

**THE  
COMMUNIST REVIEW**

“In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will: these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.”—Marx: Preface to “Critique of Political Economy.”

# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Published by the Workers' Weekly Publishing Co.

---

---

Volume 6

MARCH 1926

Number 11

---

---

## C O N T E N T S

The Editorial View	- - - - -	485
The March Past <i>H. Sara</i>	- - - - -	491
International Women's Day <i>B. Turner</i>	- - - - -	496
Farewell of the New Rhenish Gazette <i>F. Freiligrath</i>		500
Karl Marx—The Theorist of the Working Class <i>J. D. McDougall</i>	- - - - -	501
The March Revolution in Russia <i>G. A. Hutt</i>	- - - - -	508
Song of the Labourers (Poem)	- - - - -	513
The 'Forty-eight Movement <i>J. B. Askew</i>	- - - - -	514
Fascist or Communist? <i>Rutland Boughton</i>	- - - - -	519
The Political Groupings in the Pacific <i>J. D. McDougall</i>	- - - - -	523
Book Reviews	- - - - -	527

---

---

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

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

*Subscription Rates.* HOME & ABROAD—Single copies, 6 months, 2s. 9d. postpaid. One year 5s. od. postpaid.

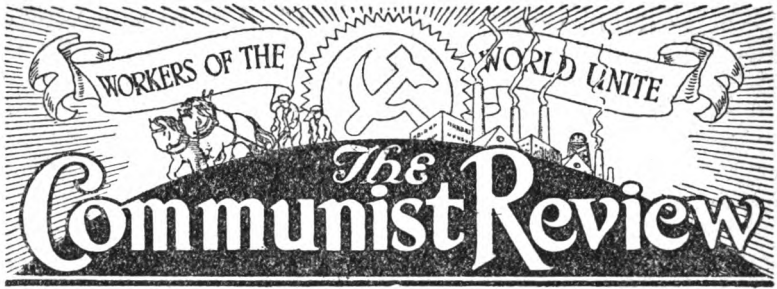
*Bundle Orders.* Home & Abroad, 12 cops. 3/- postpaid sale or return.

## PORTENT.

March and a newer Spring have bid us wake  
To our own springtime. Is this one not ours,  
Full of the promise of impassioned hours  
As when another March bade Russia take  
Hand from the plough of Death and in Life's wake  
Follow where peeped the first of Freedom's flowers,  
Sown in that fateful March whose sanguine showers  
The heroic Commune scattered for our sake?

Another March and on the golden Rand  
The veld ran red in runnel and in sluit,  
Swift as the summer rain fills sun-dried spruit—  
How has not March poured on the barren land  
Her blood-red waters in each fateful Spring  
For all men's sake, athirst and hungering.

L. A. MOTLER.



## THE EDITORIAL VIEW

### THE "LOCARNO SPIRIT" IN INDUSTRY AND POLITICS.

**T**HE strategy of international capital against Soviet Russia continues to develop. The complete failure of open armed intervention did not end the attack on Russia—it merely taught the capitalist class that open war with the centre of world revolution would not be tolerated by the working class, and that it only succeeded in strengthening the support of the Soviet administration by the Russian workers and peasants.

A survey of the situation convinced the representatives of allied finance capital that, in order to destroy this menace to the continuance of its domination, it would first have to put its own house in order. All the resources of capitalism had to be mobilised. The Dawes Plan was the first step. With the loyal assistance of the Second International and the valuable collaboration of the MacDonald Ministry tottering capitalism was restored to such health and vigour as was possible under existing circumstances. And the plan had the double advantage of consolidating the capitalist front and ensuring the control by allied financial interests of a gigantic scheme for the exploitation of Europe. It met with the enthusiastic support of the bourgeoisie of the defeated countries because of the possibilities it afforded of throwing the burdens of war debt on the shoulders of the workers. With almost universal approbation the Dawes Plan was accepted. The first move towards the united front of capital had been successfully accomplished.

\* \* \* \* \*

But the Dawes Plan had been carefully framed to do more than strengthen capitalism **relatively** to Labour—it aimed at **positively** weakening the natural allies of Soviet Russia throughout Europe. The special arrangements for the payment of re-

parations accomplished this by bringing about unemployment in all countries. The entry of cheap reparation goods into the markets brought unemployment figures in Britain up to an unprecedented level, and the necessity for the strictest economy by Germany brought about a similar state of affairs there. The fact that this manœuvre was possible shows very clearly the dominance of finance capital over industry. The Dawes Plan, dear to the heart of MacDonal, has done more to destroy the organised workers' power than anything else.

Unemployment had its effect on lowering wages, bringing financial embarrassment on the trade unions and reducing the membership. In this respect the effects were felt more especially by those workers who ranked amongst the best fighters in the Labour movement—the miners and the metal workers. The attack on the workers which is coming in the near future is part of a carefully-prepared policy to disorganise Russia's allies and thus make easier the attack on the citadel of revolution.

• • • • •

Following hard on the heels of Dawes and the successes against the working class came Locarno—again hailed by the Second International as a great victory for world peace. The Pact—advertised as being for the purpose of restoring peace to Europe—was in reality but a consolidation of the forces aiming at the isolation of Russia as a preliminary to attack. Arrangements were made for the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. Germany's decision to apply for admission was again hailed by the Socialist lackeys of capitalism as a great step towards international peace. The campaign for Russia's entry was intensified and here again the Second International lent to capitalism its valuable assistance.

The object of inviting Russia to become a member of the League is simply that of defeating Russia by the less costly, and none the less complete, method of outvoting her on the League. This would put Russia in the position of surrendering her independence of action or of flouting the League decisions. It is hoped to make Russia appear in the wrong either way. If she refuses to join it will be said that she prefers war to arbitration. If she does join and comes into conflict with League decisions it will be asserted that Soviet Russia cannot be depended on to keep to her agreements and should, therefore, be outlawed. In anticipation of the entry of Germany and possibly Russia, the League is to be loaded even more heavily by the inclusion on the Council of the representatives of three or four countries already completely subjected to French, British and American capital.

The latest gesture of the League—the calling together of a conference on disarmament—is a continuance of this policy. Conferences on this question have been held before and only succeeded in showing the utter hypocrisy of capitalist governments. The only result at Washington was an agreement which led to the scrapping of obsolete instruments of war and concentration on more up-to-date equipment. It was made perfectly clear that while unity for certain common aims was of importance to the imperialist powers, exploitation of colonial races and the competition for markets necessitated an ever-increasing concentration on the development of new engines of destruction.

All the talk of the necessity of Russia's representation and agreement to a policy of disarmament is part of the propaganda campaign aimed at making Russia appear to be the one obstacle to a world peace. This propaganda received the official sanction of the League when in June, 1925, a conference on the traffic in arms decided that all such transactions should be publicly known, except sales to Esthonia, Finland, Poland and Roumania on the grounds that they were continually in danger of an attack by Russia.

\* \* \* \* \*

Russia has accepted the challenge—subject to a satisfactory understanding with Switzerland regarding the latter country's responsibility for the murder of Vorovsky and assurances of regret for the condonation of political assassination. Russia alone of all countries comes to the conference with a clean record. Already she has cut down her military estimates to a dangerously low figure. In proportion to the extent of her territory and size of her population the Red Army is ridiculously small. Russia is the only country without imperialist designs. She is the only country whose government stands for a system of society in which war will be unnecessary. Of all the governments of the world that of Russia alone is a factor making for world peace.

We welcome Russia's offer to attend the conference because we know that the bluff of the League will be called. Russia will repeat her offer of **total** disarmament conditional on the total disarmament of all capitalist countries. Partial disarmament, even if honestly carried out, is no guarantee against war. Any scheme of partial disarmament proportionate to a country's responsibilities for its own defence would have to allow of an **increase** for Russia. If Russia's requirements were based on possible combinations against her security the size of her army would be enormous. Total disarmament is the only policy Russia can afford to support.

The refusal of the League conference to accept this proposition will stamp the League, not as an organisation for the abolition of war, but for what it is: an instrument whereby the dominant imperialist powers can mutually sanction the enslavement of the weaker nations. But we must be prepared for a campaign of lies and abuse directed against Soviet Russia in the event of her refusing to fall into the trap laid by the League. In this the League will have the support of the MacDonaldis of every country—that is their function in the Labour Movement and the extent to which their pacifism goes. The workers cannot afford to forget the Labour Government's support of armaments and the use of force in colonial and mandated areas—and contrast its utterances with its deeds.

\* \* \* \*

All the talk of the "Locarno spirit," in industry as in politics, is only a cover for the next attack on the working class. The conference on disarmament no more makes for peace than do the sittings of the Coal Commission. Indeed, there is a distinct connection between the two. On all fronts capitalism is preparing for an assault on the workers, and, under cover of meaningless talk of peace, gaining the requisite time for the preparations for battle. The campaign against the workers in this and other countries and the campaign against Soviet Russia are really one campaign, the object of which is to destroy for years to come any resistance to a lowered standard of living and the continuance of capitalist rule.

\* \* \* \*

### **WEIR HOUSES AND WEIRD LABOUR MEMBERS.**

**S**OME years ago a little coterie of "intellectuals" formed themselves into a body for the purpose of launching on a long-suffering working class the ideas of Guild Socialism. The epoch-making economic discovery which aroused the enthusiasm of the band of reformers was that the worker appeared on the market in a dual role: as a producer and as a consumer. For example, as a boot operative his interests lay in the direction of getting as large a price for his labour-power as possible without any regard for the needs of the community; as a consumer—when he entered the market as a buyer of boots for himself and family—his interests demanded the cheapest and best article without regard for the needs of the producer. It apparently did not dawn on them that, the buying worker faces in the market the seller, not the producer.

Here, explained the apostles of Guilds, entered a new complexity into the already complex social problem. In all the



plans for social-reconstruction consideration for the needs of the consumer must be a first claim on society. A **first** claim, because everyone who works consumes, but everyone who consumes does not work. On the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number the consumer must have first consideration.

The Guild Socialists have had their little day and passed away. Those in whom commonsense triumphed over aberration came into the Communist Party. The rest of them will be found among that queer collection of antiquities painfully acquired by the Labour Party. But their ideas remain, serving to confuse still more the addled pates of Labour's encumbrances.

