There is no third way. Without this all appeals for struggle against fascism are not worth a dime. If you, social democratic workers, cannot understand that there is no other way of conquering fascism except by using the revolutionary violence of the proletariat against the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie, by smashing its State organisation with an iron fist, by creating a united, revolutionary, front with the Communist workers in order to set up proletarian dictatorship, a workers' and peasants' Soviet Government, then the fascists will grind you under their iron heel.

Social-democracy has betrayed you into the hands of German fascism, having first of all taken you off your guard, having first of all assured you that bourgeois democracy is your own indomitable achievement, and that this democracy will guarantee you victory. In this way your leaders betrayed you into the hands of imperialism, while preparing for a new war. Now they are shouting

about the danger of war which threatens the Far East and Europe; now they call upon you to resist in words, but at the same time they remain silent as to the means to be used in order to offer resistance. In their appeal to you on the menace of war, they strive at the same time to hide up their traces, to gloss the fact that they also helped imperialism to prepare the world imperialist war and anti-Soviet intervention, just as its true son, fascism, helped to forge the chains that fetter you now. The Second International appeal says that "The Socialist and Labour International has never neglected its duty of warning against the threatening calamities and carrying on a real struggle against war and war preparations." The social-democratic workers cannot but know that these are lies from beginning to end. The German social-democratic workers cannot fail to know that Japanese social-democracy—a section of the Second International—is on the side of Japanese imperialism, which has seized Manchuria, a country as big as France and Germany together, a country with a population of 30 million. And the German social-democratic workers cannot fail to know that German social-democracy voted for all the expenditure in connection with the Reichswehr, that it voted credits for building new cruisers. The German social-democratic workers cannot fail to know that French social-democracy constantly votes for the war budget in France, cannot fail to know that the British Labour Party, having been twice in power, both times built up, consolidated and developed the English army and the English fleet. No subterfuges, no shouting, can lift the responsibility off the shoulders of social democracy for the part it has played to prepare for the war danger which now confronts us.

In helping the imperialists to prepare for a new world war, social democracy did all it could to hide it all from you. It built up a whole theory to prove that imperialism has ceased to threaten the world with war. In the article already mentioned in the "Gesellschaft," Rudolph Hilferding wrote:

"Is it not true that war is the essence of capitalism itself? Is it not true that the strivings of capital to expansion lead to violent outbursts of struggle on the part of the capitalist powers for domination on the world market? In a word, is it not true that in capitalist society there is no other policy of peace, but the struggle for socialism?"

And, replying to his own question, Hilferding declares that the doctrine of Marxism to the effect that capitalism gives birth to wars is now obsolete.

"Capitalist economy," writes Hilferding, "knows two ways of achieving its end—making profits—through the ever-increasing concentra

tion of capital: either by overcoming a weaker rival by competition, or by uniting with a stronger rival into a group with common interests. The more developed the scale of capitalist production, the higher the share of constant capital, the more concentrated the banks and the closer their link with industry—the more devastating the action of competition, the greater the losses it brings to all concerned, the more uncertain its outcome, the more competition is supplanted by agreement. The aim — increased profits—remains the same, but the methods are changed, the second method is more economical and incomparably more valid.”

Post-war imperialism, according to Hilferding, substitutes the method of agreement for that of war, for “the last war and its consequences created the psychological conditions which convinced both the masses and the ruling strata that a new war, both in the economic and the social sense, would be infinitely more disastrous than any victory.”

When he awakened the vigilance of the proletariat in this way, Hilferding was not speaking for himself, but in the name of the entire Second International. In 1925 he spoke at the Marseilles Congress of the Second International, reporting on the question of the war danger, and he declared:

“The comparison then (before the war) — capitalism is war, socialism is peace—is not sufficient now.”

Now we have the League of Nations. “The sovereignty of the individual State must be included in, and subject to, the sovereignty of the sum total of all nations.” This says that individual States are left without the right to declare war; and so, praising the League of Nations, Rudolph Hilferding declares:

“And so I say, that with all the criticism of the League of Nations, we are in favour of the League of Nations institution, we recognise that this institution will improve as the proletariat and the working class movement in all countries become successful. The policy of the League of Nations is a function of our own policy, our policy of class struggle, a function of the force with which we shall be able to gain victory for our ideas in individual countries. We must develop the policy of the League of Nations. Now our formula is victorious: security, courts of arbitration, disarmament.”

