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## "Who are the falsifiers?": Documentary evidence proving correctness and authenticity of the S.L.P. translation of Frederick Engels' introduction to "Class struggles in France"

Weekly People

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# Who Are the Falsifiers?

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE PROVING CORRECTNESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE S. L. P. TRANSLATION OF FREDERICK ENGELS' INTRODUCTION TO "CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE" BY KARL MARX, AND — — —

AN EXPOSURE OF THE "COMMUNIST" OR BURLESQUE BOLSHEVIKI FALSIFICATION AND GARBLING OF THAT SAME INTRODUCTION

Price 10c.

NEW YORK  
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

1926

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## OFFICIAL ORGAN SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

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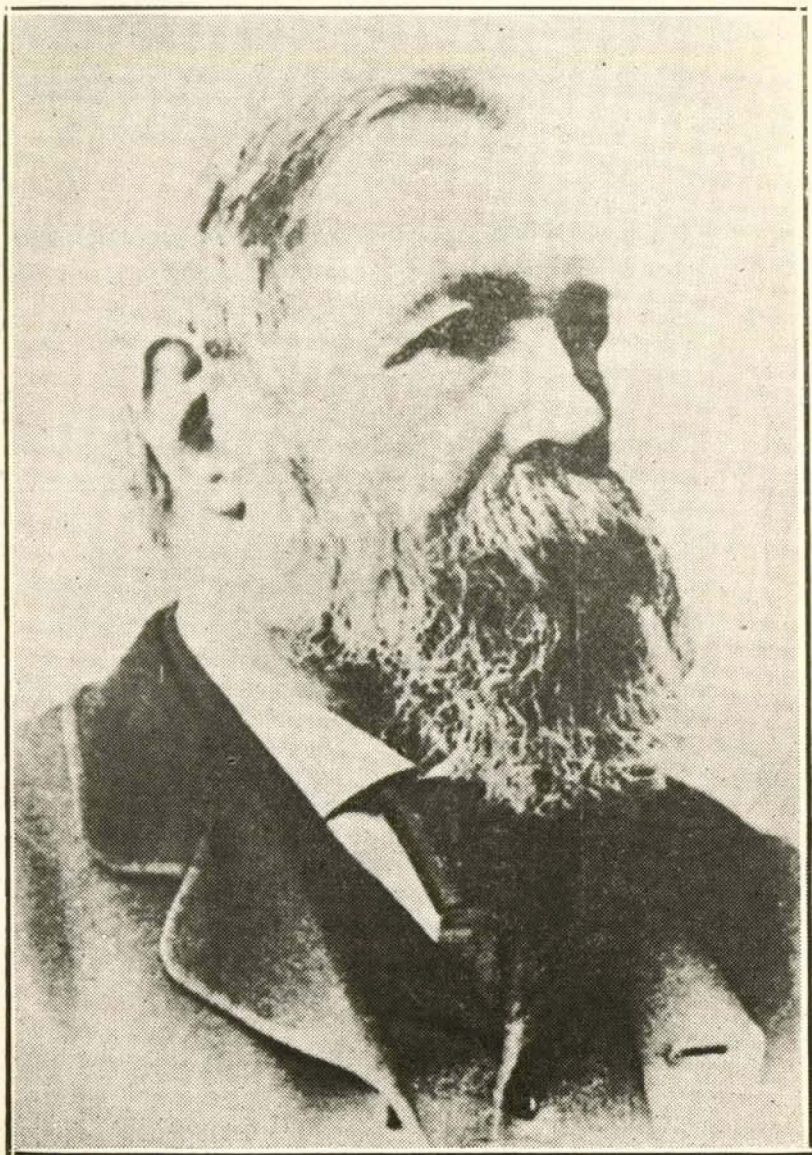
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Weekly People, 45 Rose St., New York City.



FREDERICK ENGELS

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## WHO ARE THE FALSIFIERS?

This is the story of a feather-brained attempt—inspired in part by malice and in part by a desire to utilize an illustrious name in the Socialist movement, the name of Frederick Engels, for purposes of the semi-Anarchist propaganda carried on by that latest excrescence of the labor movement, the comesoonist—to throw aspersions upon a publication issued by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, namely, "The Class Struggles in France 1848-1850," by Karl Marx, with an Introduction written by Frederick Engels. It is the Engels Introduction which was made the object of attack in a manner that will here be set forth.

It is a story of documents and preliminaries may be cut short. The documents run as follows:

1. In 1924, the Socialist Labor Party published an English translation of the aforesaid work of Marx, including the Introduction of Engels. The translation was made from a pamphlet issued by the Berlin *Vorwaerts* in 1895, and the Engels Introduction in that pamphlet bears the date: "London, March 6, 1895." The pamphlet itself carries the same imprint, 1895.

2. In the November, 1925, issue of the comesoonist *Workers Monthly*, there appeared an article by Alexander Trachtenberg entitled "The Marx-Engels Institute," dealing with the establishment, by the Communist party of Russia, of a Marx Museum, the purpose of which is to collect and classify all the published and

unpublished writings of Marx and Engels and successively to publish the same, the work to be supervised by D. Riazanov. In the course of that article, Mr. Trachtenberg, under the subhead "German Socialists Falsify Engels," tells a rather fantastic story of how Riazanov had discovered the original of the Engels Introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France" and had found that certain excisions had intentionally been made by E. Bernstein before it was published. Trachtenberg then proceeds to print, in parallel columns, first, the English text from the "translation published in this country by the Socialist Labor Party in 1924," and sticks into this text in heavier type the portions alleged to have been omitted; second, he takes a 1920 edition of the German pamphlet, issued by the same Berlin *Vorwaerts*, and runs the German text with the same interpolations in black type which he claims have been omitted by the wicked Bernstein.

It may here be observed that most of the alleged omissions do not serve the comesoonist purpose at all, since they merely reiterate the position generally taken by Engels that barricade fighting under modern conditions is no longer a commendable means to carry on the revolutionary struggle of the working class, and only in one or two instances is there a very much qualified deviation from this standpoint; but that is neither here nor there and has nothing to do with the case as will be shown later on.