\* \* \* \* \*

The discussion in the Commons on Weir houses serves well to illustrate this. In this discussion the Labour Party was hopelessly divided between the interests of the producers and consumers. So evident was this division of opinion that Labour members were permitted to vote as their consciences dictated. (In passing, it is well to note that "conscience," not reason, is given as the explanation of division in the Labour Party.)

It is of interest to note who was who in this discussion. It was no mere accident that Kirkwood, a worker not long removed from the factory, stood up for the producer, and that Rosslyn Mitchell, lawyer and bourgeois interloper into Labour political circles, championed the interests of the consumer. It was here that reversion to type made itself manifest. In times of crisis the men most likely to fail the workers are precisely those who have never shared the worker's life. The wisdom of the Communist International in laying down the rule that in selecting candidates for Parliament the Parties of the International should wherever possible select working men and women, even if they lacked political experience, in preference to men and women of the other class, is demonstrated.

In capitalist society there are but two classes—those who produce everything but own nothing, and those who produce nothing and own everything. For Rosslyn Mitchell and all other advocates of shoddiness and cheapness there is no place in the ranks of Labour. Shoddiness and cheapness comprise the policy of capitalism—the doctrine which puts before everything the necessity for cheapness in production—involving lower wages and bigger dividends. There is no more virtue in cheapness in houses and food for workers than there is virtue in cheapness in stables and corn for horses. Paisley workers will do well to replace Rosslyn Mitchell by a candidate from the ranks of the workers.

**KARL MARX.**

**W**HEN Marx died on March 14th, 1883, the following resolution was passed wherever revolutionary workers gathered together. It would be fitting if this month similar resolutions phrased to bring them up-to-date, were moved at all workers' meetings:

"In common with the workers and the disinherited, with the true friends of liberty of all countries, we deplore the death of our great thinker and champion, **Karl Marx**, as a grievous and irreparable loss to the cause of Labour and freedom.

"We pledge ourselves to keep his name and his works ever in remembrance, and to do our utmost for the dissemination of the ideas given by him to the world.

"We promise, in honour of the memory of our great departed, to dedicate our lives to the cause of which he was a pioneer—the struggle in which he left so noble a record—and never, at any moment, to forget his great appeal, 'Workers of the world, unite!'"

\* \* \* \* \*

**AN EARLY REVOLUTIONARY PRESS.**

In 1848 Marx, with his friends Engels, Wolff and the poet Freiligrath founded the "New Rhenish Gazette" ("Neue Rheinische Zeitung"). For one year this paper was an able advocate of the cause of Labour. German democracy and reaction were alike rejected, and the interest of Labour was represented as irreconcilably opposed to that of all other classes. The paper was suppressed in 1849 and its founders banished from Germany. Marx lived thereafter in London. The last issue contained a spirited farewell poem by Freiligrath. A good translation is given on another page.

---

"Religion is the moan of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. **It is the opium of the people.**"—Marx: "A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right."

# The March Past

By HENRY SARA.

"Past sorrows, let us moderately lament them;  
For those to come, seek wisely to prevent them."  
—John Webster.

**I**T is said of the month of March that it comes in like a lion and goes out like a lamb. The phrase could almost be applied to the Paris Commune of 1871. For in telling the story of the Commune one has to tell of the rise of the workers of Paris and of other parts of France; they rose like lions, but they were slaughtered like sheep.

In the heart of Leningrad stands the old Winter Palace of the Tsars. To-day its great halls, ante-rooms and dark passages are open to the sightseer. No aristocrats lounge about; no court flunkeys, footmen, or servants are to be seen. No luxurious motor cars drive to, or away from, its gates with "ladies and gentlemen." Now it is an exhibition, not an Empire Exhibition, not a Russian Wembley, but a proletarian revolutionary history museum. Here is a space in the great throne room; the great hall which was used for the old State functions, Court Levees and grand balls; the Great Throne Hall of the "Tsars of all the Russias," now dedicated to the history of the Workers' International; here in this space are set relics of the Paris Commune of 1871. The tattered red flags which the Communards bore and defended so bravely; the manifestoes they placarded on the walls of "their" city; actual photographs of the men and women who so heroically put their words into actions.

It is fitting that the memory of the Communards is recorded in the International Section, for it is out of their struggles, defeat and suffering that one of the greatest lessons of working class history was learned. Did not their efforts uncover what had previously been hidden? And because they brought fresh guidance in the struggle of the workers against the capitalists, their deeds live in our memories, for they taught not only the workers of France but the workers of the world.

No one, of course, will pretend that the workers everywhere understand this. How could they? The schools of the capitalists have taught the workers' children little or nothing about the Commune. The cheap popular histories have distorted the facts of the conditions of Paris in 1871 in such a way that no-

thing but hatred can be expected for the Communards. The bourgeois historians have painted the whole series of incidents of those March days as something loathsome. Sensational hack writers or Liberal professors, their tales are very similar. For an example of this method of distorting the facts of the Paris Commune and Communards one can consult James Harvey Robinson's "History of Western Europe":

"Immediately after the surrender of Paris the new republican government had been called upon to subdue a terrible insurrection of the Parisian populace. The insurgents re-established the Commune of the Reign of Terror, and rather than let Paris come again into the hands of the national government, they proposed to burn the city. When, after two months of disorder, their forces were completely routed in a series of bloody street fights, the city was actually set on fire; but only two important buildings were destroyed—the Palace of the Tuileries and the city hall."

No explanation can be given for these statements on the grounds of brevity. They are not due to condensation, but class bias. And more than anything else it is the bourgeois class bias against the Paris Commune that we must combat. Unfortunately our literature is not rich regarding the real history of the Commune. True, there is the remarkable work of Marx, but not easily obtainable in English, with the important introduction of Engels. We have no complete translation of the correspondence of the International during the period, with the result that the Anarchists have circulated stupid charges against both Engels and Marx, which are not easily refuted. And the vital lessons of the Commune have frequently been lost sight of through the Social-Democratic method of the interpretation of Marxism. Happily Lenin's analysis and study of Marx, the March revolution and the November revolution of 1917, the operation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the positive proof of its success, the attacks upon that dictatorship by the Kautskys, MacDonalds, Longuets, the brilliant replies by Lenin, Trotsky, Radek and others, have all been factors in enabling us the better to appreciate the Commune. Now he who runs may read. No longer is it possible to treat the Commune as a rhetorical theme for a speech. It is something connected with our lives. It has its proper place as one of the greatest efforts to establish workers' power in working class history.

It is no longer possible for subtle writers to pen their theories in an annual effort to glorify the class struggle of 1871 the better to cover up the class struggle of to-day. To think of the Commune of '71 is to think of our struggles of the present, not merely nationally, but internationally.

### **Russia—and the Lesson.**

Russia, at least, has learned the lessons of the Commune. The story of Russia's part in the war of 1914 is a story of in-

famy on the part of the government class of that formerly despotic land. Lord French in his book "1914," page 195, says:

" . . . We had never foreseen how unstable and unreliable a country must be whose ruler and government are absolutely despotic and in no way representative of the will of the people. Worse than this the governing classes in Russia were saturated with disloyalty and intrigue in the most corrupt form. But for the black treachery the war would have been ended successfully at the latest in the spring of 1917. How could such a people successfully withstand the strain of so mighty a clash of arms, especially when the immense foreign loans and the placing of enormous contracts brought grist to the mills of that corrupt mass of financiers whose business in life was only to fatten on the misfortunes of their fellow creatures?"

In March the middle class came into power. Attempts were made to carry on the war, with disastrous results to the workers and peasants. The workers smashed Tsardom—the middle class betrayed the workers. Similarly of the Commune of Paris, 1871, Lissagary writes:

"The revolutionists of the provinces showed themselves everywhere completely disorganised, without any faculty to wield power. Everywhere victorious at the outset, the workmen had only known how to pronounce for Paris. But at least they showed some vitality, generosity and pride. Eighty years of bourgeois domination had not been able to transform them into a nation of mercenaries; while the Radicals, who either combatted or held aloof from them, once more attested the discrepancy, the egotism of the middle class, always ready to betray the working men to the 'upper' classes."

Fortunately Lenin, the Marxist, brought to bear upon the workers' and peasants' problem the lessons of the Commune. He applied Marxism; aimed at putting power into the hands of the workers; disarmed the bourgeois, armed the proletariat; set up the dictatorship of the workers, and in place of wholesale massacre of the working class and a blood-drunk debauchery by the types of butchers that slaughtered the Communards, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. are now happily free from the old despotism.

Yet in the face of these obvious facts we are told by Karl Kautsky in his volume on "The Labour Revolution": "We have merely to read what Marx has written, without being influenced by Lenin's interpretation." The advice was a little too late for Russia. Let us hope that it will be ignored everywhere else.

### **Great Britain—and the Lesson.**

There are twelve men in prison for upholding the traditions of the Communards. That they have not been put against a wall and shot is not so much due to the fact that the British capitalist class has finer feelings than the old French bourgeois, but because of expediency. The twelve have a bitter enemy in the present Home Secretary, and his type is to be found in

the history of the Commune. He plays delightfully upon "mob" psychology and in doing so exposes most fully the hypocrisy of the "British" mind, which serves to cover the actions not only of his own class and the middle class, but that host of respectable "Labour leaders" with which the workers of this country are burdened and who are so splendidly portrayed in the paragraph from Lissagary quoted above.

For instance, "our" Home Secretary is a great defender of God, and objects strongly to the preaching of "hatred of our God."

On the other hand, however, he says: "I preach no gospel of content." "I would that every man in England should be discontented with his lot," and "do all that lies in his power to make his own condition, his wife's condition and his family's condition and the world's condition better rather than worse for his having lived in it."

"Liberty and Freedom are the watchwords of Great Britain. Where the flag of Great Britain waves no man can be sold into slavery."

That is for the consumption of one type of audience. For another he takes a different line as follows:

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it. (Shame.) Call shame if you like. I am stating facts. I am interested in missionary work in India, and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say that we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

This man who can describe so vividly the brutality of the British governing class in conquering India by the sword and holding India down by the sword is indignant with the British section of the Communist International because it is engaged in activities in that part of the British Empire!

Why has such a man power?

Why are these phrases of constitutionalism repeated by the leaders of Labour?

The study of the Commune will help to answer such questions.