There is no necessity of extensive proofs here about how Hilferding, the leader of German social-democracy, deceived the working class when he declared that the League of Nations is capable of guaranteeing disarmament and the safety of the peoples, and is desirous of doing this. You can

find the answer to these lies in the Second International's own Manifesto, which declares:

“The Disarmament Conference has dragged out fruitlessly for a whole year. The European governments, armed to the teeth, are facing each other as gigantic military camps welded into powerful alliances. There is rising an even more serious danger that the Conference will lead not to disarmament but will become a pretext for new armaments.

“The fascist onslaught puts nationalist military forces at the head of the nations. Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Pilsudski in Poland, Horthy in Hungary, the royal dictatorship in Jugoslavia, open and concealed fascist dictatorship in all the Balkan countries—all are preparing to turn their faces towards the external enemy with the forces on which they rely inside their countries, and once more to convert Europe into a battlefield.”

In these words the Second International Manifesto, in spite of itself, confirms the fact, in black and white, that your leaders helped world imperialism to prepare for the new war; for if they had not assured you that imperialism has forsaken all its military tendencies, if they had not tried to convince you that the League of Nations can bring about disarmaments, then would you not have fought against the growing war danger?

But this Manifesto, which represents a composite part of the big manoeuvre which is being undertaken at present by the Second International, on account of the increased indignation of the social-democratic working masses, and their growing desire to enter into a united front of struggle with the Communists, still continues to deceive you. The Manifesto hides the fact from you that war is now being prepared not only by the fascist governments enumerated therein, but also by the so-called “democratic State” governments.

Social-democratic workers! Fifty years ago the most gifted son of the German people, Karl Marx, the teacher and leader of the struggle for emancipation of the international proletariat — breathed his last. Marx, the mighty founder of scientific socialism, the creator of a mighty scientific doctrine, which arms the whole world proletariat for the struggle for emancipation, always followed your struggle with great love and attention, and gave guidance to it. Before 1848 he spent many nights with the German artisan workers in Paris, training them for the class struggle. As soon as the storm of revolution broke over Germany, he hurried to Cologne to fight in the ranks of the proletariat. Banished from his fatherland by victorious counter-revolution, he created an illegal workers' organi-

sation—the “Communist League”—which prepared the German proletariat for the new struggle. He taught them to give their support to the then existing radical petty-bourgeois democracy in its struggle against the feudal landlords and against the liberal bourgeoisie. But at the same time he taught them that radical petty-bourgeois democracy would inevitably betray the proletariat, and that the proletariat should be prepared for independent struggle in order to realise socialism. When, many years later, Ferdinand Lassalle organised the “German Workers’ Association,” and led it with his opportunist policy of refusing to fight for the republic, and of entering into an agreement with Bismarck, when he substituted the fight for socialism by that for State subsidies for co-operatives, Marx and Engels fought hard against this defamation of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, against this opportunist policy which threatened to wreck the revolutionary movement of the young German proletariat. When later Liebknecht and Bebel organised the “Eisenachers” against the Lassalle group, and fought against the Bismarck régime and for socialism, Marx and Engels maintained a constant correspondence with them, and fought against the ideological dependence of the young social-democratic party upon the south German petty-bourgeoisie and against petty-bourgeois illusions about the State, and put forward the programme of proletarian dictatorship, of revolutionary socialism. When legislation was passed against the Socialists, and a section of the German social-democratic leaders from among the petty-bourgeoisie tried to hide from Bismarck’s attacks, and capitulated to them, refusing to carry on the revolutionary struggle by means of revolutionary force, Marx and Engels waged a determined struggle against them, too; they strongly criticised Liebknecht, Kautsky and others also for their concessions to the opportunists, and threatened to make a public statement, removing all responsibility from themselves for the foul policy of subservience to the enemy. In letters to Bebel, Marx and Engels put the question quite frankly of the need for a split with the opportunists, the need for organisational and political preparation for this split, and explained that it was now only a question of fixing a date for the split. For Marx and Engels there was not the slightest doubt that all the forces of counter-revolution would be mustered around “true democracy” during the period of revolutionary crisis.