3. Karl Kautsky in his "The Road to Power" (Der Weg zur Macht) says on page 49, II. Edition, Berlin, 1910: "The introduction to the 'Class Struggles' by Marx is dated March 6, 1895. A few weeks thereafter the book was published. I had requested Engels to permit me to print the introduction in the *Neue Zeit* prior to its publication.

"Thereupon he replied on March 25: 'Your telegram answered at once. With pleasure. Under separate cover follows the proof of text with the title: "Introduction to the Reprint of Marx's 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50,' by Frederick Engels." That the contents consist of a reprint of the old articles from the Review of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is mentioned in the text. My text has suffered some because of the scruples of our Berlin friends, due to timidity over the anti-Socialist laws which, under the circumstances, I had to consider.'"

Kautsky also says that Engels, in a letter dated April 1, 1895, said: "To my astonishment I saw today printed in the *Vorwaerts*, without previous knowledge, an extract from my introduction so dressed up that I appear as a peaceful worshiper of legality quand-meme [in spite of all]. The more pleased I am that now the whole appears in the *Neue Zeit*, so that this shameful impression is obliterated. I shall tell Liebknecht very definitely what I think of this, and also those, whoever they may be, that gave him the opportunity to distort my meaning."

4. What has so far been said establishes two important facts: one, that Engels himself supervised the publication in the *Vorwaerts* pamphlet of 1895 of his introduction to

"The Class Struggles in France"; the other, that Engels himself sent the proofs thereof to Kautsky at the latter's request for publication in the *Neue Zeit*, the first instalment, March 27, being evidently in Engels's hands when he wrote the letter of April 1. (It takes only about a day in the mail.) Note also that Engels says the **WHOLE** appears in *Neue Zeit*, from which it is evident that if anything appears in a discovered manuscript that did not appear in the *Neue Zeit*, it was at one time or other expunged by Engels himself. The only point now to be established is this: does the introduction published in the *Vorwaerts* pamphlet supervised by Engels tally with or differ from the version printed by Kautsky in the *Neue Zeit*? If the two versions agree, then a backdoor, surreptitiously left open, is bolted and barred. It must here be borne in mind that when the introduction was published, in the *Neue Zeit* as well as in the *Vorwaerts* pamphlet, Engels was still living, was in full possession of his mental faculties and amply able to take care of himself and his literary work had anybody tried to tamper with it. Had there been such tampering, there would have been a sharp controversy and the world would know about it. There is no record of any such.

5. I have before me the *Neue Zeit*, Vol. XIII, Part 2, 1894-95, and in Nos. 27 and 28 I find the "Einleitung zum Neudruck von Marx' 'Klassenkaempfe in Frankreich 1848-1850.'" A careful comparison of the text in the *Vorwaerts* 1895 pamphlet with the text of the *Neue Zeit* shows the two to be identical word for word and comma for



comma, except in one non-essential particular: the *Neue Zeit* gives the year of the adoption of the Mecklenburg constitution as 1775, which is a misprint, while the *Vorwaerts* pamphlet gives it as 1755, which is correct and in keeping with historic fact.

6. The same Vol. XIII of the *Neue Zeit* carries in its No. 46 the announcement of the death of Frederick Engels, which came on August 5, 1895, fully five months after the date of his introduction as given in the *Vorwaerts* pamphlet

In the light of the facts here presented, it would be charitable to assume that the gentleman who staged this remarkable performance, himself was deceived; that when he heard of the discovery by Riazanov of what he calls "the original manuscript of the Introduction in the archives of the German Social Democratic party," he plunged in heedlessly, never stopping to think that the "discovery" might after all be only an early draft of the introduction later discarded and substituted by one subsequently prepared for print; and that, instead of investigating first and then arriving at conclusions, he concluded first and pronounced in favor of "falsification" because it looked at first blush like a golden opportunity not to be allowed to escape.

But no such charity can be extended in this case. The desire to deceive is too obvious. Mr. Trachtenberg gives 1895 as the year of Engels' death, but carefully omits to give the date (August 5); he does not mention the fact that "The Class Struggles in France" was originally published by the *Vorwaerts* "Buchhandlung" in 1895 and that the Engels Introduction therein bears the

date of March 6, 1895, but takes a 1920 reprint and subtly conveys the idea, without saying so outright, that the Socialist Labor Party translation has been made from that; he says nothing about Engels himself having supervised the 1895 publication, because to have done so would have made Engels "falsify" himself, causing the entire structure of deception to collapse about Trachtenberg's ears.

There is not, of course, any reason to believe that the 1920 edition of the *Vorwaerts* pamphlet differs in any way from the original edition of 1895; no doubt they are identical, the latter reprinted most likely from the same plates and differing only in the date, but we have not seen the 1920 reprint. What we had and translated from was the 1895 original edition, the very one to which Engels had given his personal attention, and of which he sent the proofs of his introduction to Kautsky for reprint in the *Neue Zeit*.

The facts herein set forth are as accessible to Mr. Trachtenberg as they were accessible to us; perhaps he was even in possession of them when he wrote: "In order to show exactly how the literary executors intentionally falsified and adulterated this Introduction, I shall quote from the latest German edition of the book 'Die Klassenkaempfe in Frankreich 1848-1850,' published by Buchhandlung Vorwaerts, Berlin, 1920"—and then proceeded to build up his deadly parallel column, a parallel so deadly that it ought to finish him for good in the eyes of all to whom literary decency and integrity is not an empty sound.

—Henry Kuhn, WEEKLY PEOPLE,

August 7, 1926.

## FOOLS AND FALSIFIERS—BOTH.

Groups of people who go wrong on principles and thereby become entangled in a mess of contradictions, habitually turn into the most unscrupulous hypocrites, liars and calumniators in order to defend their wrong-headed position. This is proverbially true of religious fanatics and it is no less true of so-called philanthropists and humanitarians; but even revolutionary movements are perpetually "blessed" with the nuisance of individuals and groups that, starting off half schooled, go wrong and ever wronger, and then, obliged to defend the wrong, turn crooks, fakers, fools, hypocrites and what not.