It is customary in certain quarters of the Labour movement to speak of the Communist Party of Great Britain as though its members were made up of ignorant boys and girls who have come under the spell of some foreign gang of con-

spirators. Nothing can better dispel such an absurdity than a brief reference to the little year book which used to be published by the Social-Democrats in this country. Take the 1914 issue and turn to the page for March. Under the heading "Things for the working class to remember," we read of trials for sedition, massacres of the workers, general strikes, convictions for complicity in riots and insurrections. We are even asked to remember assassinations! These at that time were judged as incidents in the class struggle to be taken notice of by the workers for their own guidance in the coming struggle. That was in 1914. We were asked to remember that: "Sunday, 15th March, 1913, Will Thorne declined to meet the King at Chingford."

But the Communist has also to remember that in 1917 the papers recorded the incidents in the life of the same William Thorne on quite different lines:

"Recent landmarks in Mr. Thorne's life are the zest with which he entered his country's service on the outbreak of war, his recruiting campaigns in all parts of the country, the earnestness of his patriotic efforts, his denunciations of the pacifist element in the Labour Party, his visit to Russia, and, what is historically the most memorable event of all, his notable interview with the King at Buckingham Palace."

In this paragraph we have the whole problem of the Labour movement summed up, the present great sore, **class collaboration**.

The lesson from the Paris Commune for Great Britain at this time is the danger of class collaboration; the need for a proletarian party; the closest possible International connections.

\* \* \* \* \*

Trotsky has told the story of his walks with Lenin in London. How Lenin said: "That is **their** Westminster Abbey." He thought of these "sights" as the possessions of the bourgeoisie. Lenin knew that though the workers had laboured on these treasures they belonged to the enemy.

In imagination we see Lenin in the cemetery of Père Lachaise, standing bareheaded in memory of those Communards who fell in the battle of the working class. He would say too, as we say, "Vive la Commune!"

And of the Wall of the Communards: "That is **our** Wall!"

# International Women's Day

By BETH TURNER.

**T**HE Victorian idea regarding women in industry—that of looking on the employment of women as being merely a method of “keeping girls out of mischief,” from the age for leaving school until the time of marriage—is one that dies hard. Twenty or thirty years ago the prevailing notion regarding the employment of women was that there were certain boundaries over which women could not trespass and that these boundaries were fixed by natural laws based upon physical adaptability to heavy manual toil.

This idea, which never at any time took cognisance of reality (as witnessed by women's part in such exhausting work as chain-making, pit-head work and employment in the pottery trade and textile factories), must be got rid of once and for all by the workers. The simplification of the processes of production by the introduction of machinery, which is levelling down the difference between the skilled and unskilled worker, has made possible also the stabilisation of women in industry; and, just as the levelling process is forcing the skilled worker to realise the importance of his unskilled brother, so the importance of women as a factor calculated to modify existing standards will also have to be recognised.

## Helplessness of Women.

In the past, women have had relegated to them exactly that class of work which demanded the least skill and untiring patience. Jobs that require little skill can never under capitalist conditions bring high wages. The monotony which demands the exercise of unlimited patience tends also to dull the intellect and kill the aspiration for better conditions. That can be seen in men as well as women—it is no mere feminine characteristic. The broadening-out of women's sphere in industry will bring with it a broadening of her outlook on life generally. It will eventually be seen that this change is altogether for the good.

But whilst the opportunities for women in industry are being equalised in relation to those of men, the general decay of capitalism is affecting women's chance of continuous employment to the same extent also. In this connection no reliable figures are available because women are taken off the register of the Labour Exchanges on the flimsiest of excuses. Girls are offered jobs at wages which barely suffice to pay travelling expenses and



food away from home. Many women's jobs, such as waiting in restaurants are on a "commission and tips" basis. Often whole days are worked without any recompense.

When in despair these women throw up their jobs they find themselves classified as "won't works" and refused benefit. When before the Rota Committees they are subjected to insulting questions and impertinent cross-examination of their private affairs. Girls trained to factory work are asked why they do not go into service. Every mean stratagem is used in order to drive women into accepting any job that offers, no matter what the conditions are.

### Effect on Wages.

This brutality compels women to offer their services at ridiculously low wages and is having its effect on the standards of the men. This the men resent, and more often than not their resentment is shown to the women and not directed against the conditions which compel the women to under-sell their labour power. This short-sightedness probably explains the indifference of the men to the question of the organisation of women, in spite of their general acceptance of the need for organising themselves. It is probably true to say that up till now the majority of organised men workers do not realise that the disorganisation of women is the greatest menace to the men's organisations.

Until this deficiency of understanding is made good, the standard of living of all workers—men and women—is bound to keep falling and capitalism will continue to profit by the lack of working class solidarity. The organisation of women is as much a necessity for the men as for the women—it is a **class necessity**.

Married women of the working class are too often under the impression that all this is no affair of theirs. **They** must also be brought to see that it is precisely because of all that has been outlined above that the burden of keeping the home going grows infinitely heavier every day. Low wages, high prices, bad housing accommodation, high rents, the cutting down of scales of relief, are all questions which directly bring the housewife into the general working class struggle.

In view of the coming industrial conflict it is necessary that housewives should understand the nature of the class war that is continually going on. An understanding of the position will enable her to play her part in the trying time of industrial struggle and make her even more determined than those engaged directly in industry to see the workers win through. Without the sympathy of the housewife the fight is more difficult. With her encouragement many an otherwise losing fight may end in

victory. Complete unity must be our slogan and a united household is an invaluable asset to the working class.

### **International Women's Day.**

It is the realisation of this lack of organisation and co-operation of men and women workers that has given rise to the idea of an International Women's Day. Throughout the length and breadth of Britain, and in every country where a Communist Party exists, the class-conscious workers of both sexes will carry the message to all workers that conditions demand the complete organisation of the working class **now**, and that the weakest spot in the worker's defence is the unprotected position of women in industry. Men and women must organise in the same unions if employed in the same trade. The Trades Union Congress has already recognised that necessity and is initiating a campaign for women's organisation. The Communist Party, as always, will enter the fight recognising perhaps more clearly than any other section of the workers the need for solidarity.

The coming of women into industry means their conscious entry into the struggle which is rapidly culminating in that final revolt against capitalism, the success of which will mean the beginning of the conquest of happiness and well-being for all.

---

“Let the ruling class tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

“Workers of all countries, unite!”—Marx and Engels: “The Communist Manifesto.”

# Books Received

We have received the following publications from the Labour Research Department:

**Labour White Papers:**

- No. 15: The Right to Strike.
- No. 16: The Industrial Crisis.
- No. 17: Governing by Starvation.
- No. 18: The League of Bankers.

No. 15 is an account of how our forebears had to **fight** for the legality of strike action, which even to-day has serious limitations. It also shows how easily these rights can be taken away if the workers relax their solidarity and vigilance.

No. 16 shows in detail how the attack on wages has progressed. How the prosperity of the capitalists has increased at the expense of wages. The intention and preparations of the capitalists to deliver a final and crushing blow.

No. 17 deals with the ill-treatment of the unemployed by the government and the threat unemployment constitutes to the standards of those in work.

No. 18 is a crushing exposure of the League of Nations as the Executive Committee of Allied finance capital.

Useful and instructive little pamphlets. For sale at 1d. Quantities 9d. per doz., or 2s. 9d. per 50, post free.

Also from the L.R.D., "The Coal Crisis." Price 1s. Special trade union edition 6d., which can only be obtained in quantities of not less than one dozen at 5s. per doz. post free.

A useful and handy book giving the history, nature of evidence, miners' and owners' proposals and points of issue of the Samuel Commission. An invaluable book for trade unionists and propagandists.

## **YOUR CLASS AND PARTY NEED YOU.**

**There are some who, sympathising with and appreciating the Communist position, will call themselves Communist without realising that the first duty of a Communist is to become a member of the Communist Party.**

**Therefore, DO YOUR DUTY.  
JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY NOW.**

### **APPLICATION FORM.**

I wish to be a member of the Communist Party. Please put me in touch with local membership.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Fill in this form and give it to the comrade who sold you this "Review," or to Local Secretary .....

# Farewell of New Rhenish Gazette

Not with open blow in open fight,  
But with quips and with quirks they arraign me,  
By creeping treachery's secret blight  
The Western Calmucks have slain me.  
The fatal dart in the dark did fly,  
I was struck by an ambushed knave;  
But still in the pride of my strength I lie,  
The corse of a rebel brave.

With a deathless scorn in my dying breath,  
In my hand the sword still cherished,  
"Rebellion!" still for my shout of death,  
In my manhood untainted I perish.  
Oh! gladly, full gladly the Pruss and the Czar  
The grass from my grave would clear;  
But Germany sends me with triumph far  
Three salvoes to honour my bier.

And the tattered poor man takes his stand,  
On my head the cold sods heaving;  
He casts them down with a diligent hand  
Where the glory of toil is cleaving.  
And a garland of flowers in May be brought  
On my burning words to cast—  
His wife and daughters the wreath had wrought.  
When the toil of the day was past.

Farewell, farewell, thou turbulent life,  
Farewell to those armies engaging;  
Farewell, cloud-canopied fields of strife,  
Where the greatness of war is raging;  
Farewell, but not forever farewell!  
They cannot kill the spirit, my brother;  
In thunder I'll rise from the field where I fell,  
More boldly to fight out another.

When the last of the crowns like glass shall break  
On the scenes our sorrows have haunted,  
When the people the last dread "Guilty!" shall speak,  
By your side you shall find me undaunted.  
On Rhine or on Danube, in word and in deed,  
You shall witness, true to his vow,  
On the wreck of thrones, in the midst of the field,  
The rebel who greets you now.

F. FREILIGRATH.

# Karl Marx, The Theorist of the Working Class

By J. D. McDOUGALL.

**K**ARL MARX is the theorist of the working class, not because he belonged to that class, but because in the solution of the problems of history he saw himself compelled to adopt theoretically the standpoint which, in the furtherance of its own interests, the proletariat must assume in reality. Marx was a scion of the bourgeoisie and received a middle class education at the universities of Bonn and Berlin, where he specialised in law and philosophy. On the completion of his education he found himself drawn into the Liberal movement, then fighting to acclimatise in monarchical Prussia the democratic results of the French Revolution.

