

# CR

**The Overthrow of Tsardom**

**Part I The gathering of the storm**

Andrew Rothstein

**Writers and the Spanish Civil War**

John Manson

**Space, Time – and Dialectics, Part 4**

Martin Levy

**Chinese CP contribution to IMCWP in Vietnam**

**Revolution exhibition review** Nick Wright

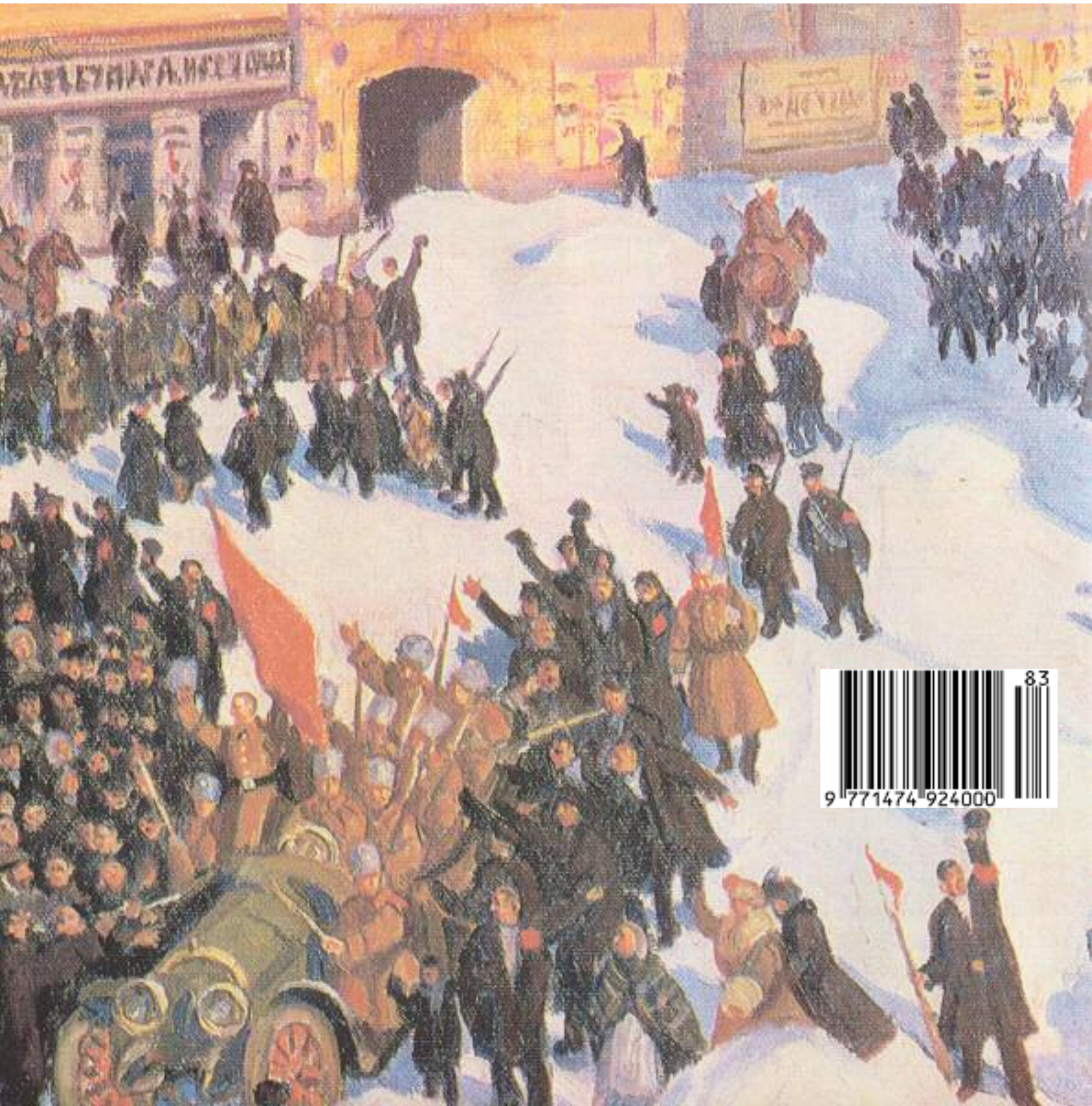
**The Sealed Train** Lars Ulrik Thomsen

**Soul Food**

Mike Quille

communist review number 83 spring 2017 £2.50

 communist party theoretical and discussion journal





founded 1921

theoretical and discussion journal of the communist party  
new series number 83 • Spring 2017  
ISSN 1474-9246

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Back issues of Communist Review, except for the 4 most recent editions, are in the process of being made freely available on the internet via [www.communistreview.org.uk](http://www.communistreview.org.uk). The remaining issues will be available to subscribers via the members' section of the Communist Party web site <https://secure.communist-party.org.uk/>

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Printed by APRINT  
Communist Review welcomes submission of articles (normally up to 5000 words), discussion contributions and letters – send to [editor@communistreview.org.uk](mailto:editor@communistreview.org.uk).

Articles will be reviewed by members of the Editorial Board, and we reserve the right not to publish.

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Image above: March 1917 International Women's Day march for bread.  
Cover image: 27 February 1917 by B Kustodiev.

# editorial by Martin Levy

**B**RITAIN, IT is said, has the oldest ruling capitalist class in the world, and one which is therefore particularly adept at finding ways of maintaining its position.

Of course, the composition of that class has changed over time, since the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688, which “brought into power, along with William of Orange, the landlord and capitalist appropriators of surplus-value.”<sup>1</sup> Throughout the 18th century, the dominant element of this alliance was the Whig financial clique, operating through the government and the Bank of England, with policies aimed at avoiding wars, and at removing taxes from merchants and manufacturers, while taxing goods consumed by the masses. It was considered dangerous to antagonise the landed squirearchy, and in any case most of the leading Whigs were landowners themselves.<sup>2</sup> As manufacture developed in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and capital was accumulated, that landowner-capitalist alliance became increasingly strained, and finally the 1832 Reform Act brought industrial capitalism out on top. This was followed by the period of ‘free trade’ – when Britain was the ‘workshop of the world’ – and also by colonial expansion, which developed into imperialism as production and capital were increasingly concentrated, and bank capital merged with industrial capital to create a dominant financial oligarchy.

It is that oligarchy, or at least its economic descendants, which holds the reins of power today. They are the super-rich whose shareholdings control “the handful of giant companies which together monopolise the main sectors of finance, industry, commerce and the mass media”.<sup>3</sup> Linked together by multiple business directorships, social and family ties, private school and Oxbridge education, and connections with the top echelons of the civil service, judiciary, police and armed forces, they have learned from ruling class history, and they pool their experiences today so that they govern by a sophisticated combination of coercion and consent. No longer is the “executive of the modern state ... but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”<sup>4</sup> – it is now the instrument solely of its monopoly finance capitalist sector. But fractures have been growing within the ruling class and its state, as shown by the EU referendum campaign and its outcome.

What Engels said of a democratic republic applies equally to a parliamentary democracy: “wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely.”<sup>5</sup> For this, the ruling class needs a political party to govern on its behalf; and generally that party – currently the Tories – has to make concessions to its core voters in order to secure their support. Hence the Conservatives have been forced to recognise the EU referendum result, and in fact have found a new unity in Parliament in order to exploit, in a populist way, the divisions in Labour’s ranks on this issue. But the government has had no clear idea of where it is going with the withdrawal negotiations, which is why it took Theresa May till the end of March to trigger the Article 50 process.

So, despite all the bluster from May and her ministers, the ruling class is in something of a crisis, which the government is hoping to resolve at the expense of the working class. The situation is therefore potentially a crisis for the labour movement also. It will not be resolved by clinging to rose-tinted views about the nature of the EU –

which simply help the ruling class out of its crisis – but by mobilising to defend remaining hard-won rights and public services, and to win back those which have been lost.

Britain’s ruling class is nowhere near as weak and inexperienced as Russia’s capitalists and landlords were in 1917. The situation is very different too. But our rulers are as detached from the real issues facing working people as their counterparts were in Russia. Under pressure, they too will make mistakes and over-reach themselves. And their scope for repression is much more limited.

In October 1917 (old style), the working class of Russia took the future into its own hands. However, that revolution didn’t happen in a vacuum: it required painstaking theoretical, educational and agitational work by the Bolsheviks over a long period, together with the development of mass struggle on a wide scale, including the February revolution which overthrew the Tsar. To inspire, and to help draw lessons from these events, *Communist Review* will be publishing a number of articles this year celebrating the centenary. We start in this issue with the first of three articles by the late Andrew Rothstein, originally published in *Marxism Today* for the 50th anniversary in 1967, plus a contemporary book review by Lars Ulrik Thomsen and a review by Nick Wright of the Royal Academy exhibition of Russian art from 1917 to 1932.

The loss of the Soviet Union was a tragedy from which the world’s working class and progressive movements have yet to recover. Yet the October Revolution’s impact continues to inspire attempts to build socialism, not least in China. We include in this issue the analysis and plans of the Chinese Communist Party, presented at last November’s international meeting in Vietnam.

In *CR80*, last year’s summer edition, we featured a number of articles on the Spanish Civil War, and promoted *Dare Devil Rides to Jarama*, Neil Gore’s play (still touring) about Clem Beckett and Christopher Caudwell, communists and International Brigade members who died together at the *Battle of Jarama* in February 1937. In this issue we continue the theme of cultural responses to that war with John Manson’s article, *Writers and the Spanish Civil War*, and with two more translated poems in *Soul Food* – which also includes important news about the web site *Culture Matters*.

Finally, this issue of *CR* sees the last in the current series looking at physics, cosmology, mathematics and philosophy, probing the connections between space, time and dialectics, with relevance to the foundations of dialectical materialism.

## Notes and References

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**Martin Levy**

FROM THE ARCHIVES

# 1917: The Overthrow of Tsardom

by Andrew Rothstein

## Part I. The Gathering of the Storm

Article originally published in *Marxism Today*, June 1967, pp 168-176



‘The most energetic and lively element in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the most capable of tireless struggle, resistance and constant organisation is the element (the organisations and the people) concentrated around Lenin. ...’

Department of Police, in its report to the Minister of the Interior for 1912 and up to April 1913,

### I. Illusion and Reality

On the morning of 16 March 1917, a notice was put up in the Junior Common Room of my college (I had just come up with a scholarship) by an Irish Nationalist aristocrat, calling an urgent meeting “to consider the cataclysm”. This was not wholly undergraduate extravagance; it well reflected the utter astonishment of the British people at the shouting headlines in the newspapers that day – “Successful Russian Revolution”, “Abdication of Tsar” and (a reassuring touch in *The Times*) “A ‘Win-the-War’ Movement”. Such was the first intimation that the press stories, ever since August 1914, about the Russians being heart-and-soul behind their Little Father, with all political differences set aside in the cause of defeating the enemy, were poppycock, to put it mildly.

But they were what the Establishment had wanted the people to believe. When the Tsar replaced one set of reactionary Ministers by another, after major defeats of the Russian Army in the early summer of 1915, this was “indicative of a remarkable change in Russian political life”, wrote the Annual Register, then as now the distilled essence of British reaction. Although there had been much discontent at the high price of food, it wrote in 1916, “the large majority of the Russian nation were heartily in favour of the war, and were prepared to make great sacrifices in order to prosecute the campaign to a victorious conclusion.” Now its authors were faced with the dismal prospect of having to write (in the 1917 Register) that “Tsardom passed out of existence amid a chorus of execration.”

The hard-headed world of the City found itself in no better case. After describing, in July 1914, the revolutionary feeling prevalent in Russia, the *Economist* by 17 October was announcing, in the words of its Petrograd correspondent: “Russia is solid for the war.” The establishment of War Industry Committees, under pressure from the Russian capitalists, meant that “representation of the people and the interests concerned are taken into partnership with the bureaucracy and the Tsar” (7 August 1915). After twelve months of criticism of the Tsarist Government’s incapacity and refusal to make reforms, in the Duma, nevertheless the speeches “leave no doubt as to the unanimity of all parties in prosecuting the war” (4 March 1916). Although the Socialists had been fighting the police in the streets of the capital in July 1914, “political differences have been temporarily effaced by the supreme effort of the nation against the common foe .... The whole Russian nation, even the revolutionaries, is fully supporting the war and the Government” (29 July 1916). And,

on 21 October 1916 – the day on which a political strike of 45 large factories (67,000 workers) ended in Petrograd, and five days before another, which brought out 180,000 workers, began – the *Economist* correspondent wrote: “Harm done to the economic life of the country by the war is likely to be less felt in an agricultural country like Russia than elsewhere in Western Europe.”

### Idyllic Picture

On the very eve of the great event, Harold Williams – one of the best known British correspondents in Russia – had drawn this idyllic picture:

“The street demonstrations are of an unusually mild character wholly unlike any demonstrations I have ever seen in Russia. Crowds wander about the streets, mostly women and boys with a sprinkling of workmen. Here and there windows are broken, and a few bakers’ shops looted. But on the whole the crowds are remarkably good-tempered .... Occasionally when mobs on the Nevsky get too dense the troops gently disperse them. There is a curious placidity about the whole thing .... The main current of the movement is not revolutionary. There is nothing like a popular uprising. It is simply an unusually insistent demand for a vigorous solution of the food problem.” (*Daily Chronicle*, 13 March 1917)

How were the newspapers now to explain the thunderbolt of a revolution in the largest land empire on earth, after all this?

Their reporters did all they could to help out. The revolution really was what *The Times* had called it: the Russians had overthrown their Emperor because his Government wasn’t doing enough to win the war. The Liberal and Tory newspapers competed with one another in their reassurances. “The one great anxiety that clouded the future of the war is being removed”, wrote Williams. “Henceforth Russia is in heart and soul for the war, and the war only”, the Liberal Russian journalist Michael Farbman assured the readers of the *Daily Chronicle*, the same day. “Henceforth the full strength of the Russian nation will be engaged on the side of the Allies”, said the leading article of the *Daily News*. The revolution “will strengthen Russia in the fuller conduct of the war”, echoed the *Manchester Guardian*. *The Times* editorial noted “the manifest eagerness of all parties that Russia should continue to wage the war with even greater vigour.” The other Tory press went on in the same way.

Moreover, the last thing people should imagine was that some unruly mob had made the Revolution – “the great unwashed”, as the upper classes in Britain still from time to time described the mass of the workers (who, like the Russians, still had no vote). It was the Duma which had done it – Russia’s unrepresentative Parliament chosen in indirect elections from which nine-tenths of the population of the Empire were excluded, under a system in fact which provided a built-in majority for the tiny landowning class; and with only powers to advise and criticise the Ministers appointed by the Tsar. “Briefly, the garrison of Petrograd has revolted and given its adherence to the Duma” (*Daily Chronicle*). The revolution was the result of “a collision between the Government and the Duma” (*Daily News*). “The parliamentary leaders, with the people and the Army at their back, have carried out a coup d’état” (*The Times*); and so on. In fairness, one must say that one discordant voice was heard that morning and the next, in the *Manchester Guardian*:

“Reading between the lines, it is apparent that the initiative in the revolutionary movement came from the working classes. They acted, as they have acted before, by means of a general strike, but on this occasion their position was secured because they had the army with them. ... The soldiers came in on the popular side, for the most part, without their officers.”

### The Working Class

In at any rate the anti-war Socialist weeklies (Labour had no daily paper during the 1914-18 war) there was no hesitation. The British Socialist Party’s *Call* had repeatedly during previous months, reported workers’ struggles in Russia, food shortages, approach of a crisis. Now (22 March) it ridiculed the assertions that the revolution was due to “the ardent desire of the people to win the war” and that it was born of the united forces of the Duma and the Army:

“The real truth is that the revolution was begun and carried out with the utmost success by the masses of the people themselves against the previous exhortations of the Duma, who had feared nothing so much as a revolution.”

The Independent Labour Party’s *Labour Leader*, which had the previous week printed their leader Philip Snowden’s survey saying, “The country is seething with unrest ... Petrograd is in a state of revolution”, now was more hesitant in defining its attitude, but printed a resolution of a meeting of the Russian Socialist Groups in London, pointing out that “the most active part in the revolution was played by the revolutionary working class.” George Lansbury, in his weekly *Herald*, wrote that “The feverish anxiety with which the British press strives to prove that everyone in Russia is pro-war is clear evidence to me that it is not so”, and the Editorial Notes quoted the same resolution of the Russian Socialists in London.

Thus, at the very moment of the March Revolution in Russia, two diametrically opposite versions of its origin were launched; and in substance they continue to circulate, fifty years later. Moreover, in capitalist countries, where obscurantist writers can be financed on a large scale, their books subsidised in various ways and publishers assured of a good guaranteed sale to universities, public libraries and those who know no better, the reactionary party has a very considerable advantage. All the more important, therefore, to ascertain which of the two has truth on its side.

## 2. The Russian Working Class in 1914

In the last months before the First World War the Russian working class was engaged in mounting an ever fiercer struggle – and with the Bolshevik Party more and more recognised, by friend and foe alike, as its chosen leader.

Strikes in Tsarist Russia might start for purely economic demands, but the savage attacks on the strikers by police and troops made them political in spite of themselves. However, these years saw an increasing proportion of strikes with political demands from the very start. In 1912 there were 550,000 political strikers out of a total of 725,000; in the first six months of 1914, out of more than 1,300,000 strikers, over a million struck for political reasons – the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, 22 January 1905 (over a quarter of a million), the suspension of workers’ deputies from the Duma in April (over 100,000), over half a million on May Day. The Annual Register for 1914 itself wrote of the “enormous increase in so-called political strikes, the work of a clandestine organisation which threatened to paralyse trade and industry ...” On 4 July, 90,000 struck in protest at the shooting of over 50 workers by the police at a mass meeting in the great Putilov engineering works and shipyard; by 7 July, 130,000 were on strike in St Petersburg alone (with much fighting with the police, and barricades up in a number of places), over 50,000 struck in Moscow and another 50,000 in Riga, 20,000 in Warsaw, and scores of thousands elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> This great movement drew in masses of students, particularly on 1 May, in the largest cities: as well as sailors of the Baltic and Black Sea Fleets and two Army battalions in Central Asia.

### Bolshevik Advance

The Bolshevik Party, in the last two years before the war, moved steadily to leadership of these struggles: the evidence may be briefly summarised here.<sup>2</sup> Their daily paper *Pravda*, started on 5 May 1912, won big support in the largest factories, far outdistancing the Menshevik paper. In the October 1912 elections to the Duma, the Bolsheviks won all six seats reserved for the workers (in the most industrially advanced provinces). In April 1913, they won a decisive victory over the Mensheviks in the elections to the St Petersburg committee of the Metal Workers’ Union, and two months later a similar victory in the Moscow Printers’ Union. By the summer of 1914 most of the few legal St Petersburg unions and all the local unions existing legally in Moscow had elected Bolshevik leaderships (in spite of constant police persecution) and the same applied to workmen’s clubs and educational societies in the main industrial centres. In March 1914, the Bolsheviks won sensational victories in elections to the newly created insurance committees at St Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Kharkov, Odessa and other cities.

Well might the Department of Police, in its report to the Minister of the Interior for 1912 and up to April 1913, already write:<sup>3</sup>

“The most energetic and lively element in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the most capable of tireless struggle, resistance and constant organisation is the element (the organisations and the people) concentrated around Lenin. ... The Leninist fraction is always better organised than any other, stronger in its single-mindedness, more inventive in carrying its ideas into the workers’ ranks and in adapting itself to the political situation .... Summing up the present state of



the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, it should be said that of all the revolutionary organisations existing in Russia and abroad, the only one which has not fallen behind the present revival in the workers' movement, which has managed to pull itself together sufficiently, establish its slogans and its connections, and theoretically and practically keep up with the general animation is the Bolshevik fraction of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party."

And on 30 June 1914, the colonel of gendarmerie in charge of security in St Petersburg reported to the Minister that, in contrast to the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary papers which ran at a constant deficit, the "Leninist fraction's" *Pravda* (at that time called *Labour Pravda* on account of its repeated suppression under other titles) was printing 40,000 copies daily – 50% more than the other two combined – and had managed "finally to establish itself, more than cover its expenses, and does not touch at all its 'iron fund', which has now reached a total of over 20,000 roubles."