For a decade and a half the Socialist Labor Party saw tragedy brewing for the movement in the activities of the Socialist party of America. It was anarchy personified. Opportunistic in principles and tactics, it naturally did not steer by the compass of Marxian Socialist science. Its state and local organizations were permitted to advocate anything they pleased in the name of Socialism—shoddy reforms, physical force anarchy, pure and simple politicianism, Christian "socialism," atheist "socialism" and what not. The result of this could be nothing but mental confusion and hodge-podge. What happened to the "alte Genossen" who had come from Germany in the seventies and eighties and had rapidly gone to seed since their arrival in this country mattered little; nor were there any

tears shed over cheap "socialistic" politicians like Hillquit, Berger, Spargo, Russell and the hundreds of their type with which the S. P. was infested. It was only good riddance of bad rubbish when they departed from the revolutionary movement. Nor did we mourn particularly for old sentimentalists like Debs and "Mother" Bloer, nor seasoned old anarchists like Haywood; and that the S. P. collected freaks in general was a blessing to the movement that ceased to be pestered with them. But one thing the S. L. P. noted with apprehension throughout and that was that the S. P. gouged out or made hash of the brains of large groups of energetic, enthusiastic and sincere young men and women of this country. We saw disaster ahead, and this disaster came when, with the split in the S. P., the younger element, hotly though unbalancedly revolutionary, unable any longer to put up with S. P. opportunism and shoddy reform politics, launched its own "revolutionary" bark. The mad career of a multitude of "communist" and farmer-labor parties need not here be related. The Russian Revolution totally deprived them of what little sense the S. P. might have left. The world revolution was conceived as hiding just around the corner, and blood flowed fast and furious — in their "revolutionary" phrases. As a not altogether unnatural reaction from S. P. opportunism the "communists" "inspired" by Russia flew to the other extreme

of pure and simple physical forcism; and like new-fledged chickens, untrained and uneducated in Socialist and revolutionary history, as the S. P. had left them, conceived of physical force as a new and marvelous discovery of their own, a new "revolutionary" tactic and strategem. They were making noise like children with their first rattle—feeling very brave and "advanced" and "revolutionary" while talking about "mass action," street battles and mustering the proletariat for battle.

Thus matters stood when the Socialist Labor Party translated Karl Marx's "Class Struggles in France" with Engels' Introduction dealing with the futility of street barricades and ancient methods of force, and besides printing Marx's brochure with Engels's Introduction also printed that Introduction as a separate pamphlet under the title "The Revolutionary Act." The first result was a long sad face. Imagine how it must have hurt these proud "revolutionaries" to learn that pure and simple physical force belonged to the babyhood of the movement and had long ago been tried in the scales of sound sense and science and found wanting. Then somehow they discovered that when the Introduction was first written for publication by the Vorwaerts Buchhandlung (publishing house) in Berlin extracts from it, that amounted to distortion of the ideas, had been published in *Vorwaerts*, the Social Democratic organ, for which Engels had soundly upbraided the *Vorwaerts* crowd. Here was their chance—the Introduction translated by the S. L. P. from the Vorwaerts edition of the pamphlet was a "falsification" of "revisionists" and "politicians." We

could afford to smile, for we had evidence through Karl Kautsky, at that time a close friend of Engels, that Engels himself had supervised the publication of the preface.

Then suddenly—Lo, a discovery! D. Riazanov, director of the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow, is claimed to have made a discovery of the original Engels manuscript with certain passages blue-penciled. Whatever importance Riazanov attaches to the discovery we know not; certain it is that no one in Moscow has notified the S. L. P. about the matter. But the noble and "intellectual" Alexander Trachtenberg gets the matter at once and rushes to the *Workers Monthly* with five pages. The Socialist Labor Party edition is blandly branded as a falsification of Engels. The blue-penciled passages are given, and as they in no manner change the sense of the matter, but are rather redundant repetitions of things already well said, the suspicion arises at once that they were stricken out by Engels himself in rereading and editing the script for publication. But the Workers partyites know, by occult science we suppose, that the blue pencil was held by the revisionistic Bernstein. How this contention is thoroughly punctured by documents, is told in the preceding article by the translator of the Introduction, Henry Kuhn. This story need not be repeated. The documents are so clear and plain that nothing short of an apology from Mr. Trachtenberg and the *Workers Monthly* can do away with the suspicion that they have attempted to falsify in order to discredit one of the finest and soundest and most carefully prepared tactical

utterances of the great Engels.

The anxiety of this crowd of mouthers of Marxian phrases to discredit this work by Engels is further emphasized by the fact that no efforts have been spared to do so, even before Trachtenberg appeared with the Riazanov "discovery." The October, 1925, issue of the *Workers Monthly* contains an article on "The Thirtieth Anniversary of the Death of Frederick Engels" by one Herman Dunker. Here this passage occurs:

With his vital optimism, he again and again threw himself against the current of right tendencies in the Social Democratic party of Germany. In this, however, he trusted the sound revolutionary sense of the German workers and the forceful demonstration of its leaders, such as Bebel and others. But the fact that Engels could follow affairs in Germany only from a distance, resulted in his now and then subordinating himself to the "real politiker" of the continent, in cases where energetic opposition would have been better in place. His over-optimism was punished most severely, when in 1895 the scared rabbits at the head of the Social Democratic party, by means of infamous expurgations, falsified Engels's preface to the "Class Struggles in France" into an unconditional propagation of legality. Engels spent his rage about this in private letters.

But the death of Engels, following shortly afterwards, came to the aid of the German publishers, and since that time extracts from the treacherously "corrected" preface of Engels decorate every piece of revisionist writing.....

A statement like that in face of the correspondence long ago published by Kautsky—if nothing else

were on hand—can have absolutely no excuse in decency and must be taken for what it is, a deliberate and disgusting attempt to deprive a man of his own sturdy, sound and legitimate expression and try to make him serve the purpose of bolstering up stupid and childish tactics and empty phrases discarded by the movement in its baby age nearly half a century ago. A more outrageous and damnable attempt to deprive a man of his work, his right of expression, has probably never before been perpetrated in all the history of literature. The Social Democratic *Vorwaerts* crew were white angels compared with the Workers party crowd of falsifiers. They at least tried to rob only the living Engels, Trachtenberg and company are violating the dead. Fie upon them! Lower no one could possibly crawl.