Like the other German democrats of the 'forties he soon fell under the influence of the Utopian Socialism of Saint-Simon and Fourier. Paris was at that time the democratic Mecca of the whole of Europe, and Socialism of a vague and utopian character was prevalent in the revolutionary societies of the French capital. His experiences as editor of a Liberal paper in the Rhine provinces, which involved him in the discussion of the rights of property, also, were important in the formation of Marx's opinions, for they led him to undertake a profound study of the classical political economy of England. The result of these several circumstances was that Marx, with the assistance of Fierbach, threw off the yoke of Hegelian idealism, then the official philosophy in Germany, and arrived at a consistent materialism, which became the basis of his entire life's activities.

## **The Materialist Method of Marx.**

In reaction against the subjective idealism of his times, Hegel—the most universal thinker created by the speculative philosophy of Germany—produced a comprehensive system, wherein the world was explained as the self-activity of the absolute idea. The philosopher personified the categories of logic and derived nature and society from their interactions and contradictions. The universe was, therefore, nothing but mind; all the phenomena of the world and of mankind were simply reflections of the internal antagonisms, which engendered the development of the absolute. But for all the extreme and rigid idealism of his philosophy, Hegel gave to it a very realistic content. However abstract the

form in which his conclusions were presented, they were invariably founded upon a firm substratum of facts, drawn from the actual processes of nature and history. Then again, Hegel's philosophy possessed the supreme merit of applying the dialectic method—which is the conception of progress by means of antitheses—to the explanation of the course of things. This gave to his system a comprehensiveness, a flexibility and a sense of movement that made it appear, in the then state of knowledge, a very satisfactory and complete account of the cosmos.

Marx was, like most educated Germans of the period, well-grounded in the dialectics of Hegel—the observation of things in their motion and mutual inter-connection—so that when, in response to the stimuli of his political and social environment, his mind turned towards materialism, he did not revert back to the metaphysical materialism of the French philosophers of the Eighteenth Century but worked out a new evolutionary and historical materialism well suited to serve in the triune capacity of a method of historical research, a political compass, and an instrument for the scientific control of society. Superstition in the domain of mind and morals could not be, however, finally vanquished until the secret of the progress of the intellect was revealed. In the “*Essence of Christianity*,” Fuerbach had already shown that man makes God in his own image. Marx now proceeded to prove that the “*Humanity*” which Fuerbach had substituted as the central axis for Hegel's absolute idea, was itself no abstract, unalterable essence, but consisted of real men, living under definite material conditions created by their own labours; that “*humanity*” was a historical conception, only capable of being understood when the different kinds of human societies were investigated in their specific character and historical succession.

The rise of associated man from the stage of mere animal existence was marked by the discovery of tools; by their aid man became more or less independent of nature, no longer its passive result. In actively changing his surroundings, man transformed himself; his mind became more complex; and all his further evolution took place on the plane of this artificial environment interposed by his own hands between himself and nature. The simple sensational noises of the other social animals were now inadequate for human requirements; articulate language arose as a result of the need for more than instinctive co-operation in the performance of social tasks. Each great improvement in the tools of production caused a revolution in the organisation of society; changes in social relations demanded, and in the end always found, new standards of right and wrong. So that moral conduct belongs to no supernatural sphere, elevated high above the mundane world, but rather directly reflects the changing material needs of society. Hence the intellectual advancement of

mankind is dependent on the economic conditions of society and the progress of ideas is the result of social changes, ultimately of changes in the methods of labour.

With this view Marx had revolutionised human thought. Superstition was finally expelled from the consideration of human affairs. The last theological barriers in the way of social science were broken down. The fate of mankind was secularised; shown, indeed, to be determined by nothing but the combined action of men themselves. Social concerns were proved to be—in essence, if not in degree—as much a matter of observation, experiment and control, as those natural forces which physics and chemistry had rendered obedient to the will of man. History, elevated above the level of artless narrative and moral disquisition, became a science. Having said so much, we are now in a position to appreciate Marx's contributions to our economic knowledge.

### Marx's Contributions to Economic Science.

Already we have noted the attention paid by Marx to the writers—such as Adam Smith and Ricardo—of the classical school of English political economy. This was due to his philosophical position. In his search for the causes of changes in morality and in the laws and for the factors of political development, Marx had arrived at the conclusion that the decisive element was the economy of society. The age in which he lived and struggled could, therefore, only be understood when its economic laws were laid down. Marx, consequently set himself to investigating the economics of the capitalist system. The results of his analysis are contained in his epoch-making work "Capital." This book is not an economic study in the orthodox sense; it is an entire history of the capitalist era, from its rise in the city republics of Northern Italy in the Twelfth Century and in the England of the Fifteenth, till its pre-destined downfall in the revolutionary struggles of our own day. Because of its very analysis of the existing order, "Capital" is a scientific death sentence passed upon that order's hopes of continuance. Capitalism is doomed to fall under the weight of its own internal contradictions: the antagonism between Capital and Labour—the conflict between the modes of production and distribution—which generates periodic and progressively destructive crises. **The book predicts the overthrow of capitalist society**, and, also, indicates in bold outline the Communist order which must necessarily arise upon its ruins.

The conception of capital as a historical category, which Marx developed from the germ he had found in the writings of Richard Jones, one of the last representatives of the classical

school, is unquestionably his greatest achievement in the sphere of political economy. The economists prior to Marx had talked as if their generalisations regarding value, price, money, capital, wages, profit, rent, etc., were universally and eternally applicable to all stages of society, so that the laws of political economy were to be considered as being as unchangeable as the laws of nature. Marx made an end of this when he demonstrated that each system of society—Antique Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism—has its own peculiar economic laws, which are only valid so long as that system continues.

In the works of Smith and Ricardo, and in those of the Socialist critics of Ricardo, Marx found value explained as the result of labour. A commodity was more or less valuable, accordingly as it had cost more or less labour. But the explanations given by Adam Smith were by no means consistent; at one time, he made commodities exchange in proportion to the labour spent on them, at another, in proportion to the wages paid for making them. Ricardo, on the other hand, was comparatively consistent in his application of the labour theory; but he landed in all kinds of confusion through his failure to understand that the labour which gives value is not tailoring, ploughing, engineering, or any other sort of concrete labour, but abstract human labour, i.e., social labour. That labour, under the capitalist system, is twofold in its nature, so that tailoring as a definite mode of expending labour gives us the use-value—coat, while that same quantity of labour, considered as a mere fraction of the total labour socially necessary, confers exchange-value upon the coat—this was the second great discovery made by Marx.

Marx conceived that if labour is the source of value, then the surplus over the expenses necessary to the production of the commodity can only be due to the exploitation of the labourer. Exploitation may be necessary for the existence of the system, may even be carried on unconsciously by those who benefit by it, and suffered unknowingly by those whom it injures, yet it is, nevertheless, the only possible explanation of the revenues enjoyed by the possessing classes. Commodities exchange in accordance with their value, which is determined by the quantity of labour expended in their production. Where the peasants are expropriated from the land and the handicraftsmen's tools are made obsolete by machinery, both landworkers and artisans have no other resource left but to hire themselves out to an employer. Thus human energy becomes a commodity—labour power—subject to all the laws of commodity production. Its value is fixed by the value of the labourer's necessaries. This sum constitutes, on the average, the wage or price paid by the capitalist for labour power. The commodity is then the property of the capitalist,



and, like any other commodity-owner, he consumes its use, i.e., he sets the labourer to work and by so doing gains a greater value than he has expended as wages. In six hours the labourer may have reproduced the value of his daily necessities; if he is kept working by the capitalist for another six hours, that will represent pure gain. This gain Marx termed **surplus-value**. This was the third of many great advances made by Marx in the sphere of economics which considerations of space forbid mentioning.

### Marx and History.

History, said Marx—and his theory received classical expression in the “Communist Manifesto”—is nothing but a series of class struggles. The economic structure of a given society determines the number and kind of classes of which it will be composed. Since the final break-up of tribal communities in Europe all the societies that had existed here had been divided into classes. In ancient Rome, there were slaves, freedmen and slave owners—plebeians and patricians. In the Middle Ages, there were serfs, craftsmen, merchants, noblemen and ecclesiastics—commons and aristocracy. Whenever, according to Marx, through improvements in the instruments of production, a change was brought about in the social division of labour, then social upheavals were bound to follow. The old dominant class, made superfluous by the new methods of production, was challenged by the new classes which had grown up on the basis of the new economic system and after a bloody and violent conflict the power of the State passed from the hands of the former authorities into the possession of the newcomers. These then proceeded to use their position to abolish obsolete laws and institutions and to create new forms of political administration suited to their economic needs. The new ruling class would go on, afterwards, to entrench itself politically; its morals, customs, habits and tastes would become predominant; they would be sedulously inculcated into the lower orders; and when these at any time became mutinous, they could always be dragooned into submission by the forces of the State. A certain equilibrium would be established, which might continue to exist for long enough, until new economic progress once more upset the social balance.

Under capitalism, Marx asserted, all the class struggles of the past had been narrowed down to the single giant conflict between Capital and Labour. The present order, he declared, was rent by an incurable antagonism. Poverty was the source of Wealth. The accumulation of Capital meant the growth of a propertyless Proletariat. The right of private property, once a charter of justice, had become the seal of oppression. Once the

private owner had appropriated the results of his own personal labour, now he filched away the wealth produced by the social labour of many others. The process of labour became increasingly socialised, the co-operation of men in production ever more complex, requiring a progressively delicate adjustment; while the egoistic demands of private property were responsible for ever more destructive interruptions of the process of production, ever ruder shocks to the economic mechanism. The fact that the producers were no longer slaves but wage workers forced the capitalists to legalise part of the class struggle. In the course of their strikes the workers became conscious of their true interests. The defence of their trade union organisations drew them into politics. They began to realise that it was not this or that particular oppression which was the evil, but the infamous system itself.

The fighting theory of Marxism now came to them as a Gospel of Deliverance. For Marxism was not a kind of fatalistic religion, which trusted blindly that good would in the end be triumphant, but an inspiration to battle and a "vade mecum" of revolutionary war. As our great theorist once observed, **philosophers had merely interpreted the world differently, the great thing was to change it.**

### **Marx and the Tactics of the Working Class Struggle.**

Already in the "Communist Manifesto," which appeared on the eve of the Revolution of 1848, Marx had pointed out that the Communists are the vanguard of the working class. They do not separate themselves from the masses as a small conspiratorial sect, but participate in every political experience of the workers, ever ready to point the moral of the struggle. The Communists, working by the light of science know that it is impossible by an act of the will to skip the necessary stages of history. The working class can only gain the knowledge required for victory at the price of a long series of costly blunders.