This influence and the movement behind it were not blotted out when war broke out. *Pravda* had been raided and closed down as early as 8 July 1914; in many places the legal organisations in Bolshevik hands were also raided and their officials arrested. But the Bolshevik local committees in a number of others issued tens of thousands of leaflets denouncing the war and the Tsarist Government, and preaching revolution. On the day war was declared (1 August 1914) 27,000 workers in 21 St Petersburg factories – including some of the largest – struck against the war and demonstrated in the streets. In Moscow there were strikes at the big 'Three Hills' textile factory and elsewhere; 10,000 workers were on strike at Baku, 1,500 at the Tver Railway Carriage Works; in the Perm province there were armed conflicts between mobilised workers and the authorities in the course of which dozens of workers were killed or wounded.<sup>4</sup>

### Outbreak of War

However, this was the vanguard of more politically conscious workers, directly influenced by *Pravda*, or other Bolshevik literature, or by the Bolshevik groups in their midst. Most workers throughout the Empire – especially the majority engaged in small-scale enterprise in the lesser towns – were for the time being silenced, either by mobilisation or by the warlike propaganda campaign launched by the authorities; while the police made wholesale raids and arrests among those suspected of being members of the "Leninist" organisation. Between August and December 1914, there were only 70 strikes, 8 of them with political aims: of the 37,000 strikers, just over 4,000 put forward political, *ie* anti-war, demands. The secret police were triumphant. "Thanks to the consistent and systematic liquidation of the most active Party workers", the Petrograd division reported to the Department of Police on 11 December 1914, there had not been a regular Bolshevik leading committee in the capital since the outbreak of war. Such committees as had been formed were "self-appointed, consisting of chance groupings of old Party workers"(!) and only in a few sections of the city was there "underground Party work in the form of factory groups and unimportant industrial groups" – the most active being in the Vyborg quarter, consisting of especially advanced and class conscious metal workers.

But these exceptions – men and women educated by *Pravda* and in the Bolshevik factory branches – were just the indestructible element which were inaccessible either to the spies of the police or to their comprehension (as they have been, ever since, to the successors and pupils of the Tsarist police among the historians).

Much has been written, and a good deal known through translation, of Lenin's immediate branding of the war of 1914 as an imperialist war, and of the firm manifesto of the Bolshevik Central Committee leaders abroad, under his leadership (November 1914). The manifesto denounced the betrayal of the decisions of the International by the Social-Democratic leaders on both sides who were supporting the war, criticised

the centrists who refused to break with such supporters, called for a struggle which would turn the imperialist war into a civil war (including the defeat of one's own government) and demanded the formation of a new revolutionary international, cleared of the opportunists. This became the very backbone of all later Bolshevik activity during the war.

### Opposition to the War

What is less known is the fact that, during 3½ months in which the Bolshevik organisations had no contact with their leaders abroad, they went into action, wherever and whenever they could, with essentially the same analysis and conclusions. Denunciations of the war and calls for the overthrow of Tsardom were issued in leaflet form, apart from Petrograd, Moscow and Riga, in Kharkov, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Tsaritsyn (later Stalingrad) and towns in the Urals, Caucasus and elsewhere: 70 leaflets in about 400,000 copies. Party conferences (illegal) were held in several areas.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the Bolshevik Duma deputies, after holding a number of meetings with their constituents which adopted anti-war resolutions, induced the Menshevik deputies to join with them on 8 August in a declaration denouncing the war as the work of the ruling classes, and opposing any support of Tsardom; and in walking out when the war credits were put to the vote. The Bolsheviks – not the Mensheviks – followed this up in October by sending a stinging reply, preliminarily discussed by meetings of active Party workers in the main industrial centres, to a telegram from the Belgian pro-war Socialist Vandervelde, appealing to them to support the war “against Prussian Junkerdom”.

The Bolshevik deputies were arrested at the beginning of November (and sentenced in February to exile in a penal settlement for life); but not before the secret police had once again reported: “It must be admitted that in Petrograd the Leninist trend has the dominant influence in views on the war and on the attitude of Social Democrats to the war.” The documents produced by the prosecution at the trial of the deputies, and the speeches of some of them – reprinted in some of the Petrograd capitalist press – carried these views far and wide.

Thus, however great the losses that had been suffered, and however muffled was the voice of the Bolsheviks for the time being, the most politically active sections of the working class (and of other sections of the working people) had had a plain intimation that there was another way of looking at events than that which was served up to them, in defence of the war, by the united front from the Tsar to most of the Mensheviks.

### 3. The War and its Miseries

Little by little – but much faster than in the more developed imperialist countries – the Russian people as a whole began to learn the same lesson, to varying degrees and at varying rates according (in the main, and individuals apart) to their class situation.

The Tsarist Government mobilised about four million men immediately, and over ten million more in the next 2½ years. During those years the Russian forces played a major part in the war. In August 1914, two Russian armies invaded East Prussia, only to be almost annihilated the following month. Other Russian armies had inflicted equally heavy defeats on those of Austria-Hungary, and had occupied Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, nearing the Carpathian foothills. In the following months German and Russian armies fought bloody battles in Russian Poland. In November, December and

January Russia's armies in the Caucasus inflicted shattering defeats on Germany's Turkish ally and invaded Turkey. In these struggles, apart from huge losses in manpower, the Tsarist army almost exhausted its reserve stocks of guns, rifles, machine guns and munitions. Then, after further Russian advances in Galicia, the Germans in May 1915 broke through the Russian front there, and in five months in practically incessant battles drove the Russian army out of most of the Austro-Hungarian territory it had gained, and occupied south-west Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania and part of Latvia. There began many months of exhausting trench warfare. In June 1916 a further offensive of the south-western Russian armies against Austria once again brought them, at great cost to both sides, back to the Carpathians; while another offensive carried the Caucasus armies deep into the Black Sea regions of Turkey.

These huge encounters had exacted a fearful price. A document of the “Special Committee to Examine and Combine Defence Establishments”, dated November 1916, stated that up till then 5½ million had been killed, wounded or taken prisoner, while 9 million were at the front or in other army units. Apart from those in occupied territory (2 million), physically unfit (5 million) or engaged in industry or on the railways (3 million), there were now left only 1,500,000 fit men available for call-up – out of 26 million men between 18 and 40 who had been capable of bearing arms in July 1914.

The call-up itself had deprived agriculture of 47% of its able-bodied males, and industry of some 40% of its workers. The countryside, in addition, had had 35% of its cattle and 10% of its horses requisitioned or purchased. Agriculture, moreover, was hit by the violent reduction in supply of machines and implements, partly because of the almost total (96%) stoppage of imports (chiefly from Germany before the war), partly through the switching of metal working factories to war production: home output of farm machinery fell by 75%. Output of bread grains fell from an average of 45 million tons in the five pre-war years to 35.5 millions in 1916-17.<sup>6</sup>

### Economic Breakdown

Transport was also profoundly affected. By the end of 1916 the number of railway engines available had fallen from 20,000 to under 17,000 and of goods trucks from 540,000 to 460,000; in addition, 17% of the engines and nearly 7% of the railway trucks needed urgent repair. This decline was partly due to the great losses sustained during the German advance in the relatively industrialised areas of Poland and the Baltic provinces; but the evacuation of millions of refugees and much property in face of the German advance, and the enormous requirements of the army in moving troops and supplies to the fronts, with the heavy concentration of rolling stock on deliveries of fuel and materials to the war factories (the last two items alone diverted one-third of all engines and trucks), all imposed on the railways a strain which only a fully adequate repair and production industry could relieve. But industry was less and less capable of meeting this need.

Industry had, as a result of the German advance, lost over 20% of its productive capacity in any case; but the transport crisis, which created acute shortages in deliveries of coal and raw material, and at the same time inadequate output of iron and steel<sup>7</sup> (in August 1916 monthly war needs were assessed at 300,000 tons, but only 250,000 tons were being delivered) were progressively making matters worse. At the beginning of January 1917, Rodzyanko, the President of the Duma, submitted to the Tsar a long list of factories which had been closed down for lack of fuel.



The worst aspect of this general economic breakdown was a growing crisis in supplies of food and other necessities to the people – mainly because grain which was available could not be moved (as also was the case with kerosene) but also because of the reduction in output of the textile industry, through lack either of raw material or labour. By October 1916 its output was only 80% of prewar – but the lion's share of that output was reserved for the armed forces. As regards food, the situation in the large cities by the end of 1916 was disastrous.

No more than 3,300 wagon loads of grain were delivered to Moscow in December 1916, as against a standard of 10,200. Petrograd frequently received an even smaller proportion. The army by the spring of 1916 was receiving only one-third of its pre-war meat ration. The authorities realised what this meant. In 1915 the Department of Police registered 684 food riots in European Russia alone; in the first five months of 1916 it recorded 510. In a report to the Minister of the Interior in the second half of that year, it said: "The food breakdown is being combined with the political struggle to threaten Russia with a collapse such as Russian history has never known."<sup>8</sup>

### Harsh Conditions

It was not only the shortages which enraged the working class, but the spectacle of frantic profiteering and idle luxury, openly flaunted, by the side of headlong rises in prices which put even the bare necessities beyond the reach of the people. *Industry and Trade*, the main journal of the business world, spoke in October 1916 of "the threatening exhaustion of the working class", produced by "the extraordinary increase in the intensity of labour as a result of war conditions, coupled with the complication of the food problem for the wide masses of the people."<sup>9</sup> Indeed, dividends of 20, 30 or 40% became quite common in the war years for shareholders in the largest monopolies – metalworking, oil, sugar, rubber and others. Parallel with these were the astronomic increases in prices. Taking the level in January 1914 as 100, they stood on 1 January 1917, at 400 for cheap calico, 480 for cotton prints, 700 for matches, 905 for footwear. Bread in Moscow cost twice as much in January 1917 as it did three years before; beef was 3-4 times as dear and pork 4-5 times. In the provinces prices had risen still higher.<sup>10</sup>

But nominal wages had not risen anything like as much; and real wages were no more than 50-60% of what they had been in 1913. Moreover, the average working day was back to nearly 10 hours. Here the evidence of the workers' enemies is perhaps as convincing as any. In October 1916, the Petrograd secret police reported to the Department of Police that the economic position of the masses was "more than terrible". While wages had gone up for most workers by only 50% – more than that only for a few categories such as skilled mechanics – food prices were up from 100% to 500%.

"Even if we assume that wages rose by 100%, food prices have gone up on the average by 300%. The impossibility of securing many foodstuffs and prime necessities even for money, the loss of time while standing in queues for commodities, the increased sickness through bad feeding and anti-sanitary housing (cold and damp through lack of coal and wood fuel) and other factors have led to the workers already in their majority being ready for the most savage excesses of hunger riots."<sup>11</sup>

And the French Ambassador, Maurice Paléologue, noted in his diary on 29 September 1916:

"The high cost of living is a cause of general suffering.

As regards the prime necessities, the increase in prices is to three times the pre-war level: it even reaches four times for wood fuel and eggs, five times for butter and soap. The main reasons for this situation are unfortunately as deep-seated as they are evident: the closing of foreign markets, the blocking-up of the railways, the disorder and corruption in the administration."

On October 24 he noted that the food situation was worse:

"The people are suffering from hunger" – and "in the factories leaflets pass from hand to hand, inciting the workers to strike and demand peace."

A week later Paléologue put down:

"For two days all the factories of Petrograd have been on strike. The workers left the workshops without formulating any reason, on a simple watchword coming from a mysterious committee."<sup>12</sup>

The committee was the Petrograd organisation of the Bolshevik Party.

### 4. Bolsheviks and Workers in Wartime

By the autumn of 1915, after all the repressions, mass arrests and trials, the Bolsheviks had reconstituted the framework of their underground organisation. While the leadership, in the person of Lenin, Zinoviev and Krupskaya (as secretary) were functioning in Switzerland, Shlyapnikov as Central Committee member had gone secretly to Russia and reconstituted a "Russian Bureau" of the Central Committee, composed of members of the illegal Petersburg Committee (the Bolsheviks kept the old name, as a symbol of their rejection of the jingo manoeuvre which substituted a 'Slavonic' name for the 'Teutonic' one) and other active workers. This of course was done by co-option: in the course of 1915 arrests necessitated the formation of a second Bureau, and in the Summer of 1916 a third.

The people whom Shlyapnikov brought in had all had their political training in practical underground work, particularly in the factories and the students' organisations, and most particularly since *Pravda* had been started. In the same way – in spite of constant arrests, owing to the penetration of police informers – city committees were incessantly set up and were able to function for a time in Moscow, in April 1915, August 1915, October 1915, February 1916, August 1916, November and December 1916. Much the same was the picture elsewhere. During 1914-15 the Samara (now Kuibyshev) committee had to be reconstituted after police raids at least six times, and in August 1916 a committee was elected at a regional party conference which functioned right up to the March Revolution. Committees went on functioning in Estonia, Latvia and the Caucasus.

In all, committees functioned – with occasional breaks after police raids – in 29 cities of the Russian Empire during the war, publishing leaflets, illegal papers, even occasionally legal printed papers (surviving for a few issues), and conducting constant agitation in the factories, the army and navy, and among the students. About 90 local groups and committees took part in this: they reached 75 towns in all. A total of 600 leaflets, with a print of some two millions, were issued between July 1914 and March 1917.<sup>13</sup>

The most outstanding case – and historically the most decisive – was the Petersburg committee. It had to be reconstituted at least 30 times during the war, and at least 500 of its most active members and local members were arrested. This was apart from the thousand arrested in connection with raids on the 19 illegal printing establishments which it set up in the course of those years, and with the distribution of the leaflets produced. But the persistent groundwork done in the previous years, especially by the publication of *Pravda* as the voice of the workers by hand and brain, had created a vast reserve of support on which the Committee and its supporters could draw. Every possible occasion was taken for issuing leaflets, and holding short meetings in the biggest works.

In April 1917, V Schmidt, speaking at the first All-Russian Party Conference on behalf of the Petersburg Committee then functioning, reported that 90 leaflets with a total print of 300,000 had been issued by the Committee during the war: but this was before any fundamental research was done, and today it is known that at least 160 leaflets were issued in Petrograd during the 32 months of war up to the beginning of March 1917, with a total output of close on 500,000 copies. These leaflets penetrated all over the country, and their origin was no more “mysterious” than their effect. In April 1916 the secret police reported:

“Among the Petrograd Social-Democrats the ‘Bolshevik-Leninists’, with the Petersburg Committee as their leading body, were especially noteworthy for their activity and fighting spirit .... A number of repressive measures adopted by the Security Branch disturbed the plans of the Bolshevik-Leninists, but they invariably restored what had been broken up, as far as possible came together again and refilled the ranks of their leaders.”

At the beginning of January 1917, the police came into possession of the one and only set of minutes of the Petersburg Committee which have been preserved. They showed that there were 11 borough committees, three national committees (representing Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian members living in the capital) and one student committee in existence and working. The committee discussed an important political question – recent German “peace proposals” – drafts of a leaflet on the subject, arrangements for meetings in the factories and a demonstration, and various matters of organisation.<sup>14</sup> No wonder that, in January 1917, the secret police was once again reporting with regret that

“the leading collective of the Bolshevik Social-Democrats has still remained at large and continued its underground work, with the firm intention of displaying to the Government authorities its vitality and the small effectiveness of the measures of the investigating body.”

And this lament, though uttered in connection with Petrograd, could well have applied to a number of other cities.

### Strikes

In point of fact, this “firm intention” had been demonstrated a number of times during the previous two years, loudly enough to reverberate throughout Russia despite the ruthless censorship. When the Bolshevik Duma deputies were arrested, the Petersburg Committee called for meetings and a one-day protest strike on 12 November. Only a few factories struck in Petrograd, but other strikes and meetings took place

in Moscow, Kharkov and other cities. 197 students were arrested after a meeting in Petrograd University. When the deputies were put on trial, in February 1915, there were more strikes and student meetings, though still on a small scale (fewer than 5,000 struck in different parts of Russia). Strikes called for the anniversary of the Lena Goldfields shootings (17 April 1915) were still small, and 35,000 struck on May Day in response to the Bolshevik call.

Then, from April to November 1915, there was a big increase in strikes in many parts of European Russia, mostly for economic reasons, as the various miseries of the war began to make themselves felt. Over 460,000 workers struck. Moreover, whereas wider issues played a small part at first – perhaps 15,000 involved in political strikes (up to June out of 181,000 strikers) – the situation changed abruptly when 100 workers were shot dead on August 10 at Ivanovo-Voznesensk, where a demonstration of 4,000 textile strikers was demanding the release of a group of active Bolsheviks, arrested in connection with the distribution of a Party leaflet. Immediately, political protest strikes broke out in Moscow, Petrograd, Tula, Nizhny-Novgorod, Kharkov and other industrial towns – the first on a large scale since the outbreak of war. In August and September, out of nearly 170,000 strikers (260 strikes), over 130,000 took part in 165 political strikes, a number of them provoked by the arrest of 30 Bolshevik workers at the Putilov works. In all, the period from August to November 1915 produced 340 strikes with nearly a quarter of a million participants. The near lull created by the outbreak of war had been broken for good – and this had important consequences.

On 2 September 1915, General Frolov, commanding the Petrograd Military District, issued an order threatening trial of strikers by court-martial, with penal servitude as the punishment: he launched for the first time the charge – later to become familiar – that the strikes were being financed by “German money”. The Petersburg Committee, in a reply manifesto, reminded Frolov of the widely publicised charge that German gold was going to General Staff officers, and that strikers were getting, not gold, but prison, lockouts and hunger: and it called on the soldiers not to be fooled, but to join the working class when it rises for decisive battle with the Tsarist Government and turn their arms “against the real enemies of Russia, the Frolovs, the police, the gendarmes and the whole Tsarist gang”.

### ‘Workers’ Groups’

It was in this atmosphere that there took place, in September 1915, elections in the factories to ‘Workers’ Groups’ of the War Industry Committees. These committees had been set up in the summer after the heavy defeats of the Tsarist army, to try and bring order out of chaos in the war industry, or, more precisely, as a means of bringing the industrial capitalists into closer association with the Tsarist bureaucracy, now under a cloud. The bourgeoisie in turn had decided that it would be a good idea to bring a number of workers’ representatives into association with them and thus with the war effort; and the opportunist parties – Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries – eagerly seized on this opportunity of supporting the war, under the guise of defending the workers’ interests. But in order to get the workers’ representatives elected, the authorities had to allow mass meetings in the larger factories – though it was provided that the meetings could only choose ‘electors’, and these in turn at city meetings would choose the representatives, a procedure which made easier ‘sifting’ by the police.

The Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks, at the end of August, decided to make use of the mass meetings to get publicity for the Bolshevik attitude on the war, get Bolsheviks elected as ‘electors’ and then that the latter should at the city meetings get those meetings to endorse the Bolshevik attitude. Declarations of policy were drafted for the two occasions. The subsequent proceedings brought out only too clearly, for the authorities’ liking, the tremendous ‘vitality’ of the Bolshevik organisation. At factory after factory, in Petrograd, Bolshevik ‘electors’ were chosen, or the Bolshevik declaration was adopted, or both. 219,000 workers in factories employing 500 workers or over took part in the meetings. When the 198 ‘electors’ assembled on 10 October (10 did not turn up), 60 of them were Bolsheviks, 81 Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and 57 non-party. But after 13 hours of discussion, the Bolsheviks’ declaration was adopted by 95-81 – proclaiming that “the main enemy of each people is in its own country: the enemy of the Russian people is the Tsarist autocracy, the serf-owner-minded landowners, the imperialist bourgeoisie”, and that the watchword of ‘down with the war’ should be given point by the call: “Hail the social revolution.” For the same reason it would be treachery to the revolutionary internationalist principles of the working class for workers’ representatives to take part in the Central War Industry Committee.

This event resounded like a thunderclap throughout the country. After a public denunciation of “outside interference” in the press by the Menshevik leader Gvozdev, the Government cancelled the elections, arrested a number of ‘electors’ or annulled their mandates, and held a second meeting on December 12, at which the Bolsheviks and Left Socialist-Revolutionaries denounced the proceedings and withdrew, and the Mensheviks got their men elected. But the political effect was tremendous. Thereafter the Government managed to get elections among the workers in only 76 towns out of 244 where War Industry Committees were set up – and only in 58 of these were ‘workers’ groups’ set up. Considering the methods of the Tsarist regime, this was a convincing proof of the leadership of the Bolsheviks among the most decisive sections of the workers.

This was confirmed on several outstanding occasions in 1916. On the anniversary of ‘Bloody Sunday’, 22 January,<sup>15</sup> 70,000 workers struck at the call of the Bolsheviks – despite mass preliminary arrests of active Party workers all over the country. That month there took place elections in the factories (those with at least 200 workers) to the provincial insurance committees set up in 1914, and to the Central Insurance Council, to which only Petrograd factories had the right to elect. By January 1916, as a result of arrests, there was not a single workers’ representative left in the Petrograd insurance committee, and only 3 out of 15 in the Central Insurance Council – and 2 of those were Bolsheviks. The Petersburg Committee organised a campaign based on (i) the extension of the social insurance system to the whole working class and on a non-contributory basis, and (ii) the expulsion of the “War-Industry Socialists” as traitors to the working class cause. In fact, at the all-Petrograd delegate meeting on 31 January the Bolshevik declaration was adopted and the entire Bolshevik list was elected, except for one whose name had been misprinted on the ballot paper. The Petrograd secret police in February reported that this was “a brilliant result for the Bolsheviks, crowning their election campaign and agitation”, and that evidently the Insurance Council would now become “the leader of Party life in the capital”. The activity of the Leninists had “reached its peak”, they said.