But they were silly enough to try their foul attempt with documents known to be in existence, only requiring a little research to reach. This proves that they are not only falsifiers, they are fools as well. The Workers party must be satisfied to have Engels nail their silly pure and simple physical force propaganda to the cross.

\* \*

There remains but one word more to be said in this matter. While the S. L. P. has gathered the documents in question the lying raven of the Workers party has flown far and wide. For example, in the May Day magazine of the Swedish branch of the Workers party, mostly composed of the 1920 S.L.P. renegades, a well known pinhead, masquerading under the nom de plume of Ellis Peterson, retails the same story of the

"Riazanov discovery" under the heading "S. L. P.'s 'Marxism' Based on Reformistic Falsification." This has already been dealt with in *Arbetaren* and no doubt Kuhn's documentary article will also be published. But the indecency of persons who know nothing of the merits of the case, who do not care or wish to investigate and obtain

easily ascertained facts, is hereby emphasized.

Our members must expect to meet this anti-Engels propaganda in many places for a long time yet, and should therefore be prepared to nail it with the facts established in Comrade Kuhn's article.

—Editorial, WEEKLY PEOPLE, August 7, 1926.

## RE ENGELS'S "REVOLUTIONARY ACT."

[This page from certain correspondence between Frederick Engels and Karl Kautsky contains valuable documentary information when read in connection with the article by Henry Kuhn entitled "Who Are the Falsifiers?" It is reprinted in this connection so that our readers may be in possession of complete information.—Editor WEEKLY PEOPLE.]

(From "The Road to Power," by K. Kautsky, page 49, II. Edition, Berlin, 1910, Publisher, Vorwaerts.)

The introduction to the "Class Struggle" by Marx is dated March 6, 1895. [A few weeks thereafter the book was published.] I had requested Engels to permit me to print the introduction in the *Neue Zeit* prior to its publication.

Thereupon he replied on March 25: "Your telegram answered at once. With pleasure. Under separate cover follows the proof of text with the title: 'Introduction to the Reprint of Marx's "The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50," by Frederick Engels.' That the contents consist of a reprint of the old articles from the *Review* of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* is mentioned in the text. My text has suffered some because of the scruples of our Berlin friends, due to timidity over the anti-Socialist laws which, under the circumstances, I had to consider."

To understand this one must bear in mind that the proposed so-called

anti-Socialist law (Umsturzvorlage), for the purpose of making more difficult all Socialist propaganda, called for considerably more stringent provisions in the existing laws; that the measure had been submitted to the Reichstag December 5, 1894, which body, on January 14, referred it to a commission wherein it was under consideration for more than three months, until April 25. Just during that time was the introduction of Engels written. How serious Engels conceived the situation to be appears from a subsequent passage of the same letter, where he says: "An electoral reform that is bound to land us in Parliament I consider an absolute certainty for Austria, unless a sudden and general period of reaction should break upon us. And toward such they seem to work in Berlin with all their might, but, unfortunately, they do not know there what they want from one day to another."

Even before this, on January 3, when about to undertake the work of writing the introduction, Engels had written me:

"It looks as though you are going to have a very lively year in Germany. If Herr von Koller continues in this way, nothing will be impossible — conflict, dissolution, coup d'etat. Naturally, they will be satisfied with something less. The Junkers will probably be satisfied with some additional love gifts, but in order to obtain these it may be necessary to appeal to certain desires

of the itch for personal rule, and to yield to these up to a certain point. . . . . Were Germany a Latin country, the revolutionary conflict would be inevitable."

So serious and full of possible conflict did Engels conceive the situation of that day when the revisionists make him proclaim that the era of unquestionably lawful and peaceful development had begun and had been made secure forever; that the era of the revolution lies behind us. It is clear that Engels, entertaining such a conception of the situation, would avoid everything that might be used by the foe against the party; that, while he remained unyielding in regard to the principle involved, he expressed himself with as much restraint as possible. But when the *Vorwaerts*, perhaps to influence the deliberations of the commission in charge of the anti-Socialist law, printed the introduction and regrouped some parts thereof in such a manner that, standing by themselves, an impression was created which, according to the later claims of the revisionists, was intended by Engels, the latter was fired with wrath. In a letter dated April 1 he wrote:

"To my astonishment I saw today printed in the *Vorwaerts*, without previous knowledge, an extract from my introduction so dressed up that I appear as a peaceful worshiper of legality quand-meme. The more pleased am I that now the whole appears in the *Neue Zeit*, so that this shameful impression is obliterated. I shall tell Liebknecht very definitely what I think of this, and also those, whoever they may be, that gave him the opportunity to distort my meaning."

And in case these presentations be deemed insufficient to define the position of Engels toward the revolution, then we may point to an article which, but a few years before he wrote the introduction to Marx's "Class Struggle," he published in the *Neue Zeit* in 1892 about Socialism in Germany. There he said:

"How often have not the bourgeois demanded of us that we should forego, under any and all conditions, the use of revolutionary means and always remain within legal bounds, now that the exceptional anti-Socialist law has been repealed and the common law restored for all including the Socialists! Unfortunately, we are in no position to do this favor to the bourgeois gentlemen. But this does not however do away with the fact that at this moment it is not we whom 'legality kills.' On the contrary, it works very nicely for us so that we would be fools were we to do it violence so long as things go the way they do. Much nearer lies the question whether it will not be the bourgeoisie and its government that will violate law and right in order to crush us by force! We shall await results. Meantime, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, 'you will have to shoot first.'

"No doubt, they will shoot first. Some fine morning the German bourgeoisie and its government will get tired of contemplating the ever rising flood of Socialism arms akimbo; both will seek shelter in lawlessness, in force. But what good will it do them? Force can crush a small sect within a limited area; but the power must yet be discovered that can exterminate a party composed of between two and three million people and spread over the entire country."

A momentary counter-revolutionary super-force may perhaps retard the triumph of Socialism for a few years, but only to the end that then

it will be all the more complete and final."

—WEEKLY PEOPLE, August 7, 1926.

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## ASKING TO BE FLAYED.

[The below extracts from letters of Comrade L. Cotton of England are so pointed in their comments on our American burlesque bolshevik would-be literary "truth seekers" that we cannot refrain from publishing them in this connection. They show admirably how easily the silly and fraudulent assertions of these self-constituted literary executors (rather executioners) of Marx and Engels are to be seen through.