The complicated political struggles of the Parisian workers, which ended with the barricade-fighting and the bloody massacres of the June days, afforded new lessons in proletarian tactics. In "The Eighteenth Brumaire" and "The Class Struggles in France," Marx showed that the experiences of the French workers had proved that the first stage in the fight for freedom must be the destruction of the existing organisation of the State. The proletariat could not simply take over and use for its own purposes the governing apparatus built up to serve the needs of the bourgeoisie.

The most valuable single idea added by Marx to working class strategy was the conception of a period of transition, between the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, during which the State would take the form of a **Proletarian Dictatorship**. With the clairvoyance of genius Marx foresaw that throughout the violent conflicts in which the bourgeois system was destined to perish, there would be no room for abstract democracy; that the working class, after having won the initial victory, must be ready to defend itself with the weapon of terrorism against the dangers of a capitalist restoration; that the organisation of the State, as an instrument of force, could only wither away when Communist production had become thoroughly rooted and the possibility of reaction utterly remote.



“Not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.”—Marx and Engels: “The Communist Manifesto.”

# March Revolution in Russia

By G. ALLEN HUTT.

**N**INE years ago, on March 12th, 1917, the rotten and monstrous fabric of Tsarism was overthrown, although the Tsar did not actually abdicate till three days later. On that day Rodzianko, the President of the Duma, despatched a frightened telegram to Nicholas II. saying: "the fate of the Fatherland and of the dynasty is at stake." In Petrograd (Leningrad) the workers from their factories and the soldiers from their regiments formed a Council (Soviet) of Delegates. It was only a matter of days for the workers and soldiers in Moscow, and thence throughout Russia, to follow the example of the capital.

The collapse of Tsarism, though it took the world by storm, was an inevitable and not unforeseen consequence of historical development. After the hammer blows of the 1905 revolution, Tsarism had only maintained its vulture grip on the Russian masses by a huge loan raised through agreement with the Foreign Office on the London Stock Exchange, and by the most widespread and savage campaign of repression and governmental terrorism which had ever befouled even the bloody record of the Romanoffs. In 1914 the revolutionary wave had again begun to rise; big strikes broke out and on the day when the Tsar signed the orders for mobilisation there were barricades in the streets of Petrograd.

With the war, the blockade and the economic exhaustion of Russia began. The war automatically closed to Russia her principal sources of manufactured goods—Germany and Austria. Millions of men were drained away from agriculture and from industry, the figure of men mobilised reaching the almost incredible total of 20,000,000. Industry was forced to turn over almost exclusively to war production, neglecting entirely the needs of the civilian population. The railways, of primary importance in a country of vast distances with raw material sources widely separated from manufacturing centres, came under military control and were recklessly reduced to a condition of the most appalling disorganisation.

## **Workers and Soldiers Fraternise.**

From the military point of view the situation of Russia was hopeless. She had only her vast mass of peasant conscripts;

arms and munitions were terribly lacking, so much so that regiments were sent into the front line without even rifles. In May, 1915, in Galicia, the Russian rout began; and with prophetic justice the central organ of the Bolshevik Party wrote:

“The military debacle of Tsardom is close upon us. A terrible economic exhaustion is overtaking the country as a result of the present criminal war. . . Already, through the booming of the guns, one can hear the distant funeral bells of the Tsarist Monarchy.”

Through 1916 the situation grew steadily worse: day by day the corruptness, the inefficiency and the decay of Tsarism became more and more evident. While speculators and profiteers amassed vast fortunes out of army contracts and out of the needs of the people, the spectre of famine and complete economic collapse drew ever nearer. A “patriotic” spurt among the manufacturing classes increased the supply of munitions for a time, but at the cost of the production of manufactured goods for the civil population. The civil supply, as a bourgeois economist observed at the time, was “progressively deteriorating.” The food supply dwindled: there were bread queues in the streets. Scandals such as those associated with the profligate monk, Rasputin, the favourite of the Empress, symbolised the corruption of the regime. War weariness grew apace.

Revolution was in the air. The capitalists themselves were driven into opposition to Tsarism. Finally, in the early days of March, 1917, when the bread supply in Petrograd had failed, the workers struck. Meetings and demonstrations were held. The troops sent against the demonstrating workers fraternised with them and joined the revolt. Tsarism crumbled to powder like an Egyptian mummy that is brought after many centuries into the open air.

It was the workers and the soldiers, not the bourgeoisie, who made the revolution. It was the workers and the soldiers who on that fateful 12th of March, as we remarked in the opening paragraph of this article, set up their Soviet. It was not till two days later that the bourgeoisie, chiefly grouped in the Constitutional Democratic Party (“Cadets”), formed a Provisional Government drawn from the Duma Parties.

### **A Bourgeois Government.**

The aims of the bourgeoisie, who remained monarchist at heart, were simple: they would have been quite content if the Tsar had dismissed his old advisers and appointed a new Government of advisers “enjoying the confidence of the people,” i.e., of

the Liberal capitalists. At the utmost they were not prepared to do more than depose Nicholas II. and substitute one of the little army of Grand Dukes as a Liberal and bourgeois Tsar in his place. However, their hands were forced by the movement of the masses; and their object thenceforward became to canalise the revolution, to keep it as a purely bourgeois revolution, to continue the imperialist war, and so when the time was ripe to crush the rising workers' and peasants' movement.

In this work the bourgeoisie found invaluable allies in the Soviet leaders. For though the Soviets were purely working class organs, representing the workers and soldiers in the most direct and clear manner, their leaders, in these early days of the revolution were moderate and opportunist Socialist "intellectuals." These leaders belonged to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Parties, and many of them, like their confreres in other countries, had taken up a "patriotic" attitude during the war. Like true members of the petty bourgeoisie they distrusted the revolutionary instincts of the masses, and obstinately buried their heads in the sands of the dogma that a bourgeois revolution was "necessary" for Russia before the workers', the social, revolution could mature.

The man who most typified these leaders, and who gave his name to the whole period of the Russian Revolution before November, 1917, was Alexander Kerensky. Kerensky was a young lawyer, with no revolutionary experience, who was leader of a small group of members of the Duma who called themselves "Trudoviki"—the "Group of Toil," an extremely moderate wing of the S.R.'s: in effect they were petty bourgeois radicals, with a few Socialist phrases, for whom the peasants were the most important class.

Kerensky was Vice-President of the Petrograd Soviet, and entered the Provisional Government first as Minister of Justice, later as Minister of War and Premier.

It was because it had a leadership of this type that the Petrograd Soviet, the day after it was formed, took the otherwise inexplicable step of agreeing to support the Provisional Government "in so far as it fulfils its promises," representing exclusively, as the latter did, the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This shameful abdication—it was no less—on the part of the Menshevik and S.R. leaders of the Soviet was their first political act. So began the extraordinary system of the Dual Control—the Provisional Government and the Soviets, the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolution, existing side by side, with supreme power (formally at any rate) surrendered by the Soviet leaders into the hands of the bourgeoisie. "The Soviet" as

Lenin said, "regarded itself as the accountant, the comptroller of the deeds of the Provisional Government."

Of course, the Provisional Government did not "fulfil its promises." The capitalist remained in power in the factory and the workshop, and the landowner on the land. No steps were taken to call a Constituent Assembly to decide as to the future government of revolutionary Russia. The war went on. The downhill slide to economic ruin and famine increased in tempo. The masses, eager for freedom, peace, land and bread, got nothing.

The question of the war was the real test. "The Revolution," says Trotsky, "was born directly from the war, and the war became the touchstone of all parties and all forces of the revolution." Having overthrown Tsarism the Russian workers did not see why they should die miserably in the trenches, in order that their imperialists, in alliance with the imperialists of the Entente, should annex Constantinople. The war weariness of the masses, who had borne all the atrocious hardships and sufferings of three years of war for the benefit of the propertied classes, was complete. Even a bourgeois lady could remark to the French Ambassador—much to his distaste—that "In spite of the fine phrases of official speeches, the war is dead." The cause of the Revolution was inextricably bound up with the struggle for peace, just as the cause of the counter-revolution demanded the carrying on of the war.

### **Russian MacDonalds.**

At the end of March the Petrograd Soviet issued an appeal to the peoples of the world, declaring that the war was an imperialist war, and urging the workers in all belligerent countries to force their Governments to conclude a peace without annexations and without indemnities. The Provisional Government was unwilling to communicate this programme to the Allies, and Miliukov, the Liberal-imperialist Foreign Minister, secretly assured the Allies that the imperialist aims of Tsarism remained as before, and that the war would be carried on. On May 3-4, the workers rose and forced the dismissal of Miliukov and Gutchkov, the big capitalist who was Minister of War, from the Provisional Government.

The crisis was acute and the Soviet leaders could with the greatest ease have seized power. Instead, on May 10th, they bolstered up the tottering Provisional Government by entering in a Coalition Government, with Kerensky as Minister of War, and Tseretelli, the leader of the Mensheviks, and Tchernov, leader of the S.R.'s as ministers also. So these Russian MacDonalds handed themselves over, tied hand and foot, as hostages

to the bourgeoisie, who were now able to sidetrack every projected reform, to postpone indefinitely the summoning of the Constituent Assembly and to set about the more vigorous prosecution of the war. Lenin quotes the official organ of the S.R.'s "Dielo Naroda," which was forced to admit that, even in the Ministries which were in the hands of Socialists, "the whole official apparatus remains essentially the same as of old, working as before and obstructing every revolutionary initiative without let or hindrance."

**"All Power to the Soviets."**

Kerensky, now openly revealed as a vulgar agent of Russian and Allied imperialism, undertook at the urgent behest of the Allies the preparation of the July offensive. The offensive was an appalling catastrophe: and simultaneously the Petrograd workers rose in spontaneous revolt, with which the Bolsheviks who were at first opposed to a rising, associated themselves. The Coalition Government, with the approval of Kerensky and the other "Socialist" ministers called in reactionary troops, suppressed the revolt and embarked on a wholesale terrorist campaign against the Bolshevik Party. The death penalty for military offences at the front was restored, and the grave danger arose of a military dictatorship, with the ultimate restoration of Tsarism. This danger presented itself in all its clearness when the Tsarist General Kornilov attempted a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat. To such a pass had Kerensky and his friends brought the Russian Revolution.