## Strikes Spread

But, while the strike wave continued to rise in general in 1916 – the number of strikers rose from 557,000 the previous year to 1,038,000, 310,000 of them in political strikes as against 157,000 in 1915 – the peak was yet to come. In October 1916, the food shortage reached unprecedented acuteness, with endless queues for bread, frequent small strikes and fights with the police. The Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks launched a campaign of meetings in the factories to explain the origin of the crisis. On 25 October it brought out a leaflet explaining why the ruling class was carrying on the war, and calling on the working class “to raise its voice”. The response was an impressive one. On 30 October, 7 factories with 20,300 workers stopped; swelling daily, the strike embraced 66,600 by 1 November. Moreover, on the first day soldiers of a reserve battalion in a barracks opposite the Renault factory joined the strikers there in stoning the police: and neither they nor Cossacks who had been called out would fire on the workers. The Petersburg Committee called off the strike on 4 November.

But it was renewed four days later, when 19 sailors charged with membership of a Bolshevik organisation, and a number of soldiers arrested for their part in the strikes on 30 October, were due for court-martial. The Petersburg Committee issued a leaflet calling on the workers to “stretch out the hand of fraternal aid to our comrades in the army”, and to start a three-day strike on 8 November. By 10 November 120,000 workers at 50 large works, and 10,000 in smaller factories were on strike. When the military authorities and the factory-owners ordered the closure of a number of factories, and the dismissal of the strikers, as a reprisal, the answer of the Petersburg Committee was to call for a general strike in Petrograd. By 14 November 180,000 were on strike. The lockout was called off the previous day, and the strike ended.

## Bolsheviks in the Fleet and Army

This was the real peak of the workers’ struggle in 1916. It showed that they had begun to understand very clearly the political origin of the miseries the war had brought them: that the decisive factories, where the biggest mass of workers were concentrated, had begun to follow the Bolsheviks, and that the understanding had begun to reach the armed forces. It was just during the last stages, on 5 November, that Maurice Paléologue recorded a conversation with “a General in daily contact with the Petrograd garrison”, who told him that the latter now numbered at least 170,000 men. The Ambassador asked him if it was true that these troops were “gravely contaminated by revolutionary propaganda”. The general answered “in the affirmative”.<sup>16</sup> And this was not idle talk. The Department of Police had a wide intelligence network in the armed forces, and reported in the summer of 1916 that the revolutionary leaflets of the Petersburg Committee were reaching the army and navy on active service “in considerable quantity”. In fact the Petersburg Committee had set up a services organisation which had contacts with Party groups in companies and regiments at Kronstadt, Reval and half a dozen other garrison towns. In the Baltic Fleet nearly every warship had its Bolshevik group, and there was a “Chief Ships’ Committee” at their head. There were some 30 Party groups in units on the Western Front. There were many protest demonstrations among the armed forces in 1915 and 1916, both against bad conditions and in solidarity with the workers on strike. Here again the movement went far beyond the limits of direct

contact with Bolshevik organisations – as when numerous units refused to go into battle, or when thousands of soldiers revolted at their depots (Kremenchug, Zhmerinka, Gomel and elsewhere).

To complete the picture: neither to ‘Bolshevik plotting’ (apart from one Bolshevik in one area) nor to ‘German gold’ could be attributed the giant national rising of the peoples of Central Asia in the second half of 1916 – against the attempt of the Tsarist Government to ‘requisition’ 400,000 Kazakhs and 200,000 Uzbeks between 18 and 43 for labour service with the army. The struggle lasted for four months, involving tens of thousands of armed peasants.

Such was the picture of the Russian people “heart and soul for the war”, and of the “collision between the Government and the Duma”, on the eve of the events which led to the overthrow of Tsardom.

■ The second part of this article, entitled ‘The March Revolution’, will be published in the next issue of *Communist Review*.

### Notes and References

- 1 These figures differ slightly from some used in a previous article by the author in *Marxism Today*, June 1960; they are taken from more precise statistics (*Outlines of the History of the October Revolution*, in Russian, Prof M N Pokrovsky, ed, 1927, Vol 1, p 328).
- 2 It was given in greater detail in the article of June 1960, mentioned earlier.
- 3 The document, taken from the police archives, was published by the Soviet historical journal *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia*, No 2 (14), 1923; the same applies to the document which followed.
- 4 There is a survey of archive reports on these and other cases in the monumental work (in Russian) by Academician I I Mintz, *History of the Great October*, Vol 1, ‘Overthrow of the Autocracy’, pp 209-213.
- 5 Many details, taken either from police records of raids and seizures of literature or from recollections of old revolutionaries, were already published in 1927, in the *Outlines* mentioned earlier (pp 344-6); further researches have revealed much additional material (Mintz, *op cit*, pp 214-5, 219-220).
- 6 P I Lyashchenko, *History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution*, Macmillan, New York, 1949, pp 64-6.
- 7 Sidorov, *Impact of the Imperialist War on the Economy of Russia*, in Pokrovsky, *op cit*, Vol 1, pp 130-134, 100-115.
- 8 Sidorov, *op cit*, pp 117-124. Mintz, *op cit*, pp 329-332, gives a striking summary of a mass of contemporary official reports and later research.
- 9 Quoted by Mintz, *op cit*, p 145.
- 10 *Ibid*, pp 330-1.
- 11 A Soviet historical journal, *Krasny Arhiv*, reproduced this report in its No 17 (1926).
- 12 M Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre*, Vol 3, Plon-Nourrit et cie, Paris, 1922, pp 36, 60, 66.
- 13 A very full summary of the materials gathered over the years from official archives and memoirs is contained in chapter 4 of Mintz, *op cit* (pp 253-302).
- 14 The text of this striking document was published in Fleyer, *The Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks in the War Years 1914-1917* (in Russian), 1927. He also printed the text of the leaflet issued, exposing the German plans and calling for the overthrow of Tsardom and an end to the war (pp 104-8, 204-6).
- 15 The occasion in January 1905 when unarmed demonstrators in St Petersburg were fired on by soldiers of the Imperial Guard as they marched towards the Winter Palace to present a petition to the Tsar. This massacre provoked public outrage and strikes, and is considered to be the start of the unsuccessful 1905 Russian Revolution –Ed.
- 16 Paléologue, *op cit*, Vol 3, p 74.



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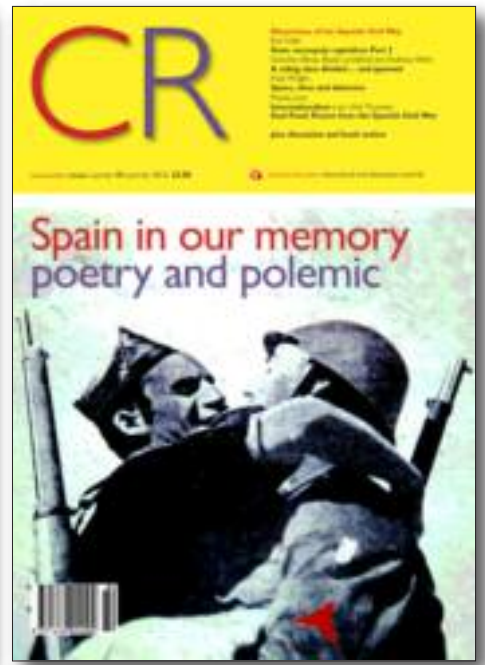
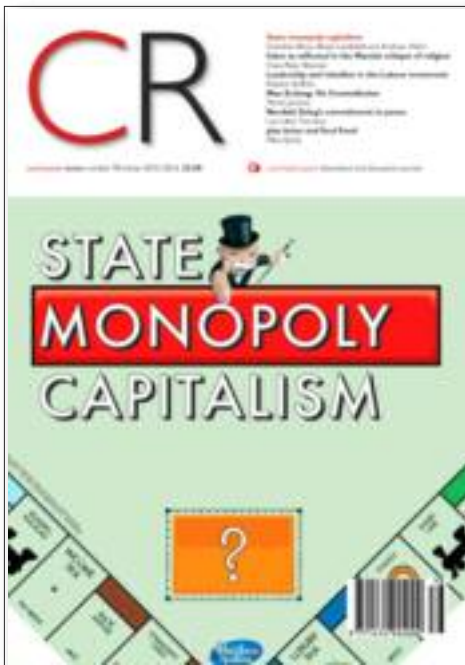
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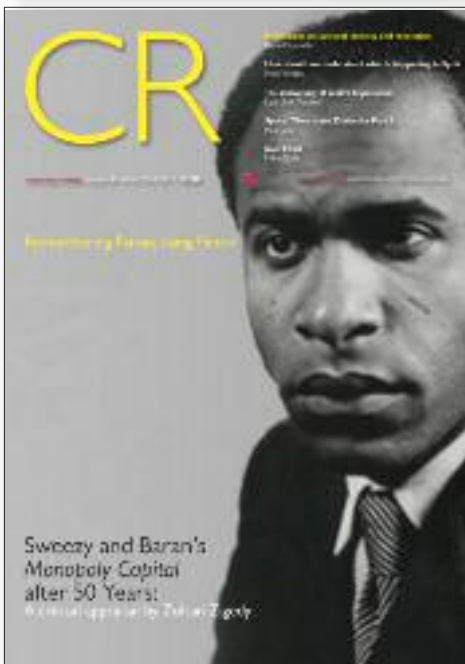
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# Writers and the Spanish Civil War

by John Manson

IN HIS essay *The Poetry of Commitment* in *The Edinburgh Companion to Hugh MacDiarmid*,<sup>1</sup> Scott Lyall quotes a single sentence from Stephen Spender's contribution to *The God That Failed*:

"The best books of the war – those of Malraux, Hemingway, Koestler and Orwell – describe the Spanish tragedy from the liberal point of view, and they bear witness against the Communists."<sup>2</sup>

In a note<sup>3</sup> Lyall gives these books as:

- André Malraux's *L'Espoir* (1937), translated into English as *Days of Hope* (1938);
- Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom The Bell Tolls* (1941);
- Arthur Koestler's *Spanish Testament* (1937); and
- George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (1938).

Certainly these are the best-known literary works in Britain about the Spanish Civil War, with the exception of *Spanish Testament*, although they hardly constitute "Almost the whole literature of the Spanish War ...."<sup>2</sup> Spender's

sentence forms a very unsound generalisation since none of these books appears to show a particularly "liberal point of view", whatever that might be in opposition to General Franco and the Falange. He harks back to "the Liberal revolutions of 1848",<sup>4</sup> but the causes of these uprisings were demands for constitutional government and increasing nationalism among Germans, Italians, Hungarians and Czechs, circumstances which were not comparable to the defence of the Spanish Republic almost a hundred years later.

## Malraux's *L'Espoir*

In an annotation in *Malraux par lui-même* Malraux wrote, in 1953:<sup>5</sup>

*"En combattant avec les Républicains et les communistes espagnols, nous défendions des valeurs que nous tenions (que je tiens) pour 'universelles'".* (By fighting on the side of the Spanish republicans and communists, we were defending values that we held (that I hold) to be 'universal'.)

Film director Joris Ivens with Ernest Hemingway and Ludwig Venn, International Brigade commander

The whole tenor of *L'Espoir* is to witness for the communists, not against them, in the context of the opposition to the Falange in the first eight months of the Spanish Civil War, 18 July 1936 to 18 March 1937. For most of that period Malraux had commanded the International Air Force in the service of the Spanish Republican Government (although he was neither a member of the Communist Party nor of the International Brigades). Therefore he had first-hand acquaintance with a wide range of workers from different political parties, and also with militant intellectuals, and these formed the bases of his characters. He was concerned about the organisation, discipline and leadership of the Republican forces and considered that the communists were most able to provide these qualities. Throughout the novel Malraux dramatises episodes, recreates conversations and arguments, and makes comments in his own voice in relation to the need for a disciplined army to oppose the disciplined army of the Falange. In this context there is a current of criticism of socialists and anarchists and a current of approval of communists in different voices, particularly in Part I, 'Careless Rapture' (*L'illusion lyrique*, *La ilusión lírica*).

Very early in the novel Malraux's characters begin to comment on the lack of coordination and leadership in the Republican forces. At the time of the Republican storming of the Colón Hotel in Barcelona Malraux narrates:

"Round Puig were grouped the leaders of all left-wing parties; thousands of men behind them. For the first time, Liberals, members of the UGT [*Unión General de Trabajadores*] and CNT [*Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores*], anarchists, Republicans, trade unionists and socialists joined in an attack on their common foe and his machine-guns."<sup>6</sup>

Of Puig, a socialist printer, later killed, Malraux comments: "but however scanty, his experience told him uncoordinated tactics such as he was now watching were doomed from the outset." (29) But Puig realises:

"They were going to ask him for orders. And all that lay deepest in his heart forbade him to give orders." (29)

Of a later episode Malraux narrates:

"The fascists began by a bombardment, cleaned up an area, then marched their men into it. The people, leaderless, and all but unarmed, could merely fight ...." (66-67)

In a conversation at the military aerodrome, Sembrano, the squadron leader, formerly a right-wing socialist, remarks:

"The army of the revolution wants organising from A to Z. Otherwise Franco'll fill the graveyards with the victims of his law and order. How do you think they managed it in Russia?" (78)

He answers his own question (about the Bolsheviks):

"They had rifles. Plus four years' discipline and active service. And the communists, as you know, stood for discipline." (78)

Ramos, a communist, formerly secretary of the railway

workers' union, Madrid North, at the beginning of the war, reports an argument he has been having with his men to Manuel, another communist, who had been a sound engineer in the film industry, Madrid Studio, and had now been appointed company commander in the Fifth Regiment:

"Five are staying, seven leaving. If they were communists, every man would stay." (84)

In a conversation towards the end of the first section of Part I, Vargas, the Officer Commanding Field Operations, states: "We haven't any organisation" (110). Professor García, one of the leading Spanish ethnologists, now a major in the Spanish Intelligence Service, emphasises:

"From now on no social change, still less a revolution, can make good without war; and no war without organisation on the technical side." (110)

Magnin, a left-wing socialist revolutionary, now Commander of the International Air Force in the novel, exclaims, "Organisation, discipline – I don't see men giving their lives for that." (110) García emerges as the leading voice for organisation and is given the concluding sentence in the first section of Part I: "Our humble task, Monsieur Magnin, is to organise the Apocalypse." (113)

In the second section of Part I the force of the title *'l'Exercice de l'Apocalypse'* (*'Ejercició del apocalipsis'*) is avoided in the English translation, 'Prelude to Apocalypse', which could be any kind of prelude, instead of 'The organisation of the Apocalypse'. At the beginning of this section Malraux recreates episodes and conversations in which the anarchists in general are shown to hinder Republican organisation. When an officer in charge of a battery is told that they were firing short, he replies:

"I've had enough of firing on my pals. So we're plunking you for a change." (114)

He had been dismissed once before by Captain Hernandez but reinstated by the FAI (*Federación Anarquista Iberica*). Hernandez explains to García:

"... anyone at all can join the CNT, no questions asked! ... Every time we nab a Falangist he's got a CNT card on him. There's some anarchists who are dependable – the comrade behind us, for example. But so long as the policy of the 'open' door is persisted in, it's the door open to every sort of disaster. That trouble with the officer commanding the battery, for example." (116-7)

"The comrade behind us" was Sils, known as "the Negus". In another episode, when Hernandez advises a man in charge of a barricade to raise it eighteen inches, the man replies, "... you don't belong to the CNT, and my barricade ain't none of your bloody business. See?" (118)

From this stage of the novel, comments favourable to the communists, and to organisation and discipline, become more frequent. Enrique, a commissar attached to the Fifth Regiment (formed by the communists in the early days of the war as the nucleus of a regular army in the making) replies to Magnin, who had asked him if he had succeeded in restoring discipline,

“The communists are disciplined already. They obey their group secretaries and military delegates (often, you know, the same men hold both posts). Any number of people who want to take part in the war joined the Party, just because it’s decently organised, and that appeals to them.” (143)

Manuel is regarded as a born officer by Colonel Ximenes who had been Chief of the Civil Guard and has remained loyal to the Republic. In a long monologue directed towards Manuel he comments:

“Courage is a thing that has to be organised; you’ve got to keep it in condition like a rifle. ... I grant you it’s far easier to build up an army under military discipline; and I grant you we’ll have to impose a republican discipline on our men – or be wiped out, if we fail. ... The fight isn’t between Franco’s Moors and our army (we haven’t any) but between Franco and the organisation of our new army.” (158-9)

Later García declares his support for the communists, in conversation with Captain Hernandez:

“The communists, you see, want to get things done. Whereas you and the anarchists, for different reasons, want to be something. ... We’ve got to straighten [our respective ideals] out, transform our Apocalyptic vision into an army – or be exterminated. That’s all.” (195)

The title of the first section of Part 2 is derived from García’s speech above. Here ‘*Être et Faire*’ in French, ‘*Ser y Hacer*’ in Spanish, has again been blunted in English translation, ‘Action and Reaction’, which does not give the antithesis of García’s words.

García continues the argument in the second section of Part 2, ‘Comrades’ Blood’ in English. ‘*Sang de Gauche*’ in French, ‘*Sangre de Izquierda*’ in Spanish, on this occasion with Giovanni Scali, Italian art historian, now bombardier in the International Air Force, whose politics are later described by Magnin as “more and more anarchist, more and more Sorelian, almost anti-Communist.” (456) Scali asks García:

“And if to give [the peasants] economic freedom, you’ve got to have a system which will enslave them politically?” (360)

To which García replies:

“In that case, as no-one can be perfectly sure of the purity of his ideals in the future, there’s nothing for it but to let the fascists have their way.” (*ibid*)

García’s last debate is again with Magnin towards the end of Part 3, ‘The Peasants’ in English, but given as ‘*L’Espoir*’ (‘hope’) in French and ‘*La Esperanza*’ (ditto) in Spanish. Magnin’s position had been interpreted earlier by Malraux, “Action, he mused, always involved injustice.” (146): “*L’action est l’action, et non la justice*” in French; “*La acción es la acción, y no justicia*” in Spanish.) Now he asks García, “Tell me, Major, what do you think of the communists?” (457) Malraux reports García’s thought, “So that’s not finished yet,” which means that García realises that Magnin remains unconvinced by arguments in favour of the communists. (*ibid*) He replies:

“My friend Guernico says, ‘They have all the virtues of action but no others.’ But action is what matters just at present.” (*ibid*)

It has not been possible here to give every nuance of every debate which has continued throughout a novel of 463 pages, but the general tenor is beyond dispute. Spender thought that the communists were not justified in seeking to control the opposition to the Falange;<sup>7</sup> Malraux thought they were. The note on *L’Espoir* in *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French* describes the novel as

“A sophisticated text which avoids propaganda, [but] nevertheless argues firmly that the Republican cause is a just one, and that victory can only be achieved through the agency of the Communist Party.”<sup>8</sup>

### Hemingway’s *For Whom The Bell Tolls*

Ernest Hemingway’s four visits to Spain in 1937 and 1938 as a war correspondent amounted to about nine months in total. He had previously paid the fares of two volunteers who were going to join the International Brigade and borrowed \$1500 to buy two ambulances.<sup>9</sup> He had also worked with others on the commentary of the documentary film *Spain in Flames*, and donated \$4000 to Contemporary Historians Inc, towards the production of *Spanish Earth* (1937), directed by Joris Ivens, for which he later wrote and narrated the commentary.<sup>10</sup>

As the action in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* takes place over less than four days in May 1937, Hemingway was in no position to recreate the debates among the supporters of the Republic. His main character, Robert Jordan, has to rely on the support of a band of *guerrilleros* who do not belong to any political party. In the first chapter Jordan reports to General Golz, the character based on General Walter (Karol Swierczewski) of the Fourteenth International Brigade,<sup>11</sup> who gives him instructions to blow up a bridge after he (Golz) has started an attack on his way to take Segovia. Jordan carries identification from the SIM (*Servicio de Inteligencia Militar*) and the General Staff.<sup>12</sup> Later Hemingway renders Jordan’s thoughts:

“He fought now in this war because it had started in a country that he loved and he believed in the Republic and that if it were destroyed life would be unbearable for all those people who believed in it. He was under Communist discipline for the duration of the war. Here in Spain the Communists offered the best discipline and the soundest and sanest for the prosecution of the war. He accepted their discipline for the duration of the war because, in the conduct of the war, they were the only party whose programme and whose discipline he could respect.”<sup>13</sup>

In Spain Hemingway had a good deal of contact with International Brigaders, both European and US. Of his first wartime visit, March-May 1937, Carlos Baker has recorded:

“He was a frequent visitor to the Eleventh International Brigade, largely composed of German Communists and commanded by Hans Kahle, with whom he had made the trip to Brihuega in March [1937]. Many of Kahle’s men were veterans of the Kaiser’s war, and all had military training. ... But it was the Twelfth Brigade that most engaged his affections. ... The commander, whose *nom de guerre* was General Lucasz, was a forty-one-year old



Hungarian who had written some short stories and a novel ... He was also much attracted to Werner Heilbrun, chief medical officer of the Brigade, a gentle, efficient man who was a model of stoic fortitude and humanitarianism. ... Lucasz's political commissar, Gustav Regler, was one of Ernest's favourites in the Twelfth."<sup>14</sup>

Hemingway himself wrote with affection for Heilbrun, Regler and Lucasz,<sup>15</sup> and Regler described Hemingway's love for Kahle and Lucasz.<sup>16</sup>

Carlos Baker has also recorded that Major Robert Merriman "immediately entered Ernest's gallery of heroes" after an action at Belchite.<sup>17</sup> Merriman was an American communist in his early twenties who was among the first US volunteers in Spain. He had been a lecturer in economics in California and contributed to the characterisation of Robert Jordan, lecturer from Montana. Merriman commanded the Lincoln Battalion at the battle of Jarama in February, 1937 and was Chief of Staff to the Fifteenth International Brigade when Hemingway met him.