Of course we could easily have flayed them on the stupid face value of their own assertions, but we preferred to do so with complete documentary evidence, and have therefore bided our time. They asked us to flay them indeed. We have let the documents in the case do so. And a worse flaying than they get in the article entitled "Who Are the Falsifiers?" is scarcely imaginable. May they enjoy it since they literally begged for it.—Editor WEEKLY PEOPLE.]

Reading, Berks., England.

November 29, 1925.

The latest re "The Revolutionary Act" comes, appropriately enough from Chicago—in the *Workers Monthly*, November issue. . . . .

The part in question is an article by Alex. Trachtenberg, on the Marx-Engels Institute, page 21. Comrade Kuhn's translation is not questioned but the original publishers of the German edition are accused of ex-

cising certain important passages from Engels' manuscript before publication. These excised passages are given in German and English. Riasonov is alleged to have discovered the original Engels manuscript. But he could not take it to Moscow so he has photostats of it. If his allegations are true then it does show the Engels views were, in some respects, not given justice in the published Preface. But are the allegations of Riasonov true? If we are to judge them by the stuff in this article we should have to condemn them at once. Trachtenberg's statements are reckless, misleading and very much muddled if not entirely wrong. We are led to believe that the leaders of the German S. D. P. "betrayed a personal trust which Engels, before his death, bestowed upon them," etc., etc. Well, if this betrayal is, as we are led to assume, the excision of important passages from this Preface, they did not wait for Engels' death to do the trick, but did it before he died. Engels, himself, must have known all about it. He wrote to Kautsky complaining of the Berlin people garbling it and requested Kautsky to publish the entire Preface, as he wrote it, as his reply to the Berlin critics. With so careful a man as Engels we may be pretty sure that he did not ask Kautsky to publish the complete Preface without taking the trouble to see that Kautsky had a complete copy. And Kautsky complied with Engels'

request and published it in the next issue of *Die Neue Zeit*. This was while Engels was living. Surely if Kautsky excised these important passages Engels would have complained at the time. Again Engels did *not* complain, in his letter to Kautsky, of the *publishers of the book excising passages*, but only that some of the Berlin critics had garbled it in matter *published in the Vorwaerts*. . . . .

L. Cotton.

Reading, England,

November 29, 1925.

In further reference to the Riasonov matter. In the same issue of the *Workers Monthly* is an article, page 32, "Marx and Engels on the Role of the Communists in America," by Heinz Neuman. In this article Engels' letters to F. Sorge and others are mucked about to get in digs at the S. L. P. Early in the eighties Engels had got the measure of the German emigrants of the New York S. L. P. and expresses himself quite forcibly about them, just as

De Leon did at a later date. These letters are not new and Budgen and myself have known them for some years. [So have we.—Editor WEEKLY PEOPLE.] But in this *Workers Monthly* article they are played off as if Engels had known the De Leon S. L. P. and worked off his strictures upon it. The fact is the exact opposite. The letters prove that Engels had the same opinion of the German people in New York as De Leon held when he had had contact with them and if anything at all prove that Engels' opinions were a complete justification of De Leon and the modern S. L. P. Many of these letters are taken from the "Briefe und Auszuege aus Briefen von . . . . Friederich Engels, Karl Marx . . . . an F. A. Sorge und Andere."

There is also an article on Engels in the October issue of the *Workers Monthly*.

Are they asking for you to flay them?

L. Cotton.

—WEEKLY PEOPLE, August 7, 1926.

## ONCE AGAIN — WHO ARE THE FALSIFIERS?

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*Documents That Prove Leading Communists in 1921 Translated Engels's Introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France" ("The Revolutionary Act") and Deleted Long Passages That Were Not to Their Liking.*

We have before us (and on file in the WEEKLY PEOPLE office) the copies of the *Plebs* magazine (London) for January, February, March and April, 1921. The *Plebs* magazine is the official publication of the Plebs League, one of the various names under which avowed English Communists have traveled. Through these issues runs a translation of Frederick Engels's introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France," by Eden and Cedar Paul, noted active, prominent and very self-assertive English Communists. This translation is published under the title "Revolutionary Tactics." In their foreword to the translation in the *Plebs* magazine, Eden and Cedar Paul say:

The writing of 1895 is extraordinarily fresh, vigorous, and up-to-date. It bears no trace of senility, though Engels was hard on 75 when he wrote, and died the same year. But if "Time trieth Troth," it is no less true that time trieth Socialist theory. If the Socialists of 1895 found it impossible to agree wholly with the Communists of 1848, still less is it possible for the Communists of 1920 to agree wholly with the Socialists of 1895. Once more, to quote Engels's own phrase, time has wrought her revenges.

Indeed this writing of Engels is fresh, vigorous and up-to-date—too fresh, vigorous and up-to-date, we shall presently see, for those most Communist translators, E. and C. Paul, and of course also for their Communist patrons of the *Plebs* magazine and other Communist groups of Great Britain and the world for that matter. To paraphrase that dauntless champion of the literary correctness of Marx and Engels, the American burlesque bolsheviki's own Alexander Trachtenberg, who expatiated profusely in the November 1925 issue of the *Workers Monthly* about "German Socialists falsifying Engels" (which was proven by documents in last week's issue of the WEEKLY PEOPLE to be a fairy tale) and who generously included the S. L. P.'s translation in his would-be indictment—we repeat, to paraphrase Alexander Trachtenberg: *by careful comparison of the manuscript with the published text we have discovered certain excisions intentionally made by the translators, E. and C. Paul, either while translating or before the translation was published.* Mr. Trachtenberg, using the document said to have been discovered by D. Riazanov, published portions of the S. L. P. trans-

lation ("The Revolutionary Act") and inserted what he claims to be excisions made by Bernstein. All this of course was done with the view of proving that the S. L. P. was included among the revisionists and excisionists, or as one Communist writer puts it, "the scared rabbits of the Social Democratic party." It was good of Mr. Trachtenberg to do things completely. It gave us a chance to nail the Riazanov discovery on the head. However, we shall show ourselves no more close-fisted of precious space than was the *Workers Monthly* in the Trachtenberg case. When it comes, to paraphrase the other above-mentioned "defender" of Engels (Herman Duncker in the October 1925 *Workers Monthly*) to protecting "our Marx and our Engels from such a desecration," we too shall publish a translation and excisions. We shall let our readers see and let the world see what these would-be Communist protectors of the literary accomplishments of Marx and Engels have dared to do with one of Engels's classic tactical utterances.