After the death of Marx and Engels, the leaders of social-democracy each year moved farther and farther away from the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels, each year made a stronger alliance with the open opportunists — an alliance

with those, with whom Marx and Engels considered a break absolutely necessary, as an essential factor of the revolutionary policy of the proletariat. You can now see for yourselves, in actual practice, what was the result of the policy of alliance with counter-revolutionaries. It led to the degeneration of the leadership of social-democracy, and violation of all its promises to fight against the imperialist war, and to use the world imperialist crisis for the purpose of fighting for socialism; it betrayed you into the hands of imperialism, drove you on to the imperialist battlefield. This policy led to the fact that after the war, when the bourgeoisie of the world, weak from the strain of the war, was made to shake before the revolutionary proletariat, when the proletarian revolution was victorious in the U.S.S.R., when in Germany the fleet mutinied, the army was routed and the proletariat revolted, your leaders were concerned with one thing alone: how to throttle the revolution, how to help the bourgeoisie to restore capitalist order. Thirty thousand workers paid for this policy of social-democracy with their lives. You, social-democratic workers, did not actively resist this policy, for you allowed yourselves to be deceived with promises that by means of “democracy” the social-democratic party would bring you to victory, peacefully, slowly and steadily, without any of the sacrifices demanded by the proletarian revolution. Now you see the results of this social-democratic policy. Now this policy has led only to the danger of the victory of fascism in Central Europe, and to the gigantic danger of a new world war. And you know the results of this policy in England as well. It has meant that the Labour Party, which has twice been in power, now feebly lisps incoherent murmurings against the triumphal victory of the Conservative party, the party of finance capital, while its erstwhile leaders—MacDonald and Snowden—head the “national” Conservative government.

The policy of denying the doctrine of Marx and cringing to the bourgeoisie led to the workers being cut down on the battlefields of the world war, and to their defeat after the war. The fruits of this policy lead up to the form of fascist dictatorship which we have in Germany to-day, the fruits of this policy are expressed in the growing danger of war.

The younger brother of the European proletariat—the Russian proletariat—did not stray from the doctrine of Marx; on the contrary, under Lenin’s guidance it was educated and trained in the light of true Marxism. The Bolshevik party, under Lenin’s leadership, taught the workers to fight in alliance with the toilers, not only for their immediate interests, but for their basic interests, for socialism. The German workers to-day should

regard the way in which the fascists are successfully mobilising a section of the peasants and poor town folk against them with alarm. The German workers have lived to see a disgrace like this, when, as a result of the coalition between social-democracy and the rich bourgeoisie (which has thrown all the burden of its régime upon the workers and the town and village petty-bourgeoisie), the agents of trusted capitalism and its fascist hirelings have deceived the petty-bourgeoisie with promises to improve their position, and are able to call their policy of capitalist exploitation by the name of Marxian policy. They lie. The policy operated by social-democracy was a policy which denied Marxism, which betrayed Marxism and therefore betrayed the interests not only of the workers, but of the vast masses of town and village poor. But the very fact that it has been possible to operate a policy of capitalist exploitation and call it the Marxian policy only goes to prove to what a disgraceful condition German social-democracy has reduced the German workers.

The Russian workers, having driven the opportunists from their ranks, were able, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, and on the basis of Marxist-Leninist doctrines, to take over the reins of power. They have held this power for 15 years in their iron grip; they defended it against the attacks of the armies of 14 States; they forced France, England, America and Japan to forsake their attempts at intervention; without the assistance of foreign capital, they have been able to build up a huge socialist industry, which gave them all that was necessary to reconstruct agriculture on socialist lines. They have done all this because they took the road shown them in the doctrines of Marx, because they threw aside all attempts to put the bourgeois concessions offered them by reformism in the place of Marxism, and because, guided by Lenin and Stalin, they developed the doctrine of Marx to changed conditions, to the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, they raised this doctrine to a higher stage, and found in it an indispensable weapon for use in all the most complicated questions of struggle. To-day, on the 50th anniversary of Marx's death, your ruling classes may declare a

crusade against Marxism, may close down the last Marxist schools in Berlin, the centre of the proletarian movement. But in the late Tsarist Empire—now the Soviet Union—tens of millions are being educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Marx's doctrine, in the hands of its true disciples, the Bolsheviks, has become a weapon of gigantic force.