Hemingway entertained US Brigaders in his room at the Hotel Florida and at Chicote's Bar, both in Madrid,<sup>18</sup> met some of the survivors of the Washington-Lincoln Battalion who had been surrounded on a hill-top outside Gandesa,<sup>19</sup> and on another occasion drove with others who were taking ham and cheese to wounded veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion.<sup>20</sup> He insisted that Benjamin F Glasier's adaptation of *The Fifth Column* for the stage late in November 1938 should contain no criticism of the Spanish Republican Government or of the Communist Party.<sup>21</sup> Hemingway also published a prose poem *On the American Dead in Spain in New Masses* in 1939 and donated the typescript of the poem and the manuscript of *Spanish Earth* to be auctioned for the rehabilitation fund of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion.<sup>22</sup>

In the character of Comrade Massart, Hemingway did witness against André Marty, the French Commander of the International Brigade at Albacete, on account of his paranoia, and he was entirely justified in this. In the last quarter of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* Captain Rogelio Gomez (with the guerrillero Andrés Lopez) asks André Massart for a direction to General Golz's headquarters. Massart has them arrested by the corporal of the guard and a conversation ensues:

"I had always taken him for a great figure," Gomez said. 'For one of the glories of France.'

'He may be a glory and all,' the corporal said, and put his hand on Andrés' shoulder. 'But he is as crazy as a bedbug. He has a mania for shooting people.'"<sup>23</sup>

They are later released at the intervention of Karkov, *Pravda* correspondent. Marty had led the mutiny of the French Navy in the Black Sea in 1919.

But even after the end of the Spanish Civil War, Gustav Regler recounts that Hemingway still supported the organisation of the communists when he met him in Mexico in 1941. By this time Regler had left the Communist Party.

"Why did you leave them?" (He meant the Communists.) Marie Louise tried to intervene, but he would not let me go: he was in an alarming state of emotional confusion. 'Why did you believe them in Spain? There has to be an

organisation, and they have one. Go back to them! Beat the slanderers in their own house!'"<sup>24</sup>

## Koestler and Lorca

It is surprising that Spender thought that the Koestler of *Spanish Testament* bore witness against the communists since he was a prisoner of the fascists in Malaga and Seville from 9 February to 12 May 1937. Charged with '*auxilio de rebelión militar*', he had been condemned to death in Malaga without a court appearance. His '*auxilio*' had been in his writing of a previous work and also articles for *News Chronicle*. Koestler describes his imprisonment with men in neighbouring cells being taken out to be shot almost every night except Sundays.<sup>25</sup> The earlier sections of the book deal with the historical background leading up to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and events at the beginning of the War. "It was Franco's clique that by its revolt had unleashed this storm," he wrote.<sup>26</sup> With regard to extra-judicial killings he commented:

"But the essential difference lies in whether these crimes are spontaneous and sporadic acts of indiscipline [on the Republican side] or part of a systematic policy of terror and committed with the full knowledge and the orders of the responsible authorities [on the side of the Falange]"<sup>27</sup>

— a view which has been confirmed by the most up to date authorities such as Paul Preston in *The Spanish Holocaust*.<sup>28</sup>

Spender's view of Lorca is unrecognisable. Against the advice of friends, Lorca returned to Granada at the outbreak of the War, since he thought he would be safe in the house of his friend Luis Rosales, a Falangist poet; but he did not flee to Franco territory as a matter of choice between sides, as Spender wrote.<sup>29</sup> Nor was he "a Conservative, even a reactionary". Paul Preston has written of Lorca, "In 1934, he had declared: 'I will always be on the side of those who have nothing.'" His itinerant theatre La Barraca was inspired by a sense of social missionary zeal. Lorca regularly signed anti-fascist manifestos and was connected with organisations such as International Red Aid. In Granada itself, he was closely associated with the moderate left.<sup>30</sup>

## Orwell

George Orwell arrived in Barcelona in late December 1936 and joined the militia of the POUM (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*) almost immediately. When he went on two weeks' leave on 25 April 1937 he had been 115 days on the Aragon front and nowhere else in Spain. Of the same period he wrote:

"Please notice that I am saying nothing against the rank-and-file Communists, least of all against the thousands of Communists who died heroically round Madrid."<sup>31</sup>

In his account of the first week of his leave, Orwell revealed that he intended to leave the POUM militia, and that one of the options he was considering was to join the International Column (Brigades) in order to go to the defence of Madrid.<sup>32</sup> No decision was made then.

At the beginning of the second week of Orwell's leave, 3 May, the Republican Government, of which Largo Caballero was Prime Minister and which included Communist, Socialist and Republican Ministers, took over by force the Barcelona Telephone Exchange which was controlled by the CNT

(*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*). In that situation Orwell went to the Hotel Falcón, a sort of boarding-house maintained by the POUM and used chiefly by militiamen on leave, to the *Comité Local* of the POUM, the POUM Executive Building, and finally to the cinematograph, called the Poliorama, from the roof of which he guarded POUM buildings for the next three days and nights, known as ‘the May Days’. Obviously any idea of going to Madrid was then rejected.

Orwell certainly gave evidence against the suppression of the POUM following ‘the May Days’ and the arrests of its members, including its leader, Andreu Nin, who was murdered, and also against the misrepresentation of fascist influence in the POUM which occurred in Communist newspapers.

In 1943 Orwell wrote:

‘The outcome of the Spanish war was settled in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin – at any rate not in Spain. ... The Trotskyist thesis that the war could have been won if the revolution had not been sabotaged was probably false. To nationalise factories, demolish churches, and issue revolutionary manifestos would not have made the armies more efficient. The fascists won because they were the stronger; they had modern arms and the others hadn’t. No political strategy could offset that.’<sup>33</sup>

### MacDiarmid

Scott Lyall writes that Hugh MacDiarmid lacked “an informed and disinterested view” of the Spanish Civil War and failed “to acknowledge the authoritarianism of the communists” in *The Battle Continues*, written in 1939, though not published until 1957.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he “should not escape criticism for his political attitudinising” (as also in *First Hymn to Lenin*).<sup>1</sup> But these comments in themselves form parts of a political judgment. MacDiarmid was not “informed” in the Orwellian sense of someone who thought a revolution had taken place in Catalonia and Aragon, only to be betrayed by the Republican Government which considered that the defeat of the Falange was the priority. He was not “disinterested”: he was a partisan of the International Brigades and the elected government. He was not “attitudinising”, that is, affecting an attitude. MacDiarmid’s praise of the International Brigades was shared by major poets from several countries, eg Rafael Alberti’s *A las Brigadas Internacionales*,<sup>34</sup> Luis Cernuda’s *1936*,<sup>35</sup> Miguel Hernández’s *Al soldado internacional caído en España*,<sup>36</sup> Pablo Neruda’s *Llegada a Madrid de la Brigada Internacional*,<sup>34</sup> Nazim Hikmet’s *Snowing in the Night*,<sup>38</sup> and T E Nicholas’s *I Gofio Cymro (a syrthiodd yn Sbaen)*.<sup>39</sup> Neruda published a collection of Spanish Civil War poems, *España en el Corazón*;<sup>40</sup> likewise César Vallejo, *España aparta de mí este caliz*.<sup>41</sup> Paul Eluard published a group of three poems, *Novembre 1936, La victoire de Guernica* and *Les vainqueurs d’hier périront*;<sup>42</sup> Louis Aragon wrote *Que cette interminable nuit paraît a mon coeur longue et brève*;<sup>43</sup> and three Czech poets, St K Neumann, Vítězslav Nezval and Ilja Bart, also published poems about that period in Spain.<sup>44</sup> Malraux made favourable references to the International Brigades in the defence of Madrid, at the Battle of Teruel and particularly at Guadalajara.

*The Battle Continues* was to some extent in the tradition of the mass-declamations of the period. For example, Jack Lindsay wrote, “During the years 1936-9 I had written mass-declamations in verse, for several speakers and chorus, which had been performed all over Britain.”<sup>45</sup> Joan Littlewood’s letter to MacDiarmid in March 1940 shows that passages from *The*

*Battle Continues* were declaimed in *Last Edition*, a Living Newspaper performed by Theatre Union in Ancoats and other places in the North of England from March to May 1940.<sup>46</sup>

MacDiarmid’s view of *The Battle Continues* changed a great deal between the time of its writing early in 1939 and the occasion of his interview in June 1975 with Willie Thompson and Ian McKay for the *Scottish Marxist*.<sup>47</sup> In unpublished sentences in the manuscript of *Lucky Poet* MacDiarmid wrote:

“But while the bulk of the poem is an exceedingly sarcastic attack on [Roy] Campbell, his poem, and the various letters in the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *New Statesman*, and elsewhere in which he attempted to justify it, my framework allowed me to include a long poem in praise of the International Brigade, several passages in homage and lamentation of García Lorca ..., and poems in gratitude to Marx and Engels, complementary to my various *Hymns to Lenin* ....”<sup>48</sup>

And further on:

“The poem is a rough and ready one, written out of flaming indignation and an overwhelming sense of the tragedy of Spain, and the shame of Britain’s terrible part in it all, for I poured it out in a few days’ writing and did not take care to polish it carefully, since, as Liam O’Flaherty quotes somewhere in the original Irish, ‘the height of the storm is not the time to put the thatch in order.’”<sup>49</sup>

In the interview, however, MacDiarmid said:

“I wrote a very long poem, for example, on the Spanish Civil War. It had a certain influence, but in selecting poems for volumes of my *Selected Poems* and so on I haven’t found anything in that long book that was suitable for inclusion.”<sup>50</sup>

It is unclear to which volumes of his *Selected Poems* he referred here.<sup>51</sup>

*The Battle Continues* was certainly hastily written although it did incorporate some parts written earlier.<sup>52</sup> Roy Campbell’s *Flowering Rifle* had been published at the beginning of 1939 by Longman, Green & Co in London, New York and Toronto (date-stamped 2 February 1939 in the National Library of Scotland). It was sub-titled *A Poem from the Battlefield of Spain* although Campbell had no direct experience of the War. The ‘Author’s Note’ concluded “VIVA FRANCO! ARRIBA ESPANA!” and was placed and dated, “Airosas, Toledo. III<sup>o</sup> Año Trúnfal”, a reference to the third year of Franco’s insurrection. A letter from Gilbert Wright shows that MacDiarmid had sent his poem to his agents on 24 March 1939.<sup>53</sup>

In his review on *Arts Review*, Scottish Home Service, 14 February 1958, David Daiches regarded the poem as “a tremendously sustained ‘flyting’ against Roy Campbell and all he stood for” and made the strongest case for *The Battle Continues* which the present writer has encountered.

“Here indeed ‘indignatio facit versum’, indignation makes its own poetry. No holds are barred; the lines sway to and fro like an angry boxer, attacking the mixture of sadism, sentimentality and exhibitionism which MacDiarmid sees as the essence of Campbell’s right-wing heroics. This is

not mannerly stuff, and isn't meant to be. It is total war. The rage has an Old Testament quality, but the attack is more comprehensive than that of any biblical prophet, for it attacks all possible aspects of the enemy, not only his moral position. Many will be shocked, but I for one do not recoil from this kind of committed invective, sustained as it is by an almost metaphysical passion and lit with glimpses of MacDiarmid's characteristic feeling for the true moral centre of human action, and the place of the poet in the modern world. Campbell could be viciously unfair to all who voiced humanitarian feeling in politics and literature. MacDiarmid has taken up his challenge with a vengeance."<sup>54</sup>

## Notes and References

- 1 *The Edinburgh Companion to Hugh MacDiarmid*, S Lyall and M Palmer McCulloch, eds, Edinburgh University Press, 2011, p 76.
- 2 S Spender, *The God That Failed*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1950, p 248.
- 3 S Lyall, *The Poetry of Commitment*, in Lyall and Palmer McCulloch, *op cit*, p 168.
- 4 *Ibid*, p 247.
- 5 A Malraux, *Malraux par lui-même: images et textes présentés par Gaëton Picon avec des annotations de André Malraux*, Aux Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1953, p 90.
- 6 A Malraux, *Days of Hope*, S Gilbert and A MacDonald, transl, Penguin, 1970, p 28. Further page references follow in brackets.
- 7 Spender, *op cit*, p 248: "But the fatality of the Communists was to think only of forming united fronts in order to seize control of them from within."
- 8 *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French*, P France, ed, Oxford University Press, 1995, p 288.
- 9 C Baker, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story*, Collins, London, 1969, p 357.
- 10 H Schoots, *Living Dangerously: A biography of Joris Ivens*, Amsterdam University Press, 2000, p 117.
- 11 Baker, *op cit*, p 415.
- 12 E Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Penguin Modern Classics, 1965, p 14.
- 13 *Ibid*, p 158.
- 14 Baker, *op cit*, pp 372-3.
- 15 E Hemingway, *The Heat and the Cold: Remembering turning the Spanish earth*, reprinted in *Spanish Front: Writers on the Civil War*, V Cunningham, ed, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, 1986, p 207.
- 16 G Regler, *The Owl of Minerva*, N Denny, transl, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1959, pp 297-8. Reprinted in Cunningham, *op cit*, p 24.
- 17 Baker, p 382.
- 18 *Ibid*, p 383.
- 19 *Ibid*, p 391.
- 20 *Ibid*, p 393.
- 21 *Ibid*, p 404.
- 22 *Ibid*, p 405.
- 23 Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *op cit*, p 393.
- 24 Regler, *op cit*, p 357.
- 25 A Koestler, *Spanish Testament, with an introduction by the Duchess of Atholl*, Victor Gollancz, London, 1937, pp 222-378.
- 26 *Ibid*, p 131.
- 27 *Ibid*, p 130.
- 28 P Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*, Harper Press, London, 2012, *passim*.
- 29 Spender, *op cit*, p 250.
- 30 Preston, *op cit*, pp 173-4.
- 31 G Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, Penguin Books, 1964 edition, p 67.
- 32 *Ibid*, p 117.
- 33 G Orwell, *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, Vol 2: My Country Right or Left*, Penguin Books, 1970, pp 300-301.
- 34 R Alberti, *De un momento a otro*, Alianza Editorial, SA,

- Madrid, 2002, p 79.
- 35 L Cernuda, *Las Nubes/Desolación de la Quimera*, Ediciones Cátedra, Madrid, 2009, pp 205-6.
- 36 M Hernandez, *Viento del pueblo*, Socorro Rojo de España Ediciones, Madrid, 1992, p 81.
- 37 P Neruda, *Residencia en la tierra*, with English translation by D D Walsh, Souvenir Press, London, 1987, pp 270-3
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- 39 T E Nicholas, *I Gofio Cymro (a syrthiodd yn Sbaen)*, translated as *In Remembrance of a Son of Wales (who fell in Spain)*, in *The Penguin Book of Spanish Civil War Verse*, V Cunningham, ed, Penguin Books, 1980, p 195.
- 40 Neruda, *op cit*, pp 248-307.
- 41 C Vallejo, *Complete Later Poems*, V Giannussi and M Smith, transls and eds, Shearsman Books, Exeter, 2005, pp 272-329.
- 42 P Eluard, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol 1, Gallimard: Bilibiothèque de la Pléiade, Paris, 1968, pp 801-2, 812-14, 877-78.
- 43 L Aragon, *Oeuvres Poétiques Complètes*, Vol 2, Gallimard: Bilibiothèque de la Pléiade, Paris, 2007, pp 233-5.
- 44 V Nezval, *Dvanáct Novoročníc Výstřelů (Twelve New Year Shots)*; St K Neuman, *Spanělské Dni (Spanish Days)*; I Bart, *Matka a Syn (Mother and Son)*.
- 45 J Lindsay, *After the Thirties: The novel in Britain and its future*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1956, p 55.
- 46 *Dear Grieve: Letters to Hugh MacDiarmid* (C M Grieve), J Manson, ed, Kennedy & Boyd, Glasgow, 2001, pp 272-3.
- 47 *Scottish Marxist*, No 10, Scottish Committee of the CPGB, 1975, pp 6-18.
- 48 National Library of Scotland (NLS), MS27037, f 57.
- 49 *Ibid*, f 100.
- 50 *Scottish Marxist*, No 10, p 13.
- 51 H MacDiarmid, *Speaking for Scotland: Selected Poems* had been published by Contemporary Poetry, Baltimore, in 1946. He may also have been thinking of his *Collected Poems*, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1962.
- 52 *The Battle Continues* appears in H MacDiarmid, *Complete Poems*, Vol 2, Carcanet, Manchester, 1994, pp 905-999. However:
  - (1) on p 913, fourteen lines are taken from the end of *Third Hymn to Lenin* (same volume, pp 893-901);
  - (2) the lines on pp 931-4 were written in 1934, since they appear in the manuscript of *Red Scotland* (NLS MS27035);
  - (3) two paragraphs on p 937 come (with slight variations) from *Mature Art* (NLS Acc 12074/1, p 32 in MacDiarmid's numbering), completed in 1938;
  - (4) on pp 937-8 there are lines from *The Snares of Varuna*, same volume, p 840;
  - (5) on pp 954-7 there are 7 paragraphs from *Glasgow*, in *Collected Poems*, Vol 1, Carcanet, 1993, pp 647-8, and from the same title in Vol 2, pp 1335, 1336 and 1339;
  - (6) the lines on pp 992-7 come from *Mature Art*, *op cit*, pp 230-6 in MacDiarmid's numbering, completed in 1938. [From the mid-1930s onwards MacDiarmid tended to recycle some parts of his work, some of which were already in print and some still in manuscript where they still are. He found publishing opportunities scarce from 1935 until at least the end of the Second World War. For example, he put together a 20-page poem, *Glasgow 1938*, at the time of the Empire Exhibition (it had first of all been *Glasgow 1935*), which has still never appeared in full as he wanted. Instead he had to publish, at different times, three parts, each called *Glasgow*, and obviously from the same cloth. They are found in his *Collected Poems*, Vol 1, pp 647-9, and Vol 2, pp 1048-52 and 1333-9 – JM.]
- 53 *Dear Grieve*, *op cit*, p 240.
- 54 NLS, MS27153, f 24r.

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# Communist Party of China

Speech at the 18th International Meeting  
of Communist and Workers' Parties

Hanoi, 28 October 2016



Mr President, Dear Comrades,  
It is my great pleasure to attend the 18th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

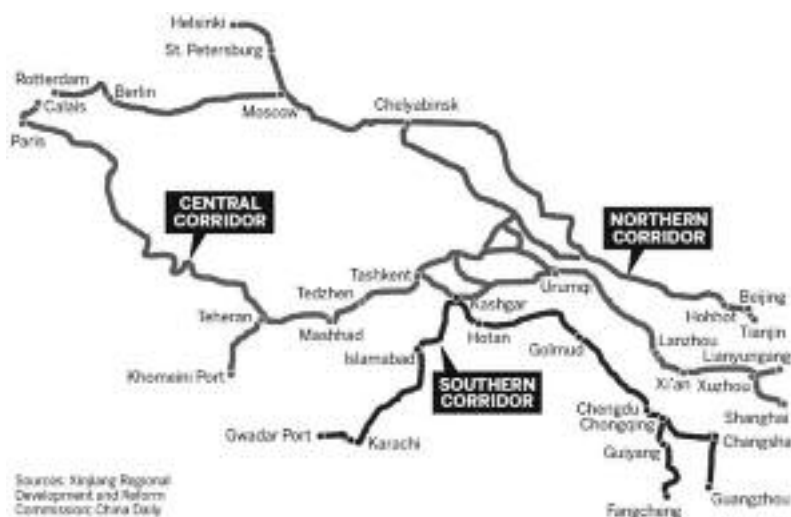
This meeting has been successfully held for eighteen sessions. "Eighteen" is an age that defines whether a person has come of age in many countries and regions. But in China, it represents auspiciousness, symbolising tangible outcome of one's wishes.