In the first place, without saying a word about it, Eden and Cedar Paul omitted the entire historical interpretation by Engels of his introduction to the "Class Struggles in France." These introductory remarks are highly important because they place the Engels introduction to Marx's brochure in their historical setting and give reasons for Engels's views on revolutionary tactics in 1895. These introductory remarks are here given in full (from Henry Kuhn's translation: "The Revolutionary Act," S. L. P. publication 1922).

#### *Engels's Introductory Remarks.*

The work, herewith republished, represents Marx's first attempt to explain a segment of contemporary history by means of his materialist conception upon the basis of the prevailing economic condition. In the Communist Manifesto, this theory had been applied in rough outline to the entire modern history, and in Marx's and my own articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* it had constantly been used for the interpretation of current political events. Here, however, it became a matter of tracing the inherent causal connection of a development extending over several years which was for the whole of Europe as critical as it was typical, that is, bringing back, in the sense of the author, upon political events the effects of what, in the last analysis, were economic causes.

In an attempt to judge events and series of events taken from current history, one will never be able to go back to the very last economic causes. Even in these days, when the professional press furnishes material so copiously, it will be impossible even in England to trace the course of industry and commerce in the world's market, or to follow the changes in production methods day after day in such manner as to be able to draw at any given moment a general conclusion from these highly complicated and ever changing factors, factors of which the most important often work for a long time under cover before they suddenly and forcibly come to the surface. A clear survey of the economic history of a given period can never be gained at the time; it is possible only later, after the subsequent collection and assortment of

the material. Here statistics are an indispensable aid, but they always limp behind the event. When dealing with current contemporary history one will often be forced to treat this, the most decisive factor, as constant and to consider the economic situation found at the beginning of a given period as governing the entire period without variation, or to consider only such changes of the situation as emanate from events plainly visible and therefore also quite manifest. The materialist method must here too often confine itself to a tracing back of political conflicts to the conflicts of interests among the social classes and class factions of a given economic development, and to prove that the different political parties are the more or less adequate political expression of these same classes and class factions.

It goes without saying that the inevitable neglect of the simultaneous changes of the economic situation, the real basis of all the events to be investigated, is bound to be a source of error. But all the conditions of a comprehensive presentation of the history of the day inevitably include sources of error—which deters no one from writing current history.

At the time Marx undertook this work, the said source of error was even far more inevitable. To trace during the revolutionary period, 1848-49, the simultaneous economic transformations, or to maintain a survey of them, was plainly impossible. Precisely so during the first months of the London exile, in the autumn and winter of 1849-50. That was just the time when Marx began this work. But despite these unpropitious circumstances, his thorough knowledge of the economic condition

of France, as well as of the political history of that country since the February revolution, enabled him to give a presentation of events, which uncovered their inner connection in a manner not since attained, and which later met, brilliantly, the double test that Marx himself subjected them to.

The first test was occasioned by Marx, since the spring of 1850, again gaining some leisure for economic studies and, as a beginning, taking up the economic history of the last ten years. From the facts themselves it became thoroughly clear to him what, thus far, and from the fractional material at hand, he had half deduced *a priori*: that the world commercial crisis of 1847 was the real cause of the February and March revolutions, and that the industrial prosperity which arrived gradually in the middle of 1848, coming to full bloom in 1849 and 1850, was the vitalizing factor of the renascent European reaction. This was decisive. While in the first three articles (published in the January-March issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, "Politico-economic Review," Hamburg, 1850) the expectation of an early renewed upward turn of revolutionary energy is still looked for, the historic review, written by Marx and myself, and published in the final double number—May-October—which appeared in the autumn of 1850, breaks once for all with these illusions: "A new revolution is possible only as the consequence of a new crisis. And it is also as certain as the latter." But that was really the only essential change that had to be made. As to the interpretation of events, given in former parts, as well as the causal connections therein set forth, abso-

lutely nothing had to be changed, as is shown by the continuation of the review covering the period from March 10 down to the autumn of 1850. This continuation I have included as the fourth article in the present edition.

The second test was still harder. Immediately after Louis Bonaparte's *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, Marx worked anew upon the history of France from February, 1848, down to the aforesaid event which, for the time being, terminated the revolutionary period. ("The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." Third Edition, Meissner, Hamburg, 1885.) In this brochure is treated once more, though more briefly, the period dealt with in our joint review. Compare this second presentation, written in the light of a decisive event that occurred more than a year later, with ours, and it will be found that the author had to change but very little.

What gives to our review a decidedly special significance is the circumstance that, for the first time, it expressed the formula which today, with general unanimity of the labor parties of all the countries of the world, briefly summarizes their demand for economic reconstruction: the expropriation of the means of production by society. In the second chapter, anent the "Right to Work," which is designated as the "first awkward formula wherein the revolutionary demands of the proletariat are condensed," it is said: "But behind the Right to Work stands the power over capital, behind the power over capital stands the expropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class, therefore, the abolition of

wage labor and of capital and of their mutual relations." Hence, here is formulated—for the first time—the thesis whereby modern working class Socialism is sharply differentiated, not only from all the different shades of feudal, bourgeois, petty bourgeois, etc., Socialism, but also from the confused notions of a community of goods of the utopian as well as the original labor communism.

If, later, Marx extended the formula to the expropriation of the means of exchange, this extension, which became a matter of course after the Communist Manifesto, simply expressed a corollary of the main thesis. Some wise people in England have recently added that the "means of distribution" should also be assigned to society. It would be difficult for these gentlemen to explain what are these means of distribution as distinct from the means of production and exchange—unless political means of distribution are meant, taxes, doles to the poor, including the *Sachsenwald* (communal forest) and other endowments. But these, in the first place, are means of distribution already in the possession of society, the State or the Municipality; and, second, it is we who would abolish them.