But the final word was not with Kerensky. The armed workers defeated Kornilov: and the Bolsheviks, with their simple but compelling slogan "**All Power to the Soviets!**" gained adherents day by day. The masses had been forced, by the grim logic of events, to learn the lesson Lenin had taught them, writing in July, 1917:

"There is no salvation for the toiling masses in the iron jaws of war, of famine, of enslavement by landlords and capitalists except in complete renunciation of any and all alliances with the capitalist class. Only the revolutionary workers, supported by the poorest peasants, can overcome the resistance of the capitalists and lead the nation to the winning of the soil without compensation, to victory over starvation and over the war and to a just and lasting peace."

Having learnt that lesson, they liquidated the Kerensky period and took the power into their own hands. The March days were consummated on November 7, 1917: the lessons the Russian workers learnt from their Kerensky experience we must learn to apply to our own. The MacDonald Government has already given us a foretaste.



# The Song of the Labourers

There are ninety and nine, that live and die,  
In want and hunger and cold,  
That one may revel in luxury,  
And be lapped in a silken fold,  
The ninety and nine in hovels bare;  
The one in a palace with riches rare.

They toil in the fields, those ninety and nine,  
For the fruitage of mother earth,  
They dig and delve in the dusky mine,  
Bringing rich treasures forth.  
But the wealth released by their sturdy blows,  
To the coffers of one forever flows.

By the sweat of their brow the wilderness blooms,  
The forest before them falls,  
Their industry fashioned our thousand homes  
And cities with lordly halls;  
But the ninety and nine have empty hands;  
The one owns cities, and homes, and lands.

Yet the night, so dreary, and dark, and long,  
The glorious dawn shall bring,  
When over the land the victor's song,  
Of the ninety and nine shall ring.  
The chorus shall echo from zone to zone,  
"Rejoice for Labour shall have its own."

# The 'Forty-Eight Movement

By J. B. ASKEW.

“**W**HO fears to speak of 'forty-eight?'” were words which were once sung; “Who remembers to speak of 'forty-eight?’” would perhaps be truer now that the glories of '48 have been paled by the Russian Revolution. 'Forty-eight was a flash in the pan perhaps; but yet 'Forty-eight as the cock-crow of the re-awakening of the revolutionary forces on the Continent, after the long years of reaction that followed on the defeat of the great French Revolution at Waterloo, has a great importance.

It is certainly incorrect to speak of the defeat of the French Revolution in one sense; the reaction under the leadership of England, whose main concern was to keep back the capitalist development of the Continent, in order to retain the latter as a market for British manufactured goods, had defeated Napoleon, who has been described as the Executor of the French Revolution. Certainly under his guidance French institutions were adapted to capitalism, but when those reactionaries came to rule France they found they had to accept as facts the main achievements of the French Revolution. The Revolution was not broken. Napoleon was defeated not because he was a tyrant—Metternich or Castlereagh would certainly not have been concerned about that—but because he represented a revolutionary principle, and the heirs of the British Revolution did not want anyone to dispute their monopoly.

Both in 1848 and in 1870, the Paris workers set the ball rolling. As Marx once said, it was the Gallic cock that did the crowing, and a fine bit of crowing it was at that. The Paris workers both in 1848 and 1871, have shown that they could fight and nothing in the whole history of the Labour Movement will efface the glorious memory of those episodes.

The great significance of 'Forty-eight, however, was that the bourgeoisie, which up to then had been fighting for its rights against the powers of reaction, from that time on made common cause with the reaction against what they felt to be their most dangerous enemy—the proletariat. -

### **Class Collaboration.**

The 'Forty-eight Movement in England, however, was followed by an epoch in which the British working class became a mere appendage of the Liberal Party, so far as the leaders of trade unions were concerned; despite the gesture of independence made when the first International was founded in 1864 and despite the putting up of one or two Labour candidates for Parliament, that dependence remained till our day. It was certainly the period of the greatest development of British capitalism and world commerce. Free Trade, the Californian gold mines, the development of railways and steamships were revolutionising the world, a revolution from which owing to the pre-occupations of possible rivals—the American Civil War and the wars in Central Europe—the British capitalists had the field practically all to themselves. And they were wise enough to see the value of keeping quiet the workers, who on this, as on so many other occasions showed themselves only too ready to see their birth-right for a mess of pottage.

It was in this epoch that there was carried out that factory legislation, the beneficial effects of which in raising the fighting strength of the British workers in the class war Marx described as the rebirth of the British workers. The British capitalists on their side began to realise that improved conditions for their workers were not necessarily a loss to them if they kept the workers quiet and contented, and that long hours of work meant loss in many ways. However, the fears and enthusiasms aroused in this connection for a common humanity and such "ethical" considerations are apt to be short-lived and soon forgotten, whereas the real aim of capitalist strivings—profit—soon asserts its sway once more. It may also be noted that in this period there occurred such little incidents as the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, which were no doubt important enough especially as the latter threatened the main pillar of England's power, and above all the source from which her main wealth had been obtained. But the British trade monopoly was as yet undisturbed, consequently the harmony such as it was could be maintained. The organised skilled workers of Great Britain became in a certain sense the Prætorian guard of British capitalism.

### **Consolidating Power.**

Both Germany and America were at this period out of the picture. America was at that time involved in a civil war, which was eventually to make her stronger than ever. Over there, as in Germany, capitalism wanted a strong central government

—without which it cannot develop—but for the time being both countries were able to compete.

Marx calls attention to the revolutionary significance of the events of 1866 when Prussia drove Austria out of Germany. The question of German unity, like that of Italian unity, had long been a burning one, and curiously enough it was the same Hapsburg Dynasty that stood in the way of the realisation of the national aims. In Germany certainly the Hapsburgs were the centre for a number of little Courts and Princelings who reflected and at the same time rendered ridiculous the stiff formalities of Court life. In Italy also there was a certain number of Courts, including the Vatican then notoriously among the most corrupt and incompetent of governments.

The Democratic and Liberal elements in those countries had all along sighed to see those countries united as England and France were on a so-called democratic basis. But there the bourgeoisie, at least in Germany, failed, and it was left to Bismarck and Cavour to carry through by a Revolution from above—that is, virtually by one State assuming the hegemony over the others. Prussia took the lead in Germany, Sardinia in Italy. The Democratic ideals were dropped, brute force threw aside the democratic drapery with which it is generally disguised, but at the same time the world was given a classic example how capitalism deals with the question of old historical rights when these threaten to hinder its development. The upholders of the divine right of kings in Prussia had no hesitation in trampling on the divine right of other monarchs with titles equally as good as their own, **and at the same time confiscating their property without compensation.** At that time there was no League of Nations to legitimise this under the guise of conferring “mandates,” and so the Guelph funds, the property of the dispossessed Hanoverian kings, became a nice little nest-egg for the Prussian or German Imperial Government.

### **Social-Democracy Fails.**

To revolutionary action alone it was that Prussia owed her very existence as a State, but that did not prevent them from appealing to that very authority which they themselves had defied and trampled in the mire against the Social-Democrats. Nor at a later period still did it prevent the same Social-Democrats who had gone through the Socialist law with all its persecution, from organising the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in the name of law and order.

It was the rising capitalism of Germany that brought her

into conflict with capitalist England—not the so-called junkers, who by the way, had long learnt how to adapt capitalism to agriculture. The German Revolution was the result of a breakdown of capitalist policy, of the policy of the iron and coal magnates above all, who insisted on sabotaging all peace moves. The workers' representatives, however, finding themselves confronted with the breakdown of capitalism, took fright. Their leaders told them, "You cannot socialise bankruptcy," and so they allowed the capitalists to rebuild up what their own folly had destroyed in the hope that when it was built up they would be allowed to take it over. One thing is certain, the German workers have paid a bitter price for the folly and treachery of their leaders.

This failure was the more serious as the German Social-Democratic Party had even then a certain amount left of her old prestige. It certainly seemed as if, so far at least as the theory was concerned the last word had been spoken, and the manifestoes of the Party leaders showed anyway that there was no lack of understanding of the essential elements in the situation.

### **Theory and Practice.**

But perhaps on looking back we can see more clearly what did not occur to us when we were in the midst of it. Certainly while I was in Germany it was impossible not to feel a certain over-cautiousness on the part of the German leaders—a nervous hesitancy when action was proposed.

The will to action was in point of fact much weaker than the theoretical knowledge, and this in its turn hindered the discussion of subjects of the utmost importance; discussion of the dictatorship or such themes was taboo. Even Kautsky's by no means ultra-revolutionary utterances in the "Way to Power" had to be amended in obedience to the censorship of the Party Executive. More or less under the cover of Marx's objection to Utopian plans for a future state of society, the necessary action to be taken in a crisis was left undiscussed.

That meant that the theory itself was never properly developed—or rather it was not thought out and taught clearly to the members what were its necessary consequences. Above all there was an exaggerated fear—based certainly on their actual experiences of the Socialist law, of Prussian militarism and Prussian police brutality. This persisted till 1914, when on the eve of the war the Party Executive and the trade union leaders sent all their moneys abroad because they were afraid that they would be confiscated—which shows anyway that in those circles it was

not expected that the Parliamentary leaders would vote the war credits. All goes to show that what really killed the Social-Democratic Party of Germany as well as elsewhere was the fear to act; and because they had not the courage to take revolutionary action and go forward, they went back.

### **Workers, Unite!**

The aim of the Communist Party now is to take up the message of Karl Marx and to realise his slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"—which was the mainspring of all his actions through the first International and of Engels down to his death to get the workers to unite in defence of their own interest irrespective of other differences of opinion, conscious that the common fight would soon make them look at them in a different light. I have long felt that the question of referring actual questions to the popular vote (Initiative and Referendum) might be made a means of rallying the workers and uniting them on concrete demands. Measures not men; unity can almost always be achieved on the basis of actual class demands. Our German comrades have just achieved their most signal success for the policy of the United Front that way.

---

"The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential."—Marx: "Capital," vol. I.

# Fascist or Communist ?

By RUTLAND BOUGHTON.

**A**MONG British writers who matters more than D. H. Lawrence? He is an avowed anti-Socialist. It is, therefore, the more significant to find him moving in a direction which can only be pursued in the light of Communist doctrine. It seems that he has lately been to Mexico. There he has witnessed a locked conflict of spiritual and economic forces; and he has been puzzled, because his anti-Socialist prejudices have prevented him from seizing the key of the problem.