Over the past 18 years, the international meeting of communist and workers' parties has turned itself into an influential platform of exchanges among progressive forces in the world, driving the progress of the world communist movement after the severe setback of drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We have every reason to

believe that the world communist and workers' parties will scale up exchanges and exploration through this platform and make greater headway along the path of the realisation of communism and new contributions to a brighter future of mankind.

Comrades,  
1 July 2016 marks the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Over the past 95 years, the Communist Party of China has grown into a long-governing party with over 88 million members and more than 4.4 million party organisations, governing a country of over 1.3 billion people.

At his important speech at the 95th anniversary of the



In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed the major initiative of building the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. The Belt and Road that goes through the Eurasian continent extends from the Asia-Pacific region in the east to Europe in the west, involving 4.4 billion people from 65 countries.



founding of the Communist Party of China, general secretary Xi Jinping summed up the three historic contributions made by the Party – founding the People’s Republic of China, establishing the basic system of socialism, and pursuing the policy of reform and opening-up.

General secretary Xi also pointed out that the great victory achieved by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China has:

- enabled the over-5,000-year-old Chinese nation to embrace modernisation across the board;
- made the 500-year-old socialism highly relevant and practical in the world’s most populous country, injecting fresh vigor into scientific socialism in the 21st century; and
- helped the over-60-year-old New China to register remarkable achievements in national construction, creating a growth miracle in the history of mankind by making the world’s largest developing country shake off poverty and become the second largest economy in the world in a short span of some 30 years.

General secretary Xi reminded the whole Party to carry on the unremitting efforts of the Party’s founding members, and stay true to the people. One who wants to stride ahead should not forget the path that was trodden. No matter how far one has travelled and how glorious a future one will have, they should never forget what they have experienced and why they have started the journey. Looking forward in the face of the challenges, all Party members must stay true to the mission and forge ahead.

General secretary Xi called on the whole Party to uphold the guiding role of Marxism, integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China’s conditions and the underlying trend of the times, make theoretical and practical innovations, and continue to adapt Marxism to China’s conditions. The Communist Party of China has never wavered in the faith in Marxism. Moreover, it will continue to enrich and develop Marxism in practice. Marxism does not mark the end of truth; rather, it blazes a trail toward truth. Engels said long before: “Marx’s way of viewing things is not a doctrine but a method. It does not provide ready-made dogmas, but criteria for further research and the method for this research.” The Communist Party of China holds the view that the change of times and the breadth and depth of China’s development have gone far beyond the imagination of the writers of the Marxist classics. Given the limited decades of China’s socialist practice and the primary stage of socialism we are at, we will encounter more new

situations and problems, which requires the Communist Party of China to make innovation in practice and constant breakthroughs in theoretical development.

The Communist Party of China bears in mind that, since the founding of our Party, we have set communism and socialism as our guiding principle, upheld the lofty ideals of communism and common aspiration for socialism with Chinese characteristics, and moved ahead with the great practice of striving for these objectives.

What the Communist Party of China works to build is Chinese socialism, not any other ism. History has not come to an end, nor will it be ended. We have full confidence in the path, theories and systems of Chinese socialism and in Chinese culture; we never waver in the Party’s basic line; and we continue to push forward the great cause of Chinese socialism. Whether socialism is good or not is determined by hard facts and the judgment of the Chinese people, not the subjective assumption of those who have a bias about socialism. The CPC members and the entire Chinese people are fully confident of providing a China solution to exploration of a better social system.

The Communist Party of China believes that our Party is rooted in the people, and serves the people. We must rely on the people, fully mobilise their initiative, enthusiasm and creativity, and take their wellbeing further.

The Communist Party of China will lead the Chinese people to follow unswervingly the path of peaceful development and a win-win strategy of opening up. We will increase friendly exchanges with all countries, and work with the people of other countries to push forward the lofty cause of peace and development.

Leadership by the Communist Party of China is the most essential feature of Chinese socialism, as well as its greatest strength. Upholding and improving the Party’s leadership is the foundation and lifeblood of both the Party and the country, and affects the interests and wellbeing of people of all China’s ethnic groups. The CPC has no other alternative but to maintain its advanced nature and purity, steadily improve its art of governance and leadership, increase its ability to ward off risks, resist corruption, and prevent degeneration, and enhance the building of the Party itself in response to the trend of the times. Party-building should always keep in step with the cause of the Party and the people.

As the governing party, the CPC is confronted with the biggest threat – corruption. Since its 18th National

Congress in 2012, the Party has caught ‘tigers’ as well as ‘flies’ – senior officials as well as junior ones guilty of corruption. We have shown no mercy to those ‘big tigers’ bringing calamity to the country and people, and we have worked hard to resolve problems of corruption that directly affect the people. Through these efforts, the people can see the practical results of the fight against corruption, and the officials will be deterred from committing corruption. Initial progress has already been made so that officials cannot and do not want to be corrupt. An anti-corruption momentum is releasing its full force on all fronts.

Comrades,

More than thirty years’ reform and opening-up has brought tremendous changes to China. At the start of reform in the 1970s, the western capitalist economy developed fast; gaps between socialist China and the developed capitalist countries were widening; and our national economy was on the verge of collapse. Facing the severe situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, chief architect of China’s reform and opening-up, succinctly pointed out, “If we do not ever again engage in reform, our modernisation drive and socialist cause will come to an end.” The idea of reform and opening-up has not been simply conjured up, nor is it a compromise or back-peddalling; rather, it is a choice of history, times and the people.

The Communist Party of China has united and led the Chinese people to carry out the great cause of reform and opening-up, which has significantly boosted the creativity of our people, emancipated and developed social productivity, and enhanced the vitality of social development.

During more than thirty years of rapid economic development:

China has turned from the verge of economic collapse to a booming economy and an engine of the world economy; ● the people’s livelihood has improved a lot, undergoing a historic transformation from inadequate food and clothing to a moderately prosperous society in all respects; and ● notable progress has been made in social development, with the fruits of reform and development benefiting the entire population.

Through reform and opening-up, China’s overall national strength has grown considerably, and Chinese socialism has gained fresh vigour and vitality. Reform and opening-up is significant in that:

● the path, theories and system of Chinese socialism have been established;  
● China has caught up with the times; and  
● the Chinese people have achieved great progress from standing up to getting richer and stronger.

Chinese socialism is a cause that has never before been pursued. The description and forecast about socialism by Marx and Engels was based on the law of development, and a study on proletarian revolution, in capitalist society. No clear answer was provided by them about the description and building of socialist society in the real world. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said that poverty is not socialism, and that the superiority of the socialist system is demonstrated, in the final analysis, by faster and greater development of the productive forces than under the capitalist system. It is clear from this perspective that, without reform and opening-up, there would have been neither economic and social achievements over the past three decades, nor socialism with Chinese characteristics.

At the new historical starting point, the Communist Party of China declares solemnly to the world that we will follow the correct direction of reform and opening-up, rejecting both the old path of a rigid closed-door policy and an erroneous path of abandoning socialism:

We have set the overall goal of deepening the reform comprehensively, which is to improve and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, and to promote the modernisation of the national governance system and capacity.

We will ensure that institutions in all areas become more mature and complete, improve the quality of development and governance, and deliver to the people a stronger sense of satisfaction.

We will forge ahead along the path of reform, opening-up, and socialist development, and honour our commitment to the people with new progress in building Chinese socialism, a commitment that the people’s aspiration for a better life is our goal.

Comrades,

History always marches on without waiting for those who hesitate, look on, relax their efforts, or remain weak. Only those who keep pace with the times will have a bright future.

The world today has come to a critical juncture in development. The dynamism provided by the last round of scientific progress is waning while the new round of scientific and industrial revolution is yet to gain momentum. The world economy is on the whole along the path to recovery, but still confronts multiple risks and challenges. Economic stagnation, social crisis and a dilemma about democracy appear in western capitalist countries. However, do the crises in the capitalist world necessarily mean opportunities for socialist forces? How can communists translate the crises in the capitalist world into historic opportunities for self-development and the progress of the socialist cause? All these questions are major tasks for us that merit serious exploration.

In 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed the major initiative of building the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. The Belt and Road that goes through the Eurasian continent extends from the Asia-Pacific region in the east to Europe in the west, involving 4.4 billion people from 65 countries. The initiative represents a major strategic move for expanding China’s opening up. In doing so, China will not only develop itself, but also share the benefits of development with all countries along the Belt and Road. During the past three years, over 100 countries and international organisations have participated in the initiative, and a series of landmark projects have been launched. The Belt and Road upholds the spirit of peace, cooperation, openness, inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit, providing a China solution with distinctive socialist features to the common development of the world, south-south cooperation, and progress of mankind.

The Belt and Road initiative, cross-border connectivity, enhanced trade and investment cooperation, and international cooperation on production capacity and equipment manufacturing – all these points advocated by China boil down to stimulating new demands through effective supply, and addressing lack of growth engines and global economic imbalance. The Belt and Road, initiated

on the basis of wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits as well as the principle of equality and mutual benefits, identifies development as the biggest common interest to promote common development of China and all other countries along the Belt and Road for the benefit of our peoples.

Getting stronger through unity is the common aspiration and best wishes of developing countries. In the 21st century, the quality and upgrading of south-south cooperation has once again become a priority for developing countries. As the biggest developing country, China has all along been a firm representative of the interests of the developing world, and an active participant and promoter of south-south cooperation. In pursuing the Belt and Road initiative, China aims to work with other developing countries to improve economic and social development, share experience in development, and explore a path of diversified development.

The Belt and Road initiative represents the view of Chinese communists on the future of the world and mankind. The world economy is still in a period of deep adjustment after the international financial crisis. The triangle cycle, with markets of capitalist countries, production in emerging economies, and raw materials in resource-rich countries, has been broken. New drivers of the global economy are yet to emerge. The world is in need of new growth models and new forms of regional cooperation. At the crucial moment when crises and opportunities coexist, the Communist Party of China, being the largest governing party in a socialist country, has the obligation to explore actively a new path of substituting socialist globalisation for capitalist globalisation.

Comrades,  
In pursuing Chinese socialism, the Communist Party of China values exchanges, dialogue and cooperation with international political parties. We have established various forms of contacts with more than 600 political parties from over 160 countries and regions. At the just-concluded third conference of “The CPC in Dialogue with the World”, held in Chongqing, China, on 14-15 October, 260 participants representing 78 political parties and organisations from 52 countries attended and conducted in-depth exchanges and discussions on the theme of “Innovation in Global Economic Governance: the CPC’s Proposition and Practice”. The participating political parties all agreed that the 11th G20 Summit, held in Hangzhou, China, in September, was not just a summit for its 20 members, but a milestone summit in the development of global governance. It offered a China solution to global governance and transformation, and set forth China’s position on the establishment of a fair and equitable international order. The Hangzhou Summit, under the theme of “Towards an Innovative, Invigorated, Interconnected and Inclusive World Economy”, offered new thinking on tackling the difficult situation of the world economy in the light of the practice of China’s reform and opening-up. President Xi Jinping proposed at the summit his outlook on global governance featuring equality, win-win, cooperation, and shared benefits, charting the course for shaping a fair and equitable global governance system.

Twenty years have passed since the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Over the past two decades, communist parties, workers’ parties, and other

socialist forces across the world have reflected on themselves and made self-adjustment to improve themselves and extend their influence. Capitalism, though suffering a setback, prepares to come back through self-recovery and shifting the crisis onto others. Imagine the intense struggle between capitalism and socialism, and between conservative forces and progressive forces, in the future. In this context, all communist and workers’ parties should seek common ground while shelving their differences, be united as one, increase exchanges, and draw on each other’s useful experience, so as to strengthen self-development and improve our capability to defuse risks. Along that line, let me make the following proposals.

First, all parties should seek common ground while shelving differences. Every country and party has its own particular conditions. As the realities vary, they may have different understanding of the definition of socialism and of the ways to build socialism. These differences should not be an obstacle to their cooperation. Instead, they should be a driving force for their mutual learning, which will be conducive to independently exploring, in the light of their conditions on the ground, a path of building socialism suited to their own national and party realities.

Second, all parties should increase the sharing of experiences. Rejuvenation and development of the world socialist movement depends on the concerted efforts of the world communist and workers’ parties. Only when we grow strong can we have comparative advantage over capitalist political parties in competition, and make our ideas and proposals gain recognition in a wider area. To this end, we suggest that the international meeting of communist and workers’ parties create more opportunities for all participating parties to exchange views on party building, draw on each other’s strengths, and explore ways to grow stronger through this platform.

Third, all parties should strengthen solidarity and support each other. Communism is a value and an objective pursued by the world communist and workers’ parties. It determines their shared strategic interest, which is to defend the ideal of communism. One should not be afraid of differences. What we need to do is to have timely consultation and communication, minimise the negative impact, and refrain from increasing or playing up those differences to uphold solidarity among communist parties. Only when we are united and forge synergy can we accomplish things where possible.

Comrades,  
No matter which country or which part of the planet we come from, our presence at the meeting means we are part of the big family of world socialism, and we are brothers and sisters sharing the same ideal and following the same path. As long as we join hands to increase exchanges and draw on each others’ strengths, we can reinforce each other and grow stronger. When that day comes, no difficulty or challenges can stop the march of communism. I am confident that the world socialist movement will tide over this long ‘severe winter’, and embrace the next splendid spring.

Long live socialism! Long live the communist parties!  
Thank you.

Originally published on Solidnet at  
<http://tinyurl.com/j3nwmcx>

# Space, Time – and Dialectics, Part 4

by Martin Levy

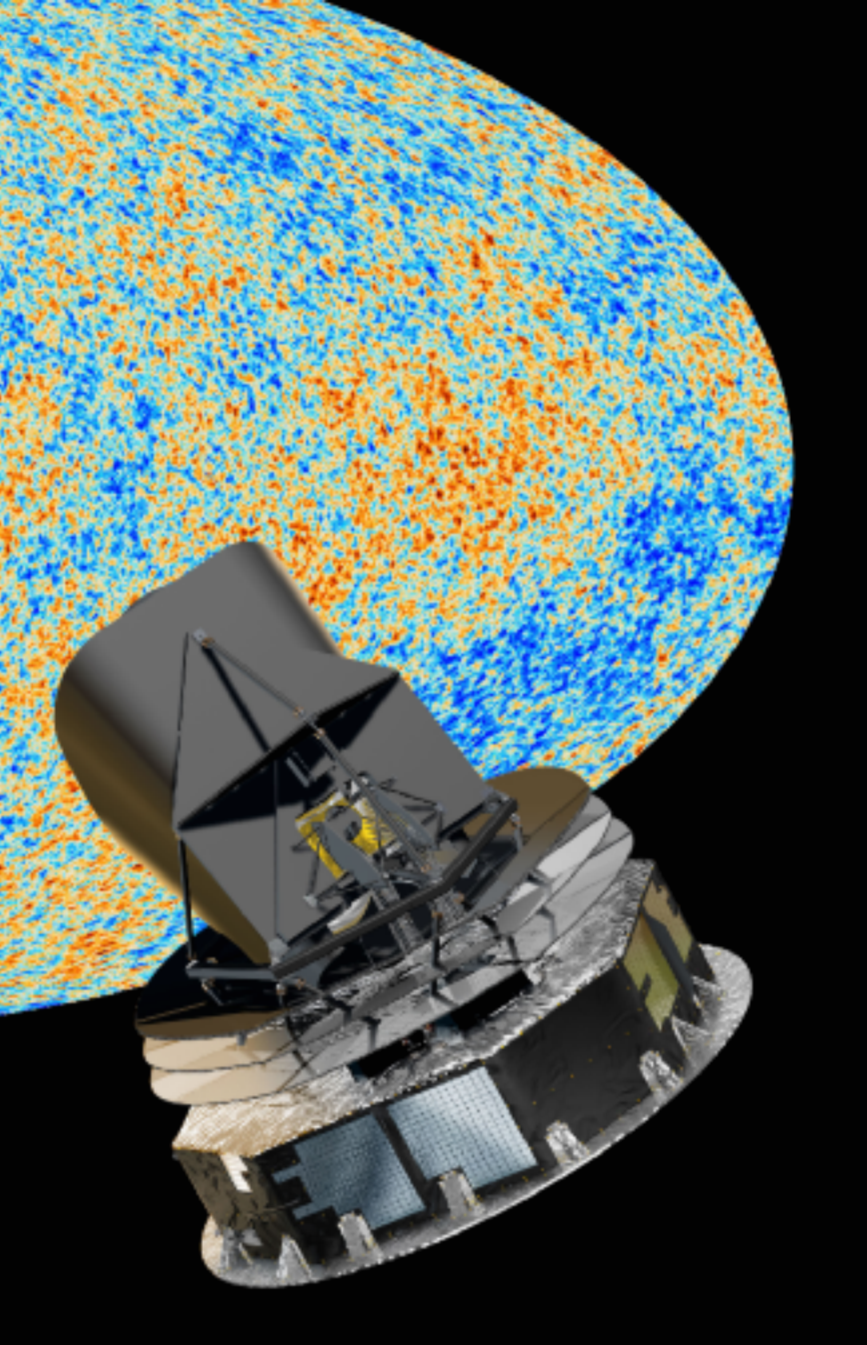
This series of articles<sup>1</sup> on Unger and Smolin's book has allowed an examination of key philosophical issues in physics and cosmology that go to the very foundations of dialectical materialism – including whether time is real or an illusion, whether there are many universes or just one, and the place of mathematics in nature and its representation. Following the general introduction in Part 1, I discussed in Part 2

philosopher Unger's contribution to the collaboration; and then, in Part 3, Paul Levy looked at the views of the two authors on mathematics.

We now come to the rest of Smolin's contribution. This is a rather more difficult read than Unger's, and indeed than Smolin's previous 'popular' books like *Time Reborn*, since here he assumes a level of scientific knowledge well beyond that of the general reader.

*The Singular Universe and the Reality of Time*  
By Roberto Mangabeira Unger and Lee Smolin  
[Cambridge University Press, 2015, 564 pp, hbk, £19.99. ISBN 978-1-107-07406-4]





Left: The anisotropies of the Cosmic Microwave Background (CMB) as observed by the Planck space telescope. The CMB is a snapshot of the oldest light in our universe, imprinted on the sky when only 380,000 years had elapsed after the 'Big Bang'. The photograph shows tiny temperature fluctuations that correspond to regions of slightly different densities, deduced to represent the seeds of all future structure: the stars and galaxies of today.

© European Space Agency  
and the Planck Collaboration D. Ducros

In contrast to Unger he does provide end-notes, but matters are not helped by their misnumbering – generally 2-5 high after the first few.

At the outset I must point out that Smolin, like Unger, considers that something like the Big Bang did take place, even if the history of the universe extends back beyond that time. As we shall see below, Oxford cosmologist Roger Penrose<sup>2</sup> agrees with Smolin that the universe did not start with the Big Bang, but he reduces that event to one of simply a change of scale. On the other hand, the Marxist Hyman Frankel<sup>3</sup> took issue not only with ideas of the 'multiverse' and time as illusion, but also Big Bang theory itself, including inflation (see below). Lauding Eric Lerner's *The Big Bang Never Happened*,<sup>4</sup> and adopting a similar approach to him, Frankel situated the development of the 'Big Bang' concept within a materialist conception of history, pointing out that scientific theories do not occur within a social vacuum, and tracing the idea of such a 'First Cause', or 'Prime Mover' right back to Aristotle.

I think Frankel was wrong on this point, although there is much otherwise of value in his book. Lerner's main thesis, following the ideas of the Swedish plasma physicist and Nobel prize winner Hannes Alfvén (1908-1995), is that the Big Bang

idea is a return to an essentially mythical cosmology, and that the activity and history of the universe instead has to be explainable by phenomena that we can observe today in the laboratory, principally the action of electromagnetic plasmas. There is plenty wrong with this approach,<sup>5</sup> but my main criticism of it is that it is essentially a view of the universe as a machine – it offers no explanation of how the physical laws and fundamental constants which we observe today came into existence.