(*End of Engels's introductory remarks.*)

From here on we shall pass over to page 29, "The Revolutionary Act." On the pages from 16 to 29 there occur two excisions which we can afford to pass over. On page 29 commences Engels's exposition of the altered conditions for revolutionary actions showing that fighting behind barricades has become anti-

quoted. It is now that the revisionists really start to perform. From this point on we shall publish Eden and Cedar Paul's translation starting page 72, March 1921 issue of the *Plebs* magazine, next to the last paragraph on page, and insert in brackets and italics all that which the two ardent Communist excisionists have seen fit to delete. The reason for the excisions will be perfectly obvious as we proceed. They kick the Communist "mass actionists" in the face. The inserted parts are from Henry Kuhn's translation—"The Revolutionary Act." Let the exhibits given below answer the question:

#### *Who Are the Falsifiers?*

For here also the conditions of the struggle had been notably modified. Rebellion in the old style, street fighting and barricades, the methods that had proved universally decisive, down to the year 1848, had in effect become obsolete.

[*Let there be no illusions about this:*] A real victory of revolt over troops in street fighting, a victory like that obtained by one army over another, is among the greatest of rarities. Seldom, indeed, have insurgents aimed at anything of the kind. Their hope has always been that they might undermine the morale of the soldiers, whereas in a fight between the armies of two ordinary belligerents this can seldom or never happen. If the insurgents are successful in their design, the soldiers can no longer be depended upon; or their officers lose their heads, and the revolt proves successful. But where the morale of the troops holds good, the result is that even when they are

in a very small minority compared with the insurgents, the former, being better disciplined, better armed, under a unified command, and employed in accordance with a definite plan, will maintain the upper hand. . . . . [*The utmost the insurrection can accomplish in a tactical action is the proper erection and defense of a single barricade. Mutual support, the disposition and the use of reserves, in short, that which is needed for the mere defense of a section of a city, to say nothing of the whole of it, the indispensable cooperation and dovetailing of the separate commands can be attained in but small measure, often not at all. The concentration of battle forces upon one decisive point is thereby made impossible.*] Passive defense remains, therefore, the leading form of the struggle. . . . [*The offensive will here and there rise to occasional attacks and flanking movements, but the rule will be to confine itself to the occupation of positions abandoned by retreating troops.*] Moreover, regular troops have artillery, and part of their force consists of fully equipped and highly trained engineers, whereas the insurgents will hardly ever have either the one or the other at their disposal. It is not surprising, therefore, that barricade fights conducted with the greatest possible heroism, as at Paris in June, 1848, at Vienna in October, 1848, and at Dresden in May, 1849, ended in the defeat of the insurgents as soon as those who led the attack were able to repose full confidence in their men, and could be guided in their actions entirely by the principles of ordinary warfare, regardless of political considerations.

The numerous successes gained by insurgents prior to the year 1848 were due to manifold causes. At Paris in July, 1830, and in February, 1848, as in most of the street fights in Spain, there was a militia interposed between the rebels and the regulars, a civic force which in some cases openly sided with the insurgents, and in others wavered to such an extent that the morale of the regular troops was sympathetically disturbed. Moreover, the militia supplied the insurgents with weapons. But where militia levies took definite action against the insurgents, as happened in Paris during June, 1848, the insurrection was suppressed. At Berlin in the year 1848 the victory of the populace was partly due to the securing of notable reinforcements during the night and on the morning of the nineteenth, partly to the fact that the regular soldiers were worn out and badly placed, and partly to the indecision of the military command. In all these cases the insurgents were successful, either because the troops refused duty, or because the officers were irresolute, or, finally, because the officers' hands were tied.

Thus even during the classical epoch of street fighting, the influence of barricades was moral rather than material. They were a means of undermining the constancy of the troops. If the barricades could be held until the soldiers' morale had given way, victory was with the insurgents, but in default of this the rebels were defeated.

In 1849 the chances were in any case unfavorable to revolt. The bourgeoisies were everywhere on the side of the governments; "culture and property" was their motto; they

feted the soldiers who were called out to suppress the revolt. [*The barricade had lost its charm.*] To the soldiers, the defenders of the barricades no longer represented "the people"; they were rebels, demagogues, looters, the scum of society. The officers had gained experience in the tactics of street fighting. No longer did the unprotected troops make a direct onslaught upon the improvised fortifications; these were attacked in the flank or in the rear, through gardens, courtyards and houses. In nine cases out of ten, when conducted with reasonable skill, such attacks were successful.

Since those days there have been many further changes, all in favor of the regular troops. Whilst the large cities have become much larger, armies have grown even more rapidly. [*Paris and Berlin, since 1848, have quadrupled, but their garrisons have grown more than that.*] Owing to railway developments, garrisons could be more than doubled within twenty-four hours, and within forty-eight hours gigantic armies could be assembled in the capitals. Not only are the soldiers far more numerous, but they are incomparably better armed. In 1848 the infantry soldier's weapon was a small-bore muzzle-loader, fired with a percussion cap; today the range of his weapon is four times that of the old, and the precision and rapidity of fire ten times as great. At that time, artillery projectiles were either round-shot or case-shot; now we have explosive shells, a single one of which can knock the best barricade to smithereens. . . . . [*Then the pickaxe of the pioneer to break through the fire walls, today the dynamite cartridge.*



*On the side of the insurgents, however, all the conditions have become worse. An uprising wherewith all layers of the population sympathize will hardly come again; in the class struggle the middle layers will hardly ever group themselves around the proletariat so fully that the party of reaction, gathering around the bourgeoisie, will be almost eclipsed by comparison. The "people" will for that reason always appear divided, and thus a powerful lever, so effective in 1848, will be missing. Even if on the side of the insurrection there be more trained soldiers, it will become more difficult to arm them. The hunting and sporting rifles of the warehouses—even if the police has not rendered them useless by the removal of a part of the mechanism—are no match for the magazine rifle of the soldier even at close quarters. Up to 1848 one could make his own ammunition out of powder and lead, today the cartridge for each rifle model varies, being similar only in that all of them are the product of large industry and not to be extemporized, which renders most rifles useless unless one has the special ammunition made for them. And, finally, the newly-built quarters of the large cities, erected since 1848, have been laid out in long, straight and wide streets as though made to order for the effective use of the new cannon and rifles. The revolutionary, who would himself select the new working class districts in the north and east of Berlin for a barricade battle, would have to be a lunatic.*