Social-democratic workers of Germany! Let the bloody experiences that you have passed through during the last 15 years, and the defeats which have fallen to your lot when you allowed yourselves to be led from the Marxist road, teach you that there is no other road to victory but the road shown by Marx. Only under the banner of Marx and Lenin, under the banner of the Comintern, can the world proletariat be victorious. Only by marching under this banner can you resist the attacks of fascism, and go forward to the struggle for socialism. Only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism can there be any proletarian unity. When the leaders of social-democracy bewail the disunity of the working class, their tears are crocodile's tears of hypocrisy and deceit, for they know full well that they themselves did away with Marx's doctrine, in order to clear the way for a coalition with the bourgeoisie. But the coalition with the bourgeoisie is possible only at the expense of the vast masses of proletarians, at the expense of the interests of the town and village poor; and therefore any coalition with the bourgeoisie inevitably leads to a split in the working class. This split can be overcome by giving up the theory and practice of collaboration with the bourgeoisie once and for all, and by returning to the road of the revolutionary class struggle, which must end in proletarian dictatorship. This road is closed to your leaders, for they are demoralised to the utmost by their policy of bartering with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat; but this road is open to you, to the social-democratic workers. You have only to correct your mistake, you have only to return to the doctrine which once made the German proletariat the vanguard of the whole international proletariat, you have only to unite with the Communist workers, and the victory of the proletariat is assured.

INDEX FOR 1932

AUTHORS.

- | No. | | No. | |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 4/5. | Aki. Japanese Imperialism's Predatory War on China. | 11/12. | Lensky, V. New Manoeuvres of Polish Social Democrats. |
| 13. | Aki. Social Fascism in Japan (Part I.). | 16. | Lensky, V. The Main Link of the Revolutionary Upsurge. |
| 15. | " " " " (Part II.). | 19. | Lensky, V. Germany and Poland — Central Points of the Revolutionary Front. |
| 17/18. | " " " " (Conclusion) | 16. | Madyar, L. The World Economic Crisis. |
| 13. | Assov. The Fourth expedition of Koumingtan against Chinese Red Army. | 1. | Martynov, A. How Lenin Fought in the Era of the First Revolution. |
| 6. | L.A. Struggle against the export of munitions. | 2. | Martynov, A. How Lenin Fought in the Era of the First Revolution (Part II.). |
| 20. | Bell, T. Struggle of the Unemployed in Belfast. | 4/5. | M.M. The C.P.G.B. in the Struggle Against Social-Fascism. |
| 13. | Bever, O. Party Worker, No. 6. | 9. | M.M. Hindrances to Factory Work in England. |
| 14. | " " Struggle against Imperialist War. | 6. | Manuilsky, D. Z. Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis. |
| 14. | Bratkovsky, J. Poland—Instigator of Imperialist War. | 17/18. | Manuilsky, D. Z. U.S.S.R. and World Proletariat. |
| 3/14. | Buchartzev, D. Forced Manoeuvres of the Second International. | 17/18. | Manuilsky, D. Z. The End of Capitalist Stabilisation. |
| 7. | Burns, E. Britain's Transition to Protection. | 14. | Martynov, A. Anti-War Work of the C.P. of France. |
| 6. | Dietrich, P. Second International and the War in China. | 10. | Miller, K. Rejection of the Gold Standard in England. |
| 19. | Ercoli, C. Concluding Speech to XII. Plenum. | 1. | Nauman, R. Contradictions of Capitalism in the Light of the Credit and Valuta Crisis. |
| 13. | Frumkin. Party Leadership of Y.C.L. | 11/12. | Perevosnikov, S. Lessons of Ruhr Miners' Struggle, 1931-1932. |
| 4/5. | Gerhardt. Plenum of C.C. of C.P.G.B. | 8. | Piatnitsky, O. Bolshevisation of C.P.S. |
| 8. | " " Events in Ireland. | 9. | " " " (Part II.). |
| 19. | Gottwald. Concluding Remarks (XII. Plenum Discussion on Economic Struggles). | 17/18. | Piatnitsky, O. Work of C.P.s of France and Germany. |
| 10. | Gusev. The End of Capitalist Stabilisation and Basic Tasks of British and American Sections of C.I. | 20. | Piatnitsky, O. Tasks of Communists in the T.U. Movement. |
| 16. | Grunberg, A. Yablonsky's Theory of Spontaneity. | 17/18. | Pollitt, H. C.P.G.B. in the Fight for the Masses. |
| 11/12. | Ivanov. Anglo-American Naval Rivalry. | 19. | Pringle, J. Situation in U.S.A. |
| 4/5. | Knovin. The Seventeenth Conference of C.P.S.U. | 14. | Rakhomiagi, R. Anti-War Work and Tasks of Sections of the Y.C.I. |
| 16. | Kuchumov, VI. Yablonsky's Theory of Spontaneity. | 16. | Rol. Bourgeois Revelations on the War of the Future. |
| 14. | Kun. Bela. In Memory of the Hungarian Comrades. | | |
| 15. | Kun. Bela. August 1st. | | |
| 6. | Kuusinen. Lessons of the English Elections. | | |