### **Cosmology in Crisis**

Cosmology is in crisis, says Smolin at the start of his first chapter. The physical sciences have made enormous advances, but they haven't been able to unite the quantum nature of radiation and matter with Einstein's relativity theory. Nor have they been able to go deeper than the standard models of physics and cosmology, to explain those models' features. In particular,

"One way the universe appears to be improbable is that it is highly asymmetric in time. This appears inexplicable given the fact that all the known laws of physics are reversible in time." (pp 354-5)

The road back to reality, Smolin says, begins by affirming – like Unger – that the universe is unique and that time is real, with the consequence that “the laws of nature evolve, and they do so through mechanisms that can be discovered and probed experimentally because they concern the past.” (p 355)

In terms that would resonate with Marxists, Smolin states that:

- the universe does not make sense unless it is seen as a historical and evolutionary process, continuing to act (p 355); and
- “it is fallacious to take methods and formal frameworks which have proved successful when applied to small subsystems of the universe and apply them to the universe as a whole” (p 358) – *ie* to misuse the Newtonian paradigm.

He also considers the crisis in cosmology to be a crisis in naturalist philosophy, which embraces

“... the old metaphor that the world is a machine. In its modern incarnation the mechanical philosophy becomes the computational philosophy – that everything, including us, are, or are isomorphic to, digital computers carrying out fixed algorithms” – leading to proclamations that “conscious experience, agency, will and intentions are all illusions.” (p 356)

This is all promising stuff, as is his comment that the crisis is also one of *relationalism*. According to Newton’s view, space and time are entities in their own right, existing independently of things; while Leibniz’s *relationalism* describes space and time as systems of relations that exist between objects, a point at the heart of dialectical materialism. As Christopher Caudwell said:<sup>6</sup>

“Absolute space and time is one of the characteristics of mechanism. ... Space and time are sweated out of the activity of particles themselves.”

We can agree with Smolin (p 356) that “if the laws are timeless, they cannot themselves be aspects of the developing network of relations.” But then he spoils things by coupling that with “Not every property can be a relation – there must be intrinsic properties which the relations relate.” This comes pretty close to the Kantian unknowable “thing-in-itself” for which Lenin criticised the empirio-criticists.<sup>7</sup> Properties can only be determined by relations; if they are intrinsic, they cannot participate in any relation, and hence are unknowable.

Smolin is not a Marxist, and he promotes what he calls *temporal naturalism*. But he still comes close to a dialectical materialist approach with a number of statements.

“Temporal naturalism holds that all that is real ... is real at a moment of time, which is one of a succession of moments. The future is not real and there are no facts of the matter about it. The past consists of events or moments which have been real, and there is evidence of past moments in presently observable facts such as fossils, structures, records etc. Hence there are statements about the past that can have truth values, even if they refer to nothing presently real. ... *Now* is as subjective as *here* and both are descriptions of the perspective of an individual observer.” (p 361)

“[A]s naturalists we are constrained to deal in indirect knowledge of the object of our study and we must be always conscious that this knowledge is incomplete and never completely certain.” (p 364)

“Many naturalists hold beliefs about the natural world that are more firmly held than the tentative nature of scientific hypotheses allows. ... What is really troubling is that statements of the form *Experience is an illusion, the universe is really X* are common in religion. When naturalists make statements of this kind, they are falling for what might be called the transcendental folly.” (pp 365-6)

### Philosophical Background

In his second chapter, putting forward principles for a cosmological theory, Smolin draws “inspiration from the *relationalist* tradition associated with Leibniz, Mach and Einstein.” He starts (pp 367-8) with Leibniz’s *Principle of Sufficient Reason (PSR)*,

“There must be a rational explanation for every question of the form ‘*Why does the universe have a property X?*’”,

developing it into a *Principle of Differential Sufficient Reason (PDSR)*:

“Given a choice between two competing theories or research programmes, the one which decreases the number of questions of the form ‘*Why does the universe have property X?*’ for which we cannot give a rational explanation is more likely to be the basis for continued progress of our fundamental understanding of nature.”

More generally, Smolin says, the *PSR/PDSR* insists that there be no ideal elements or background structures in the formulation of a truly cosmological theory. These are structures or mathematical objects which are specified for all time, such as Newton’s absolute space and time. Smolin also expresses this in the requirement that the theory be *explanatorily closed*, *ie* that the chains of explanation and causation do not point back to entities outside the universe (p 371). He comments that Einstein formulated his objection to such elements and structures in the demand that there be *no unreciprocated actions* – instances where an object A acts on an object B which, however, does not act back on A. Smolin calls this *Einstein’s principle of reciprocal action (PRA)*.

Another consequence (p 369) of the *PSR* is Leibniz’s *Principle of the Identity of the Indiscernible (PII)*:

“There cannot be two distinct objects in the universe with the same properties.”

This rules out global symmetries, *ie* transformations which take a physical system between two physically distinct states which have the same values of all conserved quantities. Much of classical and quantum mechanics is based on symmetries, *ie* instances where an isolated system is moved relative to an external frame of reference. This also applies to the standard model of particle physics. But, Smolin says, the *PII* means that the universe as a whole has no symmetries. This implies that it also can have no conserved quantities like energy, momentum and angular momentum, since, by Emmy Noether’s

theorem,<sup>8</sup> they are consequences of the corresponding symmetries of spacetime.

This may at first seem to go against the grain of sense, but it does accord with the Marxist view of the universe as infinite. In general relativity, as Smolin observes, a system can only have conserved quantities if it has a boundary where conditions are imposed (although Penrose says that it is not at all clear-cut to apply Noether's theorem to general relativity, and "strictly speaking, the method does not apply in this case"<sup>9</sup>). However, if the universe is infinite, there can be no boundary, and therefore there is no means of determining whether energy and so on are conserved.

Smolin notes that the basis of all modern physics has been the idea that, the more fundamental a theory is, the more symmetry it must have. But, he says, this has failed. In comments reminiscent of Caudwell's<sup>10</sup>, quoted in Part 2 of this series, he approaches very closely to a Marxist position, observing (p 371) that:

"[O]n the basis of the *PII*, in a truly fundamental theory each elementary event will be unique. Our universe should not be seen as a vast collection of elementary events, each simple and identical to the others, but the opposite, a vast set of elementary processes, no two of which are alike in all details. ... General laws apply to large classes of phenomena, which emerge from the fundamental theory only when details which distinguish the elementary events from each other are forgotten in a process of coarse graining."

That "coarse graining", he says, also applies to the standard model of particle physics, whose "global symmetries ... are only approximate when the effects of fermion masses are ignored ... the proton is slightly lighter than the neutron ...."

The final aspect of a truly cosmological theory, says Smolin, is that it must predict, and these predictions must be checkable in the near term.

The Newtonian paradigm, according to which the universe is like a machine operating according to fixed timeless laws, is inadequate for a truly cosmological theory. It is designed to be applied to small subsystems, which can be prepared in many copies. For cosmology, however, "we only get one try, so it is not clear what meaning a general law has in this context." Also, hypotheses as to the choice of initial conditions *and* as to the choice of laws have to be tested simultaneously (p 375). If, says Smolin, you extend a theory formulated within this paradigm to the universe as a whole, then you "strongly decrease rather than increase the empirical adequacy of the theory." He calls this the *cosmological dilemma*, and he calls the taking of the methodology of the Newtonian paradigm outside of its domain of validity the *cosmological fallacy* (pp 376-7). As noted in Part 2, Unger has two *cosmological fallacies*, but Smolin regards the second fallacy as derivable from the first (p 516).

The *PSR/PDSR* can also be used to exclude a number of other cosmological approaches: mathematical consistency is simply too weak a requirement to supply sufficient reason for the choices of the known laws of nature; the idea that there are many consistent mathematical descriptions of possible universes, and they all exist, fails the *PSR/PDSR* because "when every property or choice is manifested in some universe there is nothing to explain"; and within general relativity there is no rational reason for the choice of initial conditions (pp 378-9).

Marxists would agree with Smolin's statement that reductionism has limits: "It fails the moment we get to a level of constituents that are deemed to be elementary" (p 380). Here, says Smolin, relationalism can take over: "The properties of the elementary particles can be understood as arising from the dynamical network of interactions with other particles and fields." But he still wants to hold on to the possibility that some properties of elementary events or particles are intrinsic, as we'll see below.

A further consequence of the *PII*, says Smolin, is that every elementary event must be unique, in the sense of being distinguishable from every other event in the history of the universe by its location in the network of relations. Thus (p 382):

"... you cannot just say event A is the one whose immediate causal past is events B and C – for B and C must be specified relationally as well. So the decision must be based on the past causal set, going far enough into the past that event A's causal past is distinct from the causal past of any other."

In this context he claims (p 384) that the only causal set model that explains why individual events occur is one developed by Marina Cortês and himself.<sup>11</sup> Here energy and momentum are fundamental and intrinsic and defined prior to spacetime. Each event is created as a result of a process acting on the prior set of events. The events generator – the activity of time – must make two decisions every time it creates a new event: first, which of the prior set of events are to be progenitors of the new event; and second, how the properties of the new event are determined from the properties of its progenitors. Position in spacetime is then emergent. I have some problems with this because it is not clear how events can be determined without any spatial relations – see the quotation from Caudwell above.<sup>6</sup>

A further difficulty in this chapter is Smolin's preference for *shape dynamics*, already discussed in the critique of Unger's position in Part 2. Mathematically, as Smolin points out, "you can get to general relativity by trading the relativity of time of that theory for a relativity of spatial scale", meaning that "there is now a physical meaning to the simultaneity of distant events". The same points as I made previously still apply, especially as Smolin admits that "the preferred slicing, *ie* a preferred choice of time coordinate ... cannot be detected by any local measurements" (p 387).

### The Puzzles of Contemporary Cosmology

In his third chapter, Smolin explains the problems in cosmology and particle physics in more detail.

(1) In the standard model of particle physics, 29 dimensionless parameters have to be arbitrarily specified, many of them very small numbers. These lead to a wide range of strengths and ranges of the different physical forces, which appear finely tuned to give a universe with more structure than if the values were random. For example: there are mass ratios and differences among fundamental particles which permit the formation of long-lived stars and make nuclear fusion possible; the weak nuclear interaction appears to be finely tuned both for synthesis of the elements and for supernovae to inject energy into the interstellar medium, catalysing the production of massive stars whose remnants include black holes; and there are fine tunings which result in the plentiful production of carbon and oxygen, which appears to be necessary to cool the giant molecular clouds, from which the massive stars form

which are the progenitors of black holes. (pp 394-5)

(2) The astronomical data show a universe with structure and complexity over a very wide range of scales. At the largest observable scales, the history of the universe appears to be well approximated by a homogeneous and isotropic solution to Einstein's equations of general relativity, coupled to matter – which consists of electromagnetic radiation, normal matter and dark matter. The equations include several parameters, including a positive cosmological constant  $\Lambda$ , which is the energy density of the vacuum of space, a sort of anti-gravity responsible for the expansion of the universe ('the cost of having space'), and the simplest explanation for dark energy.

There are several remarkable features, Smolin says, to suggest that the initial conditions for the universe were very special, including the following (pp 395-8):

- To within experimental accuracy, the spatial curvature of constant time surfaces appears to vanish.
- $\Lambda$  is extremely small for a fundamental parameter,  $10^{-120}$  in Planck units.<sup>12</sup>
- In the early universe the transition time from the domination by radiation to that by matter took place at roughly the time when the electromagnetic field decoupled from matter because the universe had cooled sufficiently for atoms to form.
- The present age of the universe now appears to be roughly the crossover time from domination by matter to that by the cosmological constant.
- The universe must be modelled as starting off very hot where matter is concerned but very cold where gravitational radiation is concerned. To explain this, Penrose has hypothesised<sup>13</sup> that the Weyl curvature, which measures the strength of gravitational radiation, vanishes initially, though not for final singularities – otherwise there would be no black holes. This is time-asymmetric, in contrast to all other laws of physics.
- No electromagnetic radiation has been observed that does not plausibly point back to matter sources. This is also time-irreversible.

At smaller, but still very large, scales of the universe, there is a history of growth of large-scale structure, which appears to be driven by dark matter, which interacts with itself and normal matter only by gravity. Domination by dark matter is necessary to explain the rotation curves of galaxies and how they are bound into clusters. The seeds of the structure formation are claimed to be imprinted in the cosmic microwave background (CMB), but these initial fluctuations are extremely tiny and random, just a few parts in 100,000. A major challenge for cosmological theories is to explain the origin and feature of these fluctuations.

It is also true, as Smolin recognises, that dark matter has so far not been directly detected, "so it is prudent to consider the possibility that it doesn't exist, but instead the Einstein equations are modified." (p 398) This is Mordehai Milgrom's Modified Newtonian Dynamics (MOND).<sup>14</sup> It works well for large numbers of galaxies but, says Smolin, "so far there has not been a version of it that tells a compelling story about how the large-scale structure formed." For me the basic problem with MOND is that it is an *ad hoc* empirical approach.

Within the context of these puzzles, Smolin considers (pp 399-401) that the key questions to answer are:

- The horizon problem: the CMB dates from the time called decoupling, when the initial plasma had cooled sufficiently for hydrogen atoms to remain bound. As noted above, the fluctuations are tiny, indicating that the universe had

reached thermal equilibrium; but when the equations of general relativity are reversed all the way back to the initial singularity, it is found that there was not enough time for equilibrium to be reached.

● The flatness problem: on sufficiently large scales the universe is on average homogeneous. This means that its radius of curvature is larger than the furthest distance we can see – reflecting extremely improbable initial conditions. The most commonly accepted solution to the 'flatness' and 'horizon' problems is *cosmic inflation*, the idea that the universe went through a period of extremely rapid expansion in the first fraction of a second after the Big Bang.

● The defects problem: if the standard cosmological model is replaced by a further unification that governs the very early stages, including inflation, then there may have been phase transitions in the early universe, and they will have created large numbers of defects like monopoles. But none has been observed.

● The two time coincidence problems cited above.

● The initial spectrum of density fluctuations, indicated by the CMB.

● The lack of incoming free gravitational and electromagnetic radiation.

● The problem of giving sufficient reason to the selection of effective laws that govern our universe.

He does not, however, directly answer all the questions.

Smolin says (p 401) that it is not possible to make an independent experimental check on the laws used in cosmological models when the temperature exceeds 1TeV ( $10^{12}$  eV). Actually, the maximum energy expected from the design of the Large Hadron Collider is a bit more than that, at 14 TeV;<sup>15</sup> but this is still only about a one hundred trillionth of the energy needed for unifying the nuclear, strong and weak forces. To reach the Planck scale, where quantum gravity becomes unavoidable, energies of  $10^{16}$  TeV would be needed. All Big Bang mathematical models predict that at the Planck time,  $10^{-43}$  seconds, there is a singularity where time stops. However, if there is no singularity – which might be the case if quantum effects are included – then the sufficient reason for the choices of initial conditions may lie in the world before the Big Bang (p 402).

### Hypotheses for a new cosmology

In his fourth chapter, Smolin notes that the uniqueness of the universe means that it has a history which is a single causally connected set of events. Within this perspective, the persistence over billions of years of objects and physical laws requires explanation. He proposes (pp 416-7) that "the novel paradigm must rest on a hypothesis that there are causal processes which relate present events and properties to past events and properties." This foreshadows his *Principle of Precedence* in Chapter 6, about which I shall have more to say below.

To avoid the *cosmological dilemma* and the *cosmological fallacy*, as well as to address the 'why these laws' and 'why these initial conditions' questions, Smolin proposes a new paradigm, that the laws and constants of nature evolve in time. Recognising that there is no uncontested evidence for this, even if very slow, he considers, as did John Wheeler<sup>16</sup>, that the changes occur at events such as the Big Bang. However, he also warns (p 418) against the meta-laws dilemma: either representing the set of laws as points in a timeless landscape, on which some meta-law acts; or considering that the evolution of laws is lawless, so that the above 'why' questions cannot be

answered.

Smolin then goes on to make the same claim as Unger that there has to be a preferred cosmic time. He writes (p 418):

“The assertion that what is real is real in a moment conflicts with the relativity of simultaneity, according to which the definition of simultaneous but distant events depends on the motion of the observer [a consequence of Einstein’s general relativity –ML]. Unless we want to retreat to a kind of event or observer solipsism in which what is real is relative to observers and events, we need a real and global notion of the present. ... A global preferred time would have to be relational, in that it would be determined by the dynamics and state of the universe as a whole. ... The spatial volume then becomes an observable and can be used as a time parameter.”

I am unconvinced, despite the claim of the preferred time being relational. It almost seems as if Smolin is saying that there is something like a ‘hidden hand of God’ which is keeping time. But time can only be marked by events, and events require the transfer of matter and/or energy and/or momentum. The velocity of light provides an upper limit to the transfer of energy and matter across the universe. What is current to an observer must therefore depend on that observer – including any measurement of spatial volume.

Why is Smolin so keen on this global time? Because (p 419) it

“... opens up the possibility that the laws of physics can evolve because it suggests that there is a meaning to time that can transcend any particular theory.”

In fact Smolin doesn’t need the global time since he has already claimed, as noted above, that the laws and constants of physics are much more likely to change at a Big Bang-type event.

### Approaches to solving the meta-law dilemma

Smolin then considers (p 449ff) three possible groups of scenario for a global cosmological model:

- 1 *pluralistic*, eg Vilenkin’s<sup>17</sup> and Linde’s<sup>18</sup> eternal inflation in which there is a population of universes, all derived from a primordial state by a one-stage process, largely if not completely causally distinct from each other.
- 2 *linear cyclic*, in which there is a succession of universes, each with a single parent and a single ancestor.
- 3 *branched cyclic*, in which each universe has a single parent but many progeny.

He dismisses pluralistic scenarios because of the near-impossibility of verifying them experimentally in the near future. There would have to be some measurable property P common to the whole ensemble of universes. The only such property is that the curvature should be slightly negative, and measuring that would require enormous precision. He also dismisses the *anthropic principle* – that, out of the very many universes, we just happen to inhabit the one tuned for life – as it has led to no genuine predictions.

Cyclic models, in which the universe has an origin, development and then an end which becomes another origin, have the great advantage that they can eliminate the need for inflation to explain the specialness of the initial conditions. Linear cyclic models have the additional advantage that all the epochs or universes they posit are in the causal past of our own.

For Marxists, cyclic models would also seem to suggest the dialectical principles of the change of quantity into quality, and the negation of the negation. But the role of contradiction is not immediately clear.

Smolin acknowledges three types of cyclic scenario: the *ekpyrotic* models of Paul Steinhardt, Neil Turok and their collaborators;<sup>19</sup> the *conformal cyclic cosmology (CCC)* of Roger Penrose;<sup>2</sup> and his own *cosmological natural selection (CNS)*.

In the *ekpyrotic* models, the universe goes through a stage of expansion, then contraction to a ‘Big Crunch’, which becomes the Big Bang of the next era. Because this eliminates the need for inflation, the CMB should show no gravitational ‘tensor modes’, due to space being squeezed and stretched in directions at right angles; however, this is a limited result. In branching ekpyrotic models, only regions of the collapsing universe that are sufficiently spatially homogeneous will bounce to make new expanding universes. Yet, this isn’t a sufficient property for us to say definitively that the model applies to our own universe.

Penrose’s CCC model is based on parallels between the situation very soon after the Big Bang and what he envisages as the distant future of the universe. At the shortest times, the universe would have been so hot that the kinetic energy of particles would have completely overwhelmed their rest mass-energies  $E=mc^2$ . Hence all particles would have been effectively massless, like photons, only gaining mass as the universe expanded and as the agency of the Higgs boson came into play. This pre-Higgs phase is that of the Weyl curvature being zero, or at least finite.

At the other end of time, says Penrose, at an age for the universe of about  $10^{100}$  years (compared with about  $10^9$  years at present), all stars should have exhausted their fuel, no new stars can be formed and black holes should have evaporated through ‘Hawking radiation’ and a final ‘pop’, leaving a universe consisting largely of photons, gravitons (carrying gravity waves, from close encounters between black holes), dark matter and many isolated particles of normal matter. He postulates that rest mass gradually fades away, so that ultimately all particles are massless, and then time and distance no longer matter. Time is nothing to a massless particle like the photon, hence there is nothing with which to measure time’s passage; and distance also does not matter, only angular relationships (hence “conformal”) – indeed, there is no way that distance can be measured (quite a Marxist approach). So, with just a scale factor for distance we have exactly the same situation as immediately after the Big Bang, and all these photons and other massless particles can just propagate through and start a new *aeon* of the universe. Renormalising the scale just regenerates the very high energies again, and a postulate of cosmic inflation is unnecessary.