Mexico is one of the countries which has suffered longest from commercial colonisation. Her people have not only been prevented from exploring their own racial character, because of the infusion of alien and hostile blood; but the result of that infusion has been spiritually sterilised by a long period of commercial slavery under a succession of capitalist-brigands. It seems that at last the aboriginal Mexican characteristics are re-appearing. The inevitable breeding-out of the conquering race is happening. The native will begins to be re-asserted. Mr. Lawrence visits Mexico at this moment, and writes a very fine novel called "The Plumed Serpent"; in this he sets forth what he conceives to be the crux and solution of the situation. But because he repudiates the materialistic conception of history he cannot quite reach the heart of his tale. It seems to him a religious rather than an economic problem. He shows clearly enough the evil resulting from the imposition of Christianity upon the children of Quexalcoatl; but he seems to think that the religious hypocrisy is a cause rather than a result of the "confused blood-stream" (to use his own expression), while the various economic issues raised in the course of the book are never really faced.

Nevertheless "The Plumed Serpent" is a great book, and it is not at all surprising that the reviewers are unusually troubled by it. Hitherto the capitalist press has given Lawrence respectful praise. Their bookmen seem thoroughly to have enjoyed Lawrence's previous novels in spite of his open and original treatment of sex which has cut straight and hard across the slushy, curving lane of convention. I imagine that the Fascistical trend of his thought has led them to hope to find in him a great purveyor of boss-philosophy. But this anti-Christian outburst has upset them. Capitalistic thought has learned to trust the clerical at least as much as the military arm. No good words are to be

found then for a book which attacks Christianity even more bravely and directly than Mussolini is attacking it. "Cursed are the falsely meek" says Lawrence, "for they are inheriting the earth." This is too much for a colonising crowd with missionaries and dividend hunters in closest alliance. And now, of course, the hack reviewers begin to see red when they think of Lawrence's sex ideas. One leading weekly condemns the new book on that very score, although as a matter of fact there is less sex in "The Plumed Serpent" than in the average novel for general reading. Another reviewer (who appears to have read the book) takes refuge in his memory of Lawrence's earlier novels, and says: "Over many of his books, engloomed with sex, there is hopeless lust which can neither lose nor find itself." Of course, this sort of opening to a review may prejudice the reader sufficiently to prevent him wanting the book; but I am wondering whether, after all, many of the readers of Lawrence's books are likely to read the weeklies! Anyhow, what sex there is in "The Plumed Serpent" is an element not only of power but of nobility as well. This for example:

"That is the symbol of Quexalcoatl, the Morning Star. Remember the marriage is the meeting ground, and the meeting ground is the star. If there be no star, no meeting ground, no true coming together of the man with the woman, into a wholeness, there is no marriage. And if there is no marriage there is nothing but agitation. If there is no honourable meeting of man with woman and woman with man, there is no good thing come to pass. But if the meeting come to pass, then whosoever betrays the abiding place, which is the meeting ground, which is that which lives like a star between day and night, between the dark of woman and the dawn of man, between man's night and woman's morning, shall never be forgiven, neither here nor in the hereafter. For man is frail and woman is frail, and none can draw the line down which another shall walk. But the star that is between two people and is their meeting place shall not be betrayed. And the star that is between all men and women, and between all the children of men, shall not be betrayed. Whosoever betrays another man, betrays a man like himself, a fragment."

You can object to that sort of thing as too mystical, but I'm blest if a clean mind can find anything objectionable in it. However, apart from that and the closely pressed attack on Christianity, the book shows a reach-out towards ideas which are bound to take Lawrence many steps in the direction of Communism, unless he rises into the clouds of pure mysticism. The communal basis of life is implicit in the extract already quoted. Another extract shows it in relation to the world of commerce and make-believe:

"Mama's soul," said Cyprian, "will go straight into Paradise."

"Who knows child!" [It is the chief man of Quexalcoatl who is speaking.] "Perhaps the paradise for the souls of the dead is the hearts of the living."

"I don't understand what you say."

"It is possible," said Ramon, "that even now the only paradise for the soul of your mother is in my heart."

The two boys stared at him with open eyes.

"Never will I believe that," said Cyprian.



"Or it may be in thy heart," said Ramon. "Hast thou a place in thy heart for the soul of thy mother?"

The young Cyprian stared with bewildered hazel eyes.

"The soul of my mother goes direct to Paradise, because she is a saint," he asserted flatly.

"Which paradise, my son?"

"The only one. Where God is."

"And where is that?"

There was a pause.

"In the sky," said Cyprian stubbornly.

"It is very far and very empty. But I believe, my son, that the hearts of living men are the very middle of the sky. And there God is; and Paradise; inside the hearts of living men and women. And there the souls of the dead come to rest, there, at the very centre, where the blood turns and returns; that is where the dead sleep best."

There was a very blank pause.

"And wilt thou go on saying thou art the living Quexalcoatl?" said Cyprian.

"Surely! And when you are a little older, perhaps you will come to me and say it too."

"Never! Thou hast killed our mother, and we shall hate thee. When we are men we ought to kill thee."

"Nay, that is bombast, child! Why wilt thou listen only to servants and priests and people of that sort? Are they not thy inferiors, since thou art my son, and thy mother's son? Why dost thou take the talk of servants and inferiors into thy mouth? Hast thou no room for the speech of brave men?"

And then Ramon says a poem of the midday sun. The author continues:

They listened in confused silence.

"Come," he said, "why are you confused? If I talked to you about your new boots, or ten pesos, you would not be confused. But if I speak of the sun and your own souls filled from the sun like honeycombs, you sulk. You had better go back to your school in America, to learn to be business men. You had better say to everybody: Oh no, we have no father. Our mother died but we never had a father. We are children of an immaculate conception, so we should make excellent business men."

But this contempt for a world botched by capitalistic commercialism places Lawrence in difficulties, for his knowledge of Socialism is apparently still to seek. Upon one page we find the following:

"To the Socialists and agitators he wrote: What do you want? Would you make all men as you are? And when every peon in Mexico wears an American suit of clothes and shiny black shoes, and looks for life in the newspaper and for his manhood to the government, will you be satisfied? Did the government, then, give you your manhood that you expect it to give it to these others?"

and the comicality of that outburst gives one real joy of the man, for on the very next page we read:

"When men seek life first, they will not seek land nor gold. The lands will lie on the lap of the gods, where men lie. And if the old communal system comes back, and the village and the land are one, it will be very good. For truly, no man can possess lands. . . . Lay forcible hands on nothing, only be ready to resist if forcible hands should be laid on you. For the new shoots of life are tender, and better ten deaths than that they should be torn or trampled down by the bullies of the world. When it comes to fighting for the tender shoots of life, fight as the jaguar fights for her young, as the she-bear for

her cubs. That which is life is invulnerable. Fight for the vulnerable unfolding of life. But for that, fight never to yield."

This is still mystical; but the outstanding quality of Lawrence's thought from his early days as a miner has been an almost brutal association of spiritual feeling with material circumstance. The thing that has steadily grown in him is a kind of superhuman vision—what he would call "the second strength." That, combined with the fact that his knowledge of Socialism has evidently been gained in the infant school of the Tory press, leads one to believe that he will find his way back to his own people, and so become the revealer of many thoughts which are still struggling for utterance in the minds of a speechless proletariat. Already he voices some things which are only stated by the Communist advance-guard. Here is a passage which makes one think of the Russian Red Army:

"Cipriano struggled hard with his army. The curse of any army is the having nothing to do. Cipriano made all his men cook and wash for themselves, clean and paint the barracks, make a great garden to grow vegetables and plant trees wherever there was water. . . . Cipriano was determined to get some discipline into them. Discipline is what Mexico needs, and what the whole world needs. But it is the discipline from the inside that matters. The machine discipline, from the outside, breaks down."

Cipriano is not quite the ideal of a Red Army general; but the sort of discipline that Lawrence preaches, a discipline arising in a common sense of danger, reads very like the organisation developed by Trotsky and the Russian Army. And Lawrence follows it with an interesting passage:

"He divided his regiment up into little companies of a hundred each, with a centurion and sergeant in command. Each company of a hundred must learn to act in perfect unison, freely and flexibly. Perfect your hundred, Cipriano insisted, and I will perfect your thousands and your tens of thousands. . . . For us no trench and cannon warfare. My men are no cannon-fodder nor trench-dung. Where cannon are we move away. Our hundreds break up, and we attack where the cannon are not. That we are swift, that we are silent, that we have no burdens, and that the second strength is in us: that is all. We intend to put up no battle-front, but to attack at our own moment, and at a thousand points."

Either a Fascist or a Communist D. H. Lawrence will have to be. His blood is of the common people. He will finally be found only where the Second Strength is to be found. And that will only be found where the cause is good.

---

"Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic force."—Marx: "Capital," vol. I.

# Political Groupings in the Pacific

By J. D. McDOUGALL.

**I**S Britain, which was formerly the ally of Japan, now committed to America? The treaty with Japan has been formally broken off. Has a new treaty with America been signed? Radek says no, for otherwise the American navy, a tactical whole, would no longer be divided into two formations, an Atlantic Fleet and a Pacific Fleet, but would be concentrated in the Pacific. Whether Britain is actually pledged to take part in an American-Japanese War on the side of America or not, it is difficult to see how she could avoid doing so. After all, Canada and Australia are as much menaced by any aggrandisement of Japan in the Pacific as is the United States, and they share all that country's anti-Japanese prejudices; so that the failure of Britain to come to the help of America or even any lukewarmness in the American cause would probably lead to the immediate break-up of the British Empire. Hence the building of the new £12,000,000 naval base at Singapore.

But America is also Britain's most powerful competitor on the world market, so that Britain would not be too ill-pleased to see this dangerous rival weakened in a struggle with Japan; and following the lead given by America in the late war, might perhaps hold back, selling munitions profitably and impartially to both parties, until it appeared that Japan might actually win; when Britain would strike in, her extra weight deciding the struggle and leaving her at the close in a position to dictate terms of peace to both victor and vanquished.