AUTHORS—continued.

No.		No.	
7.	Serebryansky. Comrade Stalin's Letter.	15.	Tsjrul, J. How the Self-Criticism Campaign is Conducted in C.P., U.S.A.
8.	" " " (Part II.).	15.	Tsagarja. On the Border of the First and Second Five-Year Plans.
8.	Spectator. Last Agricultural Census in U.S.A.	2.	Willner, S. Some Lessons from Latest Miners' Strike.
13.	Shields, J. J. T. Murphy's Desertion.	11/12.	Weber, O. Revolutionary Underground Work.
15.	" " C.P.G.B. and T.U. Activity.	16.	Williams. The Veterans' Movement in U.S.A.
13.	Sinani. June Events in Chile.	16.	Yablonsky. Current Link of Mass Work of C.P.s.
7.	Terentyev. Contradictions on Pacific Coast.		
20.	Thälmann, E. Concluding Remarks on Economic Struggles.		
4/5.	Tsjrul, J. C.P.G.B. at Crossroads.		

SUBJECTS

No.	COMINTERN.	No.	XII. PLENUM.
1.	Organise Counter-Attack of the Proletariat.	17/18.	Plenum of Preparation of Direct Battles for Power.
2.	Struggle Against the Provocateur.	19.	End of Capitalist Stabilisation and Economic Struggles.
3.	50th Birthday of O. Piatnitsky.	19.	End of Capitalist Stabilisation and Basic Tasks of British and American Sections.
4/5.	Ideological Mistakes in the Fulfilment of the Decisions of XI. Plenum.	19.	Concluding Remarks (Ercoli).
7.	Stalin's Letter and Purging of C.P.'s of Social-Democratic Relics.	19.	" " (Gottwald).
8.	" " " " (Part II.).	20.	" " (Thälmann).
8.	Bolshevisation of C.P.s	20.	Tasks of Communists in the T.U. Movement.
8.	Comrade Li-Kwei (Obituary).		
9.	Bolshevisation of C.P.s (Part II.).		
10.	Manoeuvres of Social-Democracy.		
11/12.	Revolutionary Underground Work.		
11/12.	Against Opportunist Legalism.		
13.	Party Leadership of Y.C.L.		
13.	J. T. Murphy's Desertion.		
14.	Greetings to Clara Zetkin.		
14.	Forced Manoeuvres of Second International.		
15.	August 1st—July 20th.		
15.	August 4th—July 20th.		
15.	In Memory of the Hungarian Comrades.		
16.	Bolshevik Cannonade Against Opportunism.		
16.	The Main Link of the Revolutionary Upsurge.		
16.	The Current Link of the Mass Work of the C.P.s.		
16.	Comrade Yablonsky's Theory and Tactics of Spontaneity.		
16.	Chronicle. Party Structure.		
			COUNTRIES.
			<i>Canada.</i>
		4/5.	The Party Organiser.
			<i>Chile.</i>
		13.	The June Events in Chile.
			<i>Czecho-Slovakia.</i>
		11/12.	Example of the Miners' Strike in
		11/12.	The Miners' Strike in Czecho-Slovakia and its Lessons.
			<i>France.</i>
		9.	The VII. Congress of the C.P. of France.
			<i>Germany.</i>
		10.	Situation in Germany.
		13.	"Der Parteiarbeiter" No. 6.
		17/18.	Work of C.P. of Germany.
		19.	Germany and Poland—Central Points of of the Revolutionary Front.
		20.	C.P. of Germany Takes the Offensive.