I shall have more to say about CCC a bit later, but for the time being we may note that Penrose predicts the existence of concentric circles in the CMB due to gravitational waves formed by colliding black holes in the previous aeon. Smolin says (p 453) that “Claims ... that these have been observed are presently controversial.” Penrose also does not find the small value of  $\Lambda$  (and hence the cross-over time to domination by  $\Lambda$ ) particularly puzzling, suggesting  $\Lambda$  is related to other fundamental constants through an empirical formula involving  $N^6$ , where N is a number  $\sim 10^{20}$ , whose powers appear in several different ratios of fundamental constants, especially when gravity is involved.<sup>20</sup>

How could these cyclic scenarios lead to changes in physical laws and fundamental constants? Smolin

hypothesises that at each bounce there are changes, perhaps brought about by phase transitions among vacua of string theory. However, in the CCC case, it is difficult to see how that might apply, since there is no real bounce, just a smooth transition. Penrose raises the possibility that  $N$  may change from aeon to aeon, but he suggests no mechanism for it.<sup>21</sup>

Like Penrose, Smolin recognises (pp 408, 409) that, with a constant value of  $\Lambda$ , the distant future of the universe would be “an eternity spent in a thermal bath, maximal entropy or disorder”, and that black hole evaporation would contribute to this. However, he comments significantly that “If the dark energy is dynamical, then the far future of our universe can be very different.” We cannot tell yet if it is indeed dynamical; and, even if it is not so at present, it could become so before what used to be called the “heat death of the universe”. Consequently, we have to be very circumspect about predicting the far future – it is only valid to the extent that it enables us to draw conclusions about a history going back beyond the Big Bang, including the evolution of laws and the choice of constants.

To explain the choice of laws and constants, says Smolin, there has to be an *attractor* in the landscape of fundamental parameters (p 453). Changes in each generation must be small; and the attractor must somehow be determined by the properties of low-energy physics, to explain the fine tunings. To satisfy these requirements he proposes, in his own model, the idea of *cosmological fitness* (p 454ff). His theory is based on two hypotheses:

- Universes reproduce when black hole singularities bounce to become new regions of spacetime.
- During the bounce, the excursions through a violent interlude at the Planck scale induce small random changes in the parameters of the effective field theories that govern physics before and after the transition.

The *cosmological fitness*, an analogue of biological fitness, is then the average number of black holes produced in a universe, seen as a function of the standard models of physics and cosmology. Combinations of parameters that are local maxima of the fitness function are attractors on the landscape. After many generations the population of universes becomes clumped in regions near these local maxima, *ie* with sets of parameters maximising the number of black holes.

In terms of conditions for achieving such a maximum, CNS makes a few predictions that can be tested. These include (pp 457-460):

- The upper mass limit for stable neutron stars should be 2 solar masses, assuming that they have kaon condensate cores (otherwise the limit would be lower still). There is a precise observation of a neutron star with a mass of 1.97 solar masses, but there are also measurements with wide error bars at around 2.4 solar masses. So the theory is extremely vulnerable to being disproved (‘falsification’) in the near future.
- The scale of initial density fluctuations,  $\delta\rho/\rho$ , must be as small as possible, consistent with galaxy formation. Larger values would increase the number of primordial black holes but there would be fewer black holes altogether since a higher  $\delta\rho/\rho$  would lead to shrinking the size of the universe. The fluctuations in the CMB imply that  $\delta\rho/\rho$  is  $\sim 10^{-5}$ .
- Inflation would probably be required to make sense of the special homogeneity of the initial conditions, as black hole singularities are very inhomogeneous. But, if it occurs, it must be simple inflation whose potential is governed by a single parameter. This is so far consistent

with all observations.

- Given the measured value of  $\delta\rho/\rho$ , there is a critical value  $\Lambda_0$  of the cosmological constant, above which the universe would expand too fast for galaxies to form (hence no more black holes). But there might also be a critical lower value of  $\Lambda$ : if the universe expands too slowly, more galaxies would be born, but there would also be expected to be more collisions between spiral galaxies, leading to formation of elliptical galaxies where star (and hence black hole) formation is switched off. This question can only be solved by detailed modelling.

Smolin’s approach is certainly inventive, and has at its heart, unwittingly, the dialectical principle of contradiction. Only further measurements will determine whether this is pure invention, or corresponds to the universe in which we live. However, for me, a few critical questions arise.

Firstly, do many black holes lead to new universes, or just one? The former scenario would seem to reproduce the multiverse which Unger and Smolin have criticised; but the latter leaves open what happens to all the rest of the matter in the universe. I am not inclined to the view that it disappears, as it were, into an unobserved region of spacetime, since space, like motion, is a mode of existence of matter. Indeed the expansion of the matter-containing universe, with or without the Big Bang, appears to be a fundamental property of space, rather than the result of an explosion. For all the dubious assumptions in his CCC model, Penrose seems to have grasped this.

Secondly, what in any case would trigger the bounce of a black hole into a new region of spacetime? Observations of the universe going back towards the Big Bang, 13.6 billion years ago, suggest that it hasn’t happened anywhere yet, although there are estimated to be some 100 million black holes in the Milky Way alone.<sup>22</sup> The bounce must therefore be a very unlikely event, which would have to be built into the model.

Thirdly, the evidence for cosmic inflation seems to me rather tenuous anyway. Hyman Frankel has described this theory as a “gigantic fantasy”.<sup>23</sup> According to Alan Guth, the theory’s author, the universe expanded by a factor of  $10^{79}$ , virtually instantaneously, about  $10^{-35}$  seconds after the Big Bang. By this means Guth ‘solved’ the flatness and horizon problems. The pattern of temperature variation in the CMB has been considered to be evidence for inflation; but it is now becoming clear<sup>24</sup> that inflation can predict any pattern in the CMB, and typically generates a larger variation in temperature than observed. Furthermore, if inflation took place the CMB should also show evidence of cosmic gravitational waves, but does not.

More importantly Smolin appears to ignore the implications of the Second Law of Thermodynamics, which states that the entropy of the whole universe (degree of disorder, or of dispersion of matter and energy) increases in time with each irreversible process (essentially the overwhelming majority of processes). Paul Steinhardt and colleagues, who favour the ‘Big Crunch’, say that “a span of slow contraction extending for billions of years can smooth and flatten the universe”,<sup>24</sup> but they too seem to ignore the issue of entropy.

In contrast, Penrose<sup>25</sup> is well aware of the Second Law, pointing out that what was really special about the Big Bang is that its entropy was extremely low with respect to gravity, but extremely high in every other respect. Black holes have high entropies, largely due to gravity; and a collapsing universe would have an enormous entropy, with Penrose estimating that, even if the crunch were to bounce into a bang

(a ‘white hole’), the chance of finding ourselves in a universe as special as ours would be  $1/10^{124}$ . He essentially gets round the question of high entropy in the far future by arguing that it disappears through black hole evaporation.<sup>26</sup> But Smolin has no explanation of how a high-entropy black hole, in which certainly gravity is active, can suddenly become an energetically very hot but gravitationally cold origin of a new universe.

That said, I don’t think that even Marxist writers have properly got to grips with entropy and the far future of the universe. To me, Engels was indulging in unscientific wishful thinking when he wrote that

“... in some way, which will later be the task of scientific research to demonstrate, the heat radiated into space must be able to be transformed into another form of motion, in which it can once more be stored up and rendered active.”<sup>27</sup>

Frankel, who quoted this, was similarly unscientific in saying that no-one can know whether the entropy of the universe is increasing overall, and that an increase occurring in one area may be balanced by a decrease elsewhere.<sup>28</sup>

The Second Law of Thermodynamics is not one which would evolve since it is basically a principle of transformation, and novelty, with time. Smolin is certainly aware of the Law’s existence because, in his Chapter 8, he recognises (p 492) that the universe evolves from extremely homogeneous to heterogeneous; and he writes about calculations of black hole entropies (p 496). But he seems unaware of nonequilibrium thermodynamics since he comments (p 398) that:

“What is remarkable is the range of scales over which nonlinear and non-equilibrium phenomena, such as feedback governing star formation, is relevant. The result is to drive further nonlinear and non-equilibrium phenomena all the way down to molecular scales, up to the origin of life and its continuation. One of the things to be explained is why the whole universe from the largest scales down to the smallest produces a context that is friendly for life.”

And on pp 492-3 he writes that

“... shape dynamics has given us an important insight into how it happens that the most probable way for a gravitationally bound system to evolve is to become more structured and heterogeneous. Roughly speaking, rather than evolve to homogeneous states of equilibria, which look the same with the clock run forward or backward, when gravity dominates the time reversal invariance is spontaneously broken so that most solutions have a strong arrow of time.”

It’s not just gravity. Ilya Prigogine’s<sup>29</sup> work on dissipative systems – open systems operating often far from thermodynamic equilibrium, in an environment where energy and matter are exchanged with the surroundings – might have given Smolin some clues. Prigogine found that there was a tendency towards the spontaneous appearance of symmetry-breaking and the formation of complex, sometimes chaotic, structures. This is the direction of the arrow of time. Living organisms are the prime examples of such dissipative systems, but in fact there are many others – convection, turbulent flow, cyclones etc – indeed virtually any subsystem of the universe.

These dissipative systems maintain their low-entropy state by importing material and energy across their boundaries; and they grow more complex by exporting entropy into their surroundings. Such development, so rich in dialectics, is the way the universe develops in time.

### A Principle of Precedence?

Prigogine’s work also has some bearing on Smolin’s *Principle of Precedence*. Smolin says (p 466) that

“We are used to thinking that the laws of physics are deterministic and that this precludes the occurrence of genuine novelty in the universe. But we need determinism only in a limited set of circumstances, which is where an experiment has been repeated many times. Usually we take this to be explained by the existence of fundamental timeless laws. But this is an overinterpretation of the evidence. What we need is only that there be a principle that measurements which repeat processes which have taken place many times in the past yield the same outcomes as were seen in the past. Such a *principle of precedence* would explain all the instances where determinism by laws works without restricting novel processes to yield predictable outcomes. There could be at least a small element of freedom in the evolution of novel states ....”

Basing himself on quantum theory’s prediction of only a statistical distribution of outcomes of future measurements on microscopic systems, and the phenomenon of entanglement which involves novel properties shared between quantum subsystems, Smolin argues that (1) systems with no precedents have outcomes not determined by prior law, (2) when there is sufficient precedence the outcome of an experiment is determined by making a random selection from the ensemble of prior cases, and (3) the outcome of measurements on systems with no or few precedents is as free as possible. This, he says, is the basis for evolving physical laws. He then formulates the *Principle of Precedence* as:

“In cases where a measurement of a quantum system has many precedents, in which an identically prepared system was subject to the same measurement in the past, the outcome of the present measurement is determined by picking randomly from the ensemble of precedents of that measurement.”

How does an electron, for example, ‘know’ that it is an electron? We can give credit to Smolin for at least posing this question, albeit in different words. But his *Principle of Precedence* sounds a bit like his causal set model, and again I have objections. How is it that the quantum system in question ‘knows’ all the precedents? This seems to be inserting the ‘hand of God’ again. How can such a principle be tested, given the possibility that the ‘measurement’, which could be any quantum event, may have occurred innumerable times elsewhere in the universe? And then, as Smolin himself has already observed with the *PII*, no two systems can be completely identical. As Caudwell noted (see Part 2), and as Smolin himself states with his “coarse graining”, there is always a background which is being ignored.

Prigogine showed that laws sometimes break down, where systems become chaotic under the influence of a particular driver. He therefore contended that determinism (which in physics implies that all processes are time-reversible) is no

longer a viable scientific approach in the face of irreversibility and instability. So the future is not completely predictable. But Smolin's Principle of Precedence seems to substitute the real development of domains with an ephemeral anthropomorphic voluntarism.

In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin said:<sup>30</sup>

“But it is logical to suppose that all matter possesses a property which is essentially kindred to sensation: the property to reflect.”

Developing this, the Bulgarian communist philosopher Todor Pavlov wrote about each individual body developing, “in connection with its external reactions, certain internal states in which other objective and real bodies which influence it are reflected.”<sup>31</sup> He went on to quote the great Soviet physicist Sergey Vavilov as saying that reflection, being the property of every matter, can help us get an insight into some phenomena of the microcosmos as well,<sup>32</sup> and Pavlov commented that reflection “does not disappear immediately and absolutely but continues to exist as a ‘trace’, as a simple possibility or predisposition in the reflecting object.” The search for the origin of such predispositions in the properties of microscopic particles seems to me a much more scientific approach than an ensemble of precedents which could only be known if there were some universe-wide, instantaneous memory.

## Conclusions

In introducing this extended critique, I juxtaposed Lenin's statement about “modern physics ... giving birth to dialectical materialism”<sup>33</sup> with my comment that it had been a long process of labour, and with Caudwell's observation that “Bourgeois physics is completely contained within the categories of a bourgeois world-view”<sup>34</sup>. While many modern physicists would consider themselves materialists, their aversion to engaging with philosophy is very much part of the bourgeois world-view, which denies the interconnectedness of everything. The philosophical-cosmological collaboration between Unger and Smolin is therefore to be welcomed, as a means of getting to grips with the fundamental questions thrown up by the advances in cosmology and particle physics, and the relationship of mathematics to these sciences, even if shortcomings in their approach remain.

In fact, Unger and Smolin's book does show that the influence of the bourgeois world-view on physics and cosmology is breaking down. In a number of areas, the authors approach closely to materialist dialectics; although elsewhere bourgeois ideology – idealism or mechanical materialism – persists in subtle ways.

The authors deserve full credit for insisting that there is just one universe at a time, that time is real – “Everything changes sooner or later, including change itself” (p ix) – and that mathematics is effective in its application to natural science only because it is limited and relative. We can applaud both their criticism of the Big Bang scenario as a singularity of infinite density, and their assertion that what happened then was actually only the start of the present era of the universe – not the start of time itself. We should also welcome their conclusion that the laws of nature evolve with the phenomena they describe, most likely in periods of rapid and dramatic change, rather than gradually. They are correct to identify mathematical Platonism (as in Wigner's *The Unreasonable Effectiveness of Mathematics in the Natural*

*Sciences*<sup>35</sup>) as a philosophical error which can lead to the tail of mathematics wagging the dog of science, as for example in the widespread reverence for string theory.

Unger comes particularly close to a dialectical materialist approach in his comments on path dependence, mutability of types and coevolution of laws and phenomena, and in his argument that the power of mathematics in the natural sciences derives from the key characteristics of explication, recursive reasoning and fertility in making equivalent propositions. However, his dialectics appears to ignore the role of *contradiction* as the driving force of development; his “natural philosophy” is eclectic and voluntaristic; and he is unconvincing in his argument that the universe cannot be eternal because nothing in nature is infinite.

He sees the contradiction between our notions of space as a continuum, and of numbers as discrete entities, as an insuperable obstacle, rather than as a catalyst for scientific progress. On the other hand, Smolin confuses mathematics with its formal presentation. He fails to grasp its essential nature as a product of human activity, subject to change and revision.

More generally, Smolin talks in terms of “temporal naturalism” rather than “natural philosophy”, and his schema shows a profound approach deriving from Leibniz's relationalism. This is no bad thing: German communist philosopher Hans Heinz Holz wrote positively about Leibniz's *PSR* and construction of a world model;<sup>36</sup> he noted that Marx admired Leibniz, and he traced Engels' statement that “dialectics is the theory of universal interconnection” back to Leibniz's view of the unity of the world in the objective variety of the many.<sup>37</sup>

Smolin recognises that any ideas about the history of the universe must be open to experimental investigation, and he lists a number of criteria to be satisfied. His *cosmological natural selection* model is inventive, and has *contradiction* unwittingly at its heart (*cosmological fitness*, and an *attractor* in the landscape of fundamental parameters), but for me it leaves a number of questions unanswered, particularly the contradictions that would lead a black hole to bounce, and the role of the Second Law of Thermodynamics. Roger Penrose, on the other hand, does seem aware of the Second Law, but his *conformal cyclic cosmology* model does not really address how the laws and constants of nature might evolve. To my mind, the jury is therefore still out over what preceded the present era of the universe.

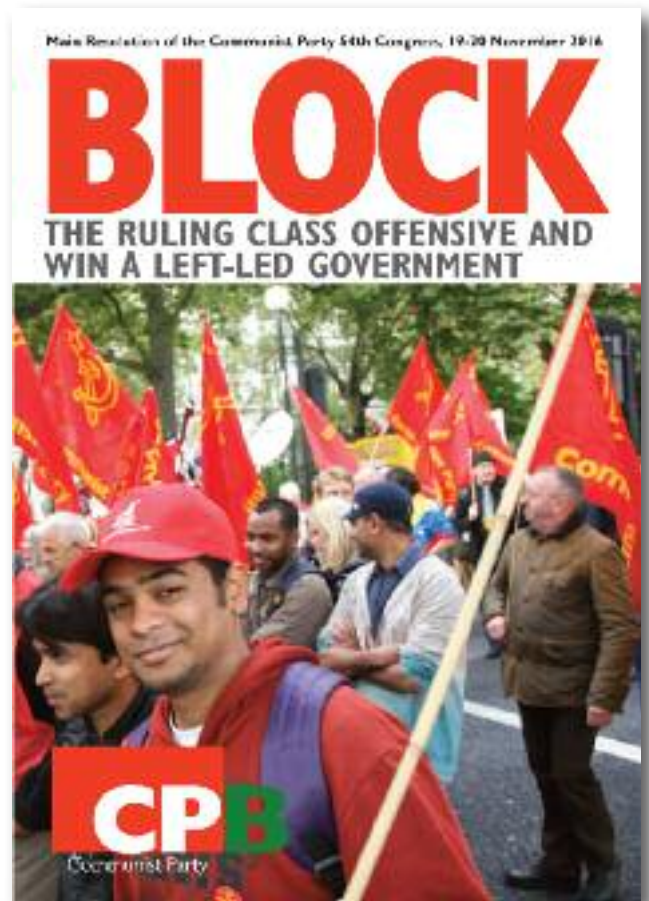
Smolin's *Principle of Precedence* seems to me nothing more than a flight of fancy; and both he and Unger verge into mechanism and idealism in arguing that there has to be a preferred cosmic time. Unger wants this because he regards its non-existence as a substantial qualification on the reality of time; while Smolin favours it in order for the laws of physics to be able to evolve universally. They both favour *shape dynamics*, the reworking of Einstein's general relativity in which size becomes relative and there is a “physical meaning to the simultaneity of distant events”. In this context, Caudwell's comment that “space and time are sweated out of the activity of particles among themselves” is particularly apposite. In fact, a global time is unnecessary if, as the authors claim, the laws and constants of physics are much more likely to change at a Big Bang-type event.

Unger talks about the *facticity* of the universe: that it just happens to be what it is rather than something else. The most factitious aspect of the universe is that it is material and dialectical.



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**Capitalism, because of its drive for private profit, cannot meet the needs of working people. Socialism based on working class political power is the only solution to capitalist crisis. The Communist Party works to achieve this goal .**

**It is the role of the Communist Party to bring to the working class and its allies a vision of an alternative society, a socialist society, by taking into account our own country's history and conditions.**

**The Communist Party and its programme frame a Marxist analysis of the crisis of capitalism and the role of imperialism in the world and point out the urgent need to lift people out of poverty, to protect hard won gains and to protect our planet's ecosystem.**

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## Revolution: First thoughts on the Royal Academy exhibition

The Royal Academy is host to an exceptionally well-presented and startlingly original exhibition of the art of Russia from the year of the revolution to the critical turning year of 1932.

There is very much to absorb and the show repays repeated visits. Monumental art, propaganda, industrial design, painting and sculpture, photography and graphic design, ceramics and fabric design all find a place.

The show bears the marks of much confused thinking, even incompatible ideas and, in slyly subversive ways runs somewhat counter to the crude anti-communist narrative which sees all developments in the Soviet cultural sphere as an unrelieved subordination of the avant garde to a dreary propaganda art.

The principal failing of the way the exhibition is presented is to consider the art through a Cold War prism which distorts much of the political and economic reality in which it was created.

The wall panels which introduce each section are adorned with laughable errors of fact and interpretation and appear to have been written by the petulant children of minor Russian gentry deprived of their inheritance by the land reform and nationalisation.

To repeat the trite sally — as does the opening panel — that “Freedom of the individual was crushed in favour of a collective ideology” offers little justice even to the classically bourgeois propositions in that philosophical debate.

Schoolboy errors proliferate. We are told that “Overnight in October 1917 the Bolsheviks became the ruling party but with 350,000 followers they were a significant minority in a country of 140 million.”