The relation which France would bear to such a conflict in the Far East is difficult to foresee. The only thing of which we can be certain is the vital antagonism which, in spite of Locarno and all diplomatic humbug, exists in Europe between France and Britain. So that participation by Britain on the side of America might be sufficient to drive France, in the interests of the balance of power, to espouse the cause of Japan. The revolution in methods of naval warfare has made France, which is strong in submarines, a formidable naval power. France possesses in the English Channel, in the Tunis port of Bizerta, in Syria, in Jibuti on the Red Sea, in the island of Madagascar, and in its West African possessions, excellent bases from which a very destructive submarine campaign could be waged upon foodships

sailing for Britain. Moreover, at the Washington Conference, in spite of the repeated pleas of Britain for the abolition of this "piratical" mode of warfare, M. Briand, on behalf of France, declined definitely to agree to any restriction of the construction of submarines.

The position which Soviet Russia would take up in the event of such a war as we are discussing here is just as difficult to discern. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is determined by the interests of the toilers in Russia and throughout the world. In principle there is no more reason why it should be anti-Japanese than anti-American. If a bourgeois revolution were to take place in Japan and the Kenseikai party were to inaugurate a reasonable attitude towards Russia and gentler and more peaceful methods of competition in China, then Russia might remain neutral in an American-Japanese conflict, thus allowing Japan to get overland the necessary supplies of foodstuffs and munitions. But if the militarist caste remains in power in Japan, then her basic policy of supporting the oppressed nations of Asia against imperialist exploitation will almost compel Russia to take the field against Japan. Should this be the case, then the Maritime Provinces of Siberia might soon be again in Japanese hands, but on the other hand Japan would be cut off from the necessary supplies from Europe.

### **The Strategic Conditions of the Struggle.**

In naval warfare the fighting value of a fleet varies inversely to its distance from the base. From this the great tactical advantage enjoyed by Japan will at once be apparent. Say that a line drawn from Nagasaki to the Philippines can be looked upon as the probable theatre of war then the Japanese battlefleet will be only a day or two's sail from its bases. The nearest American naval base to the axis of the Western Pacific is Pearl Harbour in Honolulu, 5,000 miles distant. A month at least would require to elapse before America could concentrate a battlefleet in the theatre of war, well enough provisioned with coal, oil, etc., to venture upon fighting. Meanwhile during the first three days of the war, the Japanese would have occupied the Philippines. According to Golovin: "A theatre of war can, therefore, be considered as being adequately prepared from a strategic point of view when it is surrounded by a network of bases less than 500 miles distant from one another." In this sense Japan is well prepared. Moreover, the Japanese fleet is a "home fleet" and the home waters of Japan are very favourably situated for defence. By the acquisition of Korea and South Sakhalin, both the northern and southern entrances to the Sea of Japan came into Japanese hands, and this allowed it to be con-

verted into a sea closed to commerce. Even supposing that an American fleet, running the gauntlet of the numerous submarines which Japan could dispatch from its many islands, could penetrate into the Yellow Sea, the forcing of an entrance into the Sea of Japan might well prove as costly an undertaking as the forcing of the Dardanelles.

But Japan suffers from a grave military weakness. She forms an inadequate economic base. She is deficient in coal, iron and oil, the very sinews of modern warfare. For this reason she must first secure her economic hinterland on the mainland of Asia. The aims of Japanese strategy will, therefore, be:

1. To ensure Japan a free hand in Northern China, Korea and the Far Eastern Dominions of Russia.

2. To afford the opportunity of the complete absorption of China, thus opening the way for Japanese penetration in the southern direction. (Golovin.)

Those of America will be:

1. To compel Japan to reverse, not in words, but in deeds, her aggressive policy in China.

2. To defend the Philippines, or reconquer them if Japan succeeds in seizing the islands in the early stage of the war. (Golovin.)

The conclusions arrived at by this writer are that Japan, though initially victorious, will ultimately be defeated by a blockade on the high seas on condition that at the same time she is cut off from the Asiatic Continent. And secondly, that Japan cannot engage in an armed struggle against the United States without organising a solid base on the Asiatic mainland. Of course, if Britain is engaged on the American side, then the American fleet will be able to use the British bases at Hong-Kong and Singapore, which, though more distant from the probable theatre of war than the Japanese, are nevertheless much nearer than the American.

In comparing the strengths of the American and Japanese battlefleets, a mere numerical superiority is not decisive. Since the Russo-Japanese War, and particularly since the Battle of Jutland, the old "single line" tactics, in which the principal concern was to preserve the "line ahead" formation unbroken, have been abandoned in naval strategy in favour of the tactics of manœuvring autonomous divisions of sister ships in an independent manner. For the new tactics the ships of a division must be homogeneous particularly in the matter of speed. The battleships of the Japanese fleet, as they have been built in groups, are more suitable for the divisional formation than the American

ships which have been constructed more haphazardly. The American vessels are superior to the Japanese in gunfire, but inferior in speed. The Americans, again, are heavily armoured over the vitals, leaving much of the other surface unprotected, while the Japanese are armoured all over with thinner plate. A tabular comparison of the fleets shows:

American Fleet.	Japanese Fleet.
2½ divisions of 12 battleships,	2½ divisions of 10 battleships,
132 heavy guns, 28 torpedo	100 heavy guns, 72 torpedo
tubes, 21 knots speed.	tubes, 23 knots speed.

On the experience of the Battle of Jutland, says Golovin, it is doubtful if the numerical superiority of the Americans will assure them the victory. The fighting value of the cruisers and battleships can only be proved in practice. But in this matter of conducting battlefleets over great oceans there seems to be considerable difference of opinion. For instance, in an editorial on Singapore, the "New Statesman" of March 28th, 1925, remarks:

"And if we did go to war with America what Jellicoe would venture to take battleships across the Atlantic? It was considered in the last war dangerous to take them even into the North Sea."

At any rate naval authorities generally are agreed that the initial tactical advantage in an American-Japanese War would lie with Japan. In the end, of course, it seems almost certain that even without the military help of Britain, America by sheer weight of economic power would bear down her adversary. The military caste of Japan, however, are desperate; their last chance of placating the discontented bourgeoisie and revolutionary workers at home seems to be in achieving brilliant imperialist successes abroad; we may, therefore, anticipate that, seizing their present advantage, they will precipitate war. The outcome of the struggle cannot fail to hasten the world revolution.

---

". . . : the honest German, who would benefit his true fatherland by conferring on it the North American constitution, beautified and improved, resembles the idiotic merchant who copied the ledgers of his rich rival, and imagined that being in possession of this copy, he had also come into possession of the coveted wealth."—Marx: "Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality."



# BOOK REVIEWS

**Selected Essays of Karl Marx.**  
Translated by H. J. Stenning.  
(Leonard Parsons, Ltd. 6s. net.)

The young men and women in the Movement are particularly blessed inasmuch as every day brings to our libraries more of the writings of Marx. England has hitherto been starved in this respect to a greater extent than Germany and France. We welcome, therefore, this latest Marxian publication and congratulate translator and publishers on their production.

The first two essays, "A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right," and "On the Jewish Question," first appeared in the "Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher" (Franco-German Annuals) in 1844 when Marx was but 26 years old. The first of these was referred to by Marx himself in his preface to "The Critique of Political Economy." Here the translator makes it "Philosophy of Law" a difference which may be explained by the fact that the German word "Recht" can be translated both ways. The essay marks the beginning of Marx' dissatisfaction with the weak bourgeois Democratic Socialism of the times. It also marked the beginning of that train of thought which produced a dialectic method directly opposite to that of Hegel. Hegel made the real world only the external form of the "Idea"—the process of thinking. To Marx, however, the ideal is the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought.

In the essay on "The King of Prussia and Social Reform" Marx develops the theory—proved in the light of modern events, and cast aside by the Social-Democratic "Marxians" because it fails to square with the comfortable belief in "gradualness" which permits of collabora-

tion with the supporters of capitalism—that without a revolution Socialism cannot be enforced.

In the essay on "Proudhon" there is on page 176, line 11, what appears to be an error. Should not the word "poverty" be "property"? This is asked purely out of regard for accuracy—so essential in the works of Marx. "Proudhon" is a perfectly friendly appreciation of Proudhon's work "Qu'est ce que la propriété?" The other essays are a polemic against Karl Heinzen entitled "Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality," "French Materialism," and "The English Revolution."

No one need be afraid to buy this book on account of its profundity and from fear of difficulty in following Marx' ideas. The style is as simple as the subjects permit, and the book is a joy to read. We heartily commend it to our readers.

D.R.

**On the Road to Insurrection,** by N. LENIN. (Communist Party of Great Britain. rs. 6d., post free rs. 8d.)

This book, the translator explains, contains everything written by Lenin between the Kornilov rising in the late summer of 1917 and the revolution of November (October, old Russian calendar) except the "State and Revolution," a series of articles entitled "For the Revision of the Party Programme" and "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?"

Even to those who have appreciated something of the tremendous vitality, virility and energy of Lenin the realisation of the amount of work he did in that short space of time under the most trying, diffi-

cult and dangerous conditions will come as a revelation. Kerensky would have given much to have ended Lenin's life—that would indeed have been the most magnificent service he could have rendered to the bourgeoisie. But Lenin, aided by devoted workers, was not only able to evade capture, but also to continue with the guidance of the struggle which ended so gloriously for the working class.

Fired, as Lenin was, by enthusiasm for the revolutionary cause, living in the culmination of revolutionary struggle, with the situation changing from hour to hour, most writers would have lapsed into incoherency. Not so Lenin. In his writings at this time we can only see steadfast faith in the ultimate triumph of the workers. Not once appears any sign of being swept away by mere emotion. Burning enthusiasm certainly, but tempered by clear, analy-

tical thought: the reasoning always correct in so far as it was based on reliable information on actual happenings; always a readiness to readjust the findings of the previous day as demanded by changing circumstances. Never once during that crucial period did Lenin lose his poise.

It is interesting to note Lenin's conviction that no great capitalist power or combination of powers could successfully wage war on revolutionary Russia. History has proved in this as in all other things that Lenin was a difficult man to deceive. Nothing could shake his unwavering belief in the working class. It was just this faith that marked Lenin as a great leader. He was always in tune with the workers.

No student of the art of revolution can afford to miss this book—and in this category should be included every Party Member. J.C.



“The real pressure must be made more oppressive by making men conscious of the pressure, and the disgrace more disgraceful by publishing it.”—Marx: “A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right.”