SUBJECTS—continued.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>No.
11/12. Lessons of Ruhr Miners' Struggle.
<i>Great Britain.</i>
4/5. C.P.G.B. at the Crossroads.
4/5. C.P.G.B. in Struggle Against Social-Fascism.
4/5. Plenum of C.C. of C.P.G.B.
17/18. C.P.G.B. in the Fight for the Masses.
6. Lessons of English Elections.
15. C.P.G.B. and T.U. Activity.
9. Hindrances to Factory Work in England.
<i>India.</i>
10. Open Letter to Indian Communists.
3. Brailsford. "Rebel India."
<i>Ireland.</i>
20. Events in Ireland.
20. Struggles of the Unemployed in Belfast.
<i>Japan.</i>
7. Situation in Japan and the War in China.
13. Social-Fascism in Japan.
15. " " "
17/18. " " "
<i>Poland.</i>
11/12. New Manoeuvres of Polish Social-Fascists.
14. Poland—Instigator of Imperialist War.
<i>Spain.</i>
3. The Unfulfilled Tasks of the Spanish Revolution.
<i>U.S.A.</i>
2. Some Lessons of the Latest Miners' Strike.
2. Last Agricultural Census in
15. How Self-Criticism Campaign is Carried Out in
16. The Veterans' Movement in</p> | <p>No.
19. End of Capitalist Stabilisation and Economic Struggles.
19. Situation in the U.S.A.
19. End of Capitalist Stabilisation and Basic Tasks of British and American Sections.

LENIN.
1. How Lenin Fought in the Era of the Democratic Revolution.
2. " " " " (Part II.).

U.S.S.R.
2. Results of 1931 and Prospects of 1932 in.
4/5. Seventeenth Conference of C.P.S.U.
9. What Assassination of Doumer Revealed.
9. Pokrovsky. Michael Nikolaevich (Obituary).
15. On the Border of First and Second Five-Year Plans.
17/18. U.S.S.R. and World Proletariat.
19. World Historical Importance of October.
20. A New Victory of the Peaceful Policy of the U.S.S.R.

WAR.
3. New Manoeuvres of Social-Democracy.
4/5. Peace is Slipping into World War.
4/5. Japanese Imperialism's Predatory War on China.
4/5. Review of the Communist Press on the War in China.
6. War and Immediate Tasks of the C.P.s.
6. Second International and War in China.
6. Struggle Against the Export of Munitions.
7. Contradictions Among the Imperialists and Conflicts on the Pacific Coast.
10. Problems of the Fight Against Imperialist War.
11/12. Anglo-American Naval Rivalry.
13. Fourth Expedition of Koumingtan Against the Chinese Red Army.
14. Anti-War Work and the Tasks of the Y.C.I.
14. Anti-War Work of the C.P. of France.
14. August 1st.
14. Poland—Instigator of Imperialist War.
14. Struggles Against Imperialist War.
16. Bourgeois "Revelations" on the War of the Future.</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

THE CRISIS.

1. Contradictions of Capitalism in the Light of the Credit and Valuta Crisis.
6. Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis.
7. Britain's Transition to Protection.
9. Economic Crisis and the Policy of British Imperialism in India.
10. The Rejection of the Gold Standard in Great Britain.
13. Lausanne and Geneva.
16. World Economic Crisis.
17/18. The End of Capitalist Stabilisation.