Note the elision of members into followers. Throughout 1917 millions followed the Bolsheviks in the sense that, as Bolsheviks were elected to the Petrograd-based Soviet of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers from numberless factories and regiments, the balance of power shifted from the Provisional government of Kerensky. Dual power dissolved and power shifted decisively to the Soviet and it was this body that took power — not the Bolshevik



Party itself. Most peasant deputies represented the other parties who made up the first Soviet government and it was only after a tumultuous period of schism, split and fusion that the Bolshevik party emerged as the single ruling party.

We are told that the Russian Orthodox Church was banned. In fact, in January 1918 the revolutionary government decreed the freedom of ‘religious and anti religious propaganda’ and ordered the separation of church and state. The church hierarchy sided with the Whites and suffered the same fate as other counter-revolutionaries. Its perfidy led inevitably to a split in the church.

Setting aside the significance, to the material conditions of life in the early years of Soviet power, of the counter-revolutionary military intervention by 14 states (including Britain) and the civil war imposed on the new regime by the dispossessed rich, even inveterate critics of Russia’s revolutionary path are compelled to admit that mass literacy, industrial reconstruction and, after many setbacks, rising agricultural yields can be attributed to the nation’s collective effort.

The language deployed to describe the dramatic decades in which feudal landlords were dispossessed, poor peasants were mobilised against the exploitative class of kulaks and agriculture was drawn into collective ownership is strikingly evocative

of the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the time.

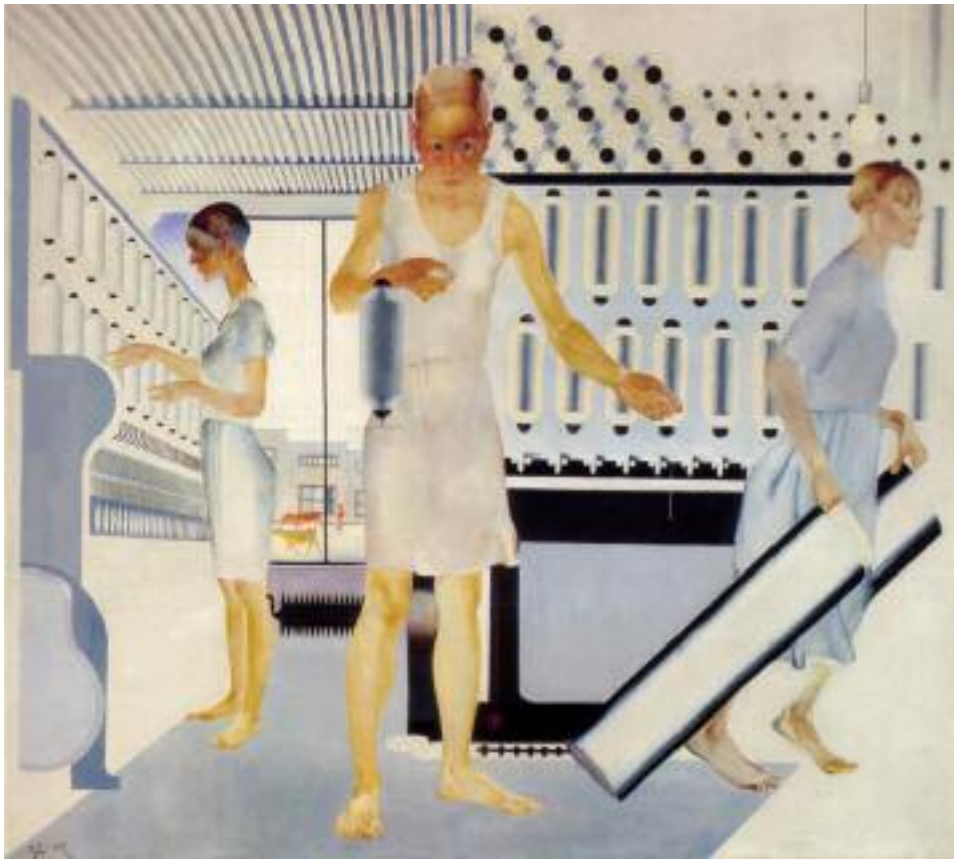
“Villagers were uprooted from their homes and their ancient way of life was wiped out” — as if the desperate poverty, primitive farming techniques, usury, religious obscurantism, domestic violence, child abuse and profound ignorance of tsarist times made for a rural utopia.

We are told: “Many Russian artists, philosophers and writers were nostalgic for the beauty and charm of the old Russia, rapidly disappearing under the boots of the proletarian masses.”

In contrast to this narrative of timeless tradition traduced we are given to understand the startling suggestion that propaganda was a vital tool in spreading Bolshevik ideology.

Buried in this contradictory commentary are two distinct trends. On one hand serious scholarship seeks to position each style in a coherent narrative that leads up to the landmark 1932 exhibition *Fifteen Years of Artists of the Russian Soviet Republic*. This approach is significantly more evident in the well illustrated book which accompanies the exhibition.

But somewhat at odds with the dominant narrative of repression and censorship which percolates through the commentary we learn that the *avant garde* was deeply involved in the party’s propaganda



offensives and the state's literacy programmes while artists working in a variety of more figurative styles remained well patronised by the new state.

The unhappy presentation of this 15-year interregnum as a procession of repressive measures, innovations “constrained by an increasingly repressive state”, with many workers “effectively slaves” is somewhat subverted by an interesting exhibition of the work of an artist, hitherto little known outside of Russia, Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin, whose style is described as “metaphysical rather than political, a reflection of the human spirit and

the cycle of life.”

Like Malevich he was given his own room in the *Fifteen Years* exhibition and in 1932 became the president of the Leningrad Regional Union of Soviet Artists.

In these accounts the creative initiative of the masses is absent. People are conceived of as passive recipients of messages from on high. There is no hint that the Bolshevik success derived from their policy to end the war, dispossess the landlords and feed the towns and cities. Bread, Land and Peace! Or that Soviet power was secured in a civil war in which an armed and mobilised people overcame foreign intervention and the still-

powerful forces of tsarism, Orthodox religion, landlordism and the dispossessed bourgeoisie.

There is but muted suggestion that the new art's currency derived both from the new tasks which faced the working class in a socialist economy, the effects of the hugely successful literacy and industrial training programmes or the ground-breaking advances in pedagogy and child psychology which characterised the regime's cultural policies.

Similarly, the ubiquity of images which reflected the liberation of women, their entry into social life and their commanding role in production pass unremarked while the depiction of mass athletic activity and healthy physicality is dismissed as the iconography of Stalinism. It is as if the transition from a ramshackle tsarist regime to a modern state able to defeat fascism had no connection with what happened in the cultural superstructure.

This is an exhibition of Russian art. Cultural process in the other republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — formed in 1922 — are absent. A highly selective timeline fails to illuminate much. The fourteen foreign armies of intervention mysteriously vanish. The assassination attempt on Lenin goes unremarked while Trotsky — whose own faction only joined the Bolsheviks in 1917 — is erroneously described as a founder member of the party.

## Nick Wright

Royal Academy of Arts  
**Revolution**  
**Russian Art 1917-1932**  
 1 February-17 April

### Illustrations

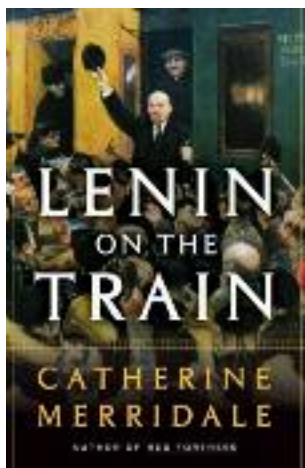
Far Left: Arkady Shaiket: *Construction of the Moscow Telegraphic Centre*, 1928

Top: Alexandr Deneika, *Textile Workers*, 1928

Below: Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin: *Fantasy*, 1925

Right: Kasimir Malevich: *Black Square*, 1915

## The sealed train



### Lenin on the Train

By Catherine Merridale  
[Allen Lane, 2016, hbk, 368 pp, £25.00.  
ISBN 978-0-241-01132-4 (Penguin pbk  
edition due 2017)]

This newly published book on Lenin's return to Russia after the February Revolution in 1917 provides an opportunity to discuss Lenin's view on imperialist wars.

In April 1917 Lenin travelled, with his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya and a group of emigrants, back to Russia after a long exile. He left Switzerland on 9 April (27 March, Gregorian calendar) and arrived in Petrograd at midnight on 16 (3) April. The journey through Germany to the port of Sassnitz took place in a sealed train, and the group could only breathe easily when they reached Trelleborg in Sweden. No-one knew for sure whether the Germans would abide by the transit agreement.

From Malmö, near Trelleborg, the journey continued by train overnight to Stockholm, where Lenin had meetings with the Swedish Social Democrats, including about establishing a Foreign Department of the Bolshevik Party (RSDLP). The Swedish journalist Otto Grimlund<sup>1</sup> travelled with Lenin from Malmö and he has given a vivid account of that journey:

"It was a lesson in socialism, a flight over the battlefield, which I shall never forget. Lenin was not one of those who needed a large auditorium to develop his ideas. He was of the opinion that a young journalist from little Sweden must explain his views about the political situation in the world just as well. He marked out clearly the attitude of his party to the stage of the Russian revolution at that time. He scoffed at the

Kerenskyan socialists and the imperialist bourgeoisie. He outlined during these night hours the programme of action of the Bolsheviks, which he was to announce a few days later, at the station in Petrograd:

'All power in the hands of the workers' soviets!  
Peace for the people! The land to the farmers!'<sup>2</sup>

From Stockholm the emigrants headed north by train to the northern end of the Gulf of Bothnia, at the border town of Haparanda. The last part of the journey into the town was made by sledge and Icelandic horses, and the temperature was well below zero.

After a number of difficulties with passport control, and lengthy interrogations, Lenin and his comrades continued south to a Finnish-Russian border town, seven days after the start, to complete the journey at the Finland Railway Station in Petrograd.

Catherine Merridale gives an interesting account of the journey, and a very vivid picture of revolutionary Petrograd in February 1917. The city was divided into two separate camps, the workers and the bourgeoisie, with big demonstrations of several hundred thousand people occurring, together with military clashes between soldiers and officers. There is a wealth of notes and references in the book, but the reproduction of Lenin's personality is in my opinion incorrect, making him a cynical, calculating person who was completely devoid of human emotions. This spoils a production that is otherwise well-written and well organised.

One of the things that struck me about the book is Merridale's exposition of Lenin's views immediately after returning home. He had great difficulty in convincing the Bolsheviks about his view of the war as an imperialist war.<sup>3</sup> According to Merridale and others, he was definitely voted down, where it was Lenin's point of view against all the other members of the central committee.

We can see from Lenin's *Letters from Afar*<sup>4</sup> that he had given a very clear presentation of the political controversies in Russia. He had tried to convince the Party members of the true nature of the imperialist war, but his letters were rejected or censored by the editorial board of Pravda. This refers to individual comrades who were in opposition to Lenin, among others Stalin and Kamenev.

It was only at the April 1917 Conference of the RSDLP that Lenin managed to create a majority to condemn the war. His *April Theses* provoked a lot of discussion, not only because of the issue of revolutionary

defencism and the attitude towards the Provisional Government, but also through the proposal that all power be transferred to the soviets. Regional conferences of the Party adopted the *Theses* by big majorities, so that the matter was already decided before the All-Russia Conference – but clearly, the issue was not just about the war, but about creating the conditions for the transformation of the revolution into a socialist one.

If you don't tell the correct history, you weaken the significance of Lenin's thought-out position in relation to the war.

Merridale gives a good picture of the great powers' attempts to keep Russia in the war against Germany. For example, Georgi Plekhanov's<sup>5</sup> return to Russia was facilitated, but Lenin was denied travel through England and Scotland. Lenin therefore had no option but to negotiate a transit arrangement with Germany; but the reactionaries brokered a direct smear campaign against him, as an agent for German interests.

Lenin's attitude towards the war has gained a renewed interest due to the many imperialist wars of the present time. They are presented as 'humanitarian wars' to help 'freedom fighters' in the Middle East, Africa and Asia. But behind the alleged humanitarian actions there are cynical calculations towards extending the sphere of influence of the great powers, and securing new markets in an ailing world economy. Consequently, a careful study of Lenin's positions in February/April 1917 is a contribution towards strengthening the peace forces and putting an end to people's suffering in the war zones and as refugees.

Lenin worked for several years on this subject before, during and after the First World War. Again and again he stressed the necessity of condemning imperialist wars because of their reactionary content; which was a different approach from the time of Marx and Engels, where they differentiated between progressive and reactionary regimes. This question is very evident in the confrontation between the superpowers in Syria today.<sup>6</sup>

Lars Ulrik Thomsen

### Notes and References

- 1 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto\\_Grimlund](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto_Grimlund).
- 2 *Lenin und die Internationale*, p. 43, *Erinnerungen von Zeitgenossen*, Dietz Verlag 1983.
- 3 Merridale supports this with reference to party documents.
- 4 V I Lenin, *Collected Works (LCW)*, Vol 23, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pp 295-342.
- 5 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgi\\_Plekhanov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgi_Plekhanov).
- 6 Lenin's article *Under a False Flag* (in *LCW*, Vol 21, pp 135-157), written in 1915 as an answer to A Potresow, gives in my view a



# SOUL FOOD

by Mike Quille

## Keeping the faith

There are two parts to the Soul Food column in this issue. First, to continue and conclude our theme of material from the Spanish Civil War, there are two more poems by Luis Cernuda which have been translated and sent in by reader John Manson (who has an article elsewhere in this edition of *CR*). Secondly, we have some information and requests to readers of the column, about some work being done by Culture Matters.

### Luis Cernuda

Luis Cernuda was born in Seville in 1909. He studied Law and Spanish literature at the university there, then in 1928 moved to Madrid, where he became part of the group of Spanish poets known as the Generation of '27 (or the Generation of the Republic). After the Civil War he went into permanent exile. He taught literature in Glasgow and Cambridge from 1939 to 1945, and at the Spanish Institute in London from 1945 to 1947. For the last years of his life, from 1952 to 1963, he lived and taught in the United States and Mexico.

1936

by Luis Cernuda

Remember it yourself and remind others,  
When nauseated by human meanness,  
When angered by human hardness:  
This man alone, this deed alone, this faith alone.  
Remember it yourself and remind others.

In 1961 and in a foreign city,  
More than a quarter of a century  
Later. The circumstance was commonplace,  
Self-constrained to give a public reading,  
Through it you conversed with that man:  
An old soldier  
In the Lincoln Brigade.

Twenty-five years ago, this man,  
Without knowing your country, to him remote  
And entirely foreign, chose to go to it  
And in it, when the occasion arose, decided to stake his life,  
Judging that the cause there laid on the board  
At that time, was worth  
Contending on account of the faith that was filling his life.

That that cause appears lost,  
Matters not at all;  
That so many others, pretending faith in it  
Were only looking after themselves,  
Matters less.  
What matters and is enough for us is the faith of one man.

For that reason once more today the cause appears to you  
As it did in those days:  
Noble and as worth fighting for.  
And his faith, that faith, he has kept it  
Across the years, the defeat,  
When everything seems to betray it.  
But that faith, you tell yourself, is what matters alone.

Thanks, Comrade, thanks  
For the example. Thanks because you tell me  
That man is noble.  
It matters not that so few are:  
One, one only is enough  
As irrefutable witness  
To the whole of human nobility.

### Hidden Love

by Luis Cernuda

As a grey surge of the sea raises  
A high arch of spume, multiform  
Marvel of the water, and now on the shore  
Shattered, another new spume arises;

As the fields awaken in Spring  
Eternally, faithful under the dark  
Scenery of the clouds, and in the cold sun  
Cover the meadows with asphodels;

As genius in individual bodies is born,  
Figures who have to nourish the ancient glory  
Of its fire, while the human dross  
Daydreams burning in the flame and is consumed,

So always, like water, flower or flame  
You return within the darkness, hidden force  
Of the other love. The base world insults.  
But it is your life: come out and love.

# Culture matters

Ben Stevenson and I set up Culture Matters just over a year ago, and Chris Guiton joined us as a co-editor last year. It's a platform for progressive poetry, art and cultural criticism, part of the 'cultural struggle' for democratic socialism. For us, it's a modern version of what William Blake called the "mental fight" to build the new "Jerusalem".

We run creative and critical material on all the arts, and also on cultural activities such as sport, religion, eating and drinking etc. Even though we have no budget to pay for articles or poems or anything – including our own editorial input and technical support – we have attracted hundreds of articles and poems.

Some of the pieces have been read thousands of times, and they are from a wide variety of poets, writers, academics, arts critics, and activists. Even an MP or two! We welcome contributions from CR readers – just email [info@culturematters.org.uk](mailto:info@culturematters.org.uk).

As mentioned previously in *Soul Food*, we have also published three poetry booklets by working class poets and artists who are contributors – Fred Voss; David Betteridge and Bob Starrett; and Kevin Higgins. The booklets are available from [www.manifestopress.org.uk](http://www.manifestopress.org.uk)

Now, on to the news about us. We have established ourselves as a multi-stakeholder co-operative, Culture Matters Co-operative Ltd, which puts us squarely in the labour movement. We have done this because we want to continue to provide web space and a living voice to worker writers, poets, artists and others, and continue to publish high quality material for all our readers. And we want to campaign for expanded, accessible art and culture for everyone, and fight capitalist encroachment on the cultural commons.

We are issuing shares at £25 each, and shareholders can participate in the democratic management of the co-operative itself. We encourage readers of *Communist Review* to buy as many shares as they can afford. This will help us to raise working capital to support our development plans and cover the production and printing costs of new booklets. You can apply for membership at [www.culturematters/support](http://www.culturematters/support).

The Fred Voss poetry booklet contained a Foreword which was provided by Len McCluskey of Unite the Union, and it is worth buying for that alone. Unite also kindly bought several hundred copies of the booklet, for distribution to their members who (like Fred Voss) are metal machinists. And now we have developed a new national initiative with Unite, the Bread and Roses Poetry Award.

The idea is to encourage poets to write more about themes which are meaningful to working class people and communities, and to encourage those communities to engage more with poetry. Poems should broadly deal with aspects of working class life, communities and culture, and show commitment to the common people, the common good and the common music of poetry.

There is a £500 cash prize for the winner, £250 second prize and £100 third prize. Entries should consist of three poems, each no more than 50 lines long. Poems must be the original work of the entrant, in English, and not have been previously published in print or online. Entry is free.

Poems should be sent via email to [info@culturematters.org.uk](mailto:info@culturematters.org.uk), or by post to Culture Matters, c/o 8 Moore Court, Newcastle upon Tyne NE15 8QE. The deadline for receipt of submissions is midnight on 31 May 2017. Entries will be anonymised before judging, and the winners will be invited to an awards ceremony at a Unite conference in Durham on July 7.

When emailing or posting submissions please provide your name, email or postal address, and phone number. All entries remain the copyright of the author but Culture Matters and Unite will have the right to publish and/or broadcast them online and in other media.

So dear readers, please consider, either for yourself or your friends a) contributing to Culture Matters, b) purchasing shares in Culture Matters Co-operative Ltd., and c) entering the Bread and Roses Poetry Award. Thank you!



**Culture Matters** is a new website about art, culture and politics, edited by Mike Quille and Chris Guiton.

The site, at [www.culturematters.org.uk](http://www.culturematters.org.uk), carries a wide range of creative and critical material on the arts (poetry, films, theatre, visual art etc.) and other cultural activities (sport, religion, eating and drinking etc.)

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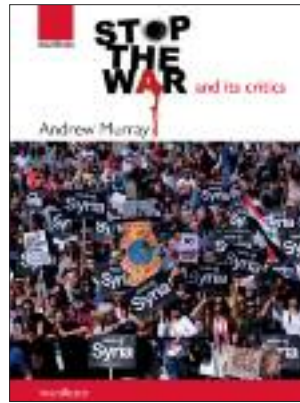
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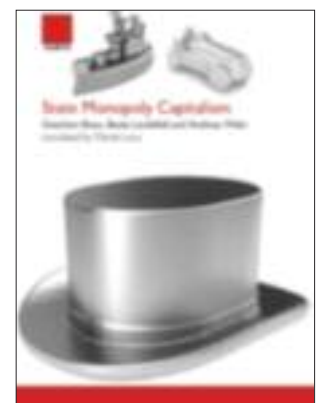


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**State monopoly capitalism**

by Gretchen Binus, Beate Landsfeld and Andreas Wehr with an introduction by Jonathan White. Translated by Martin Levy.

Published with permission from *Staatsmonopolistischer Kapitalismus*, PapyRossa Verlag, Köln, 2015.

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