*Does the reader now understand why the ruling classes, by hook or by crook, would get us where the rifle pops and the sabre slashes?*

*Why, today, do they charge us with cowardice because we will not, without further ado, get down into the street where we are sure of our defeat in advance? Why are we so persistently importuned to play the role of cannon fodder?*

*The gentlemen are wasting their importunities as well as their provocations all in vain. We are not quite so silly. They might as well ask of their enemies in the next war to face them in the line formation of Frederick II, or in the columns of whole divisions a la Wagram and Waterloo, and with the old flint-and-pan gun in hand, at that.]*

The day of surprise attacks has passed, the day when small but resolute minorities could achieve revolutions by leading the unwitting masses to the onslaught. Where the question is one of a complete transformation in the social organism, the masses must wittingly participate, must fully understand what they are about. We have learned this from the history of the last fifty years. But if we are to enlighten the masses concerning the issue, prolonged and arduous toil will be requisite. This is the task on which we are now engaged, and with so much success that our adversaries are becoming desperately alarmed.

Even in Romance countries our comrades are coming to recognize that the old tactics must be revised. Everywhere the German example has been imitated; everywhere the aim has been to make use of universal suffrage, to conquer all the positions that are open to attack. In France, where for more than a hundred years the ground has been mined by revolution after revolution, where there is not a single party which has

not contributed its quota in the way of conspiracies, revolts and other revolutionary activities; in France, where for these reasons the Government can never depend upon the army, and where, generally speaking, conditions are far more favorable than in Germany for achieving a revolutionary *coup de main*; even in France the Socialists are recognizing more and more clearly that they can never expect to secure a lasting victory unless beforehand they win over to their side the great masses of the people, which in France means the peasantry.

In France no less than in Germany it has come to be recognized that the first duty of the party is the painstaking work of propaganda and parliamentary activity. Nor has success been lacking. Not merely have numerous municipalities been won over; there are fifty Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies, and these have already overthrown three Ministries and one President. In Belgium last year the workers enforced the granting of the suffrage, and were victorious in a fourth of the constituencies. In Switzerland, in Italy, in Denmark, and even in Bulgaria and Rumania, there are Socialist members of Parliament. In Austria, all parties are agreed that it is no longer permissible to forbid us access to the Reichsrath. Even in Russia, when there meets in that country the famous Zemski Sobor, the national assembly whose summoning the young Czar Nicholas has so vainly resisted, even in Russia we can count with certainty upon Socialist representation.

It need hardly be said that our foreign comrades are far from renouncing their right to revolution. This

right to revolution is, indeed, the only real "historic right," the only one upon which are based all modern States without exception. . . . . [*including even Mecklenburg where the revolution of the nobility was terminated in 1755 through the "inheritance agreement," the glorious confirmation of feudalism valid this very day. The right to revolution is so thoroughly recognized in the inner consciousness of man, that even General von Boguslawski deduces from this popular right alone the coup d'etat whereby to vindicate his Kaiser.*]

But whatever may be happening in other countries, the German social democracy occupies a peculiar position, and has therefore first of all to perform a peculiar task. Its growth proceeds with the spontaneous, irresistible, and tranquil advance of a natural force. All governmental attempts to check it have proved unavailing, and by today we can certainly count upon two and a quarter million voters. If this movement continues, by the end of the century we shall have conquered the greater part of the intermediate strata of society; the lower middle classes and the poorer peasants will be on our side; we shall have become the decisive power in the country, a power to which all other powers will have to yield whether they like it or not. Our most important task is to maintain this progress in numbers until the rising flood overwhelms the system of government now dominant. And there is only one way in which the continuous increase in the fighting forces of German Socialism can be temporarily arrested, nay for the moment even converted into a decline. I mean, an extensive collision

with the army, a blood-letting like that which occurred in Paris in 1871. In the long run we shall outlive even that reverse. Not all the magazine rifles of Europe and America can shoot out of the world a party whose adherents are numbered by millions. But normal evolutionary processes would be hindered; the decisive hour would be postponed.

The irony of history turns everything topsy-turvy. We, the "revolutionists," thrive better by the use of constitutional means than by unconstitutional and revolutionary methods. The parties of law and order, as they term themselves, are being destroyed by the constitutional implements which they themselves have fashioned. Despairingly they cry with Odilon Barrot, "*La legalite nous tue*" (Constitutional methods are killing us). We, on our side, find that constitutionalism gives us health and strength. Unless we are such idiots as to please our adversaries by letting them force street fighting upon us, they will have at last no resource but to tamper with the legality which is proving so disastrous to themselves.

From time to time they pass fresh anti-revolutionary legislation. Once more everything seems topsy-turvy. These fanatics of the counter-revolution today, were they not themselves revolutionists yesterday? Was it a conspiracy of ours which led to the civil war of 1866? Was it we who expelled the King of Hanover, the Elector of Hesse, and the Duke of Nassau from their lawfully inherited territorial possessions, and then proceeded to annex these possessions? Yet the revolutionists who overthrew the Germanic Federation and who dispossessed three monarchs by

God's grace of their crowns, now complain of revolution. *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* (Is it for the Gracchi to whine about sedition?) Who can allow the worshippers of Bismarck to rail at revolution?

[*Let them force through their anti-revolutionary legislation, make it even worse and transform the entire penal code into caoutchouc, they will accomplish naught but a new demonstration of their impotence. Seriously to assail the Social Democracy, they will have to have recourse to entirely different measures.*] The Socialist movement, now so well suited by its law-abiding methods, can only be dealt with by revolutionary proceedings carried out by the party of law and order, which cannot continue to exist without breaking the laws. . . . . [Herr Rossler, the Prussian bureaucrat, and Herr von Boguslawski, the Prussian general, have shown them the only way to get at the workers, who refuse to be lured into a street battle.] Breach of the constitution, dictatorship, a return to absolutism, *regis voluntas suprema lex* (the King's will to be the supreme law)! . . . . [Take heart, gentlemen, here no pursing of the lips will do, here you must whistle!

*But do not forget that the German Reich, like all smaller German States, and, indeed, like all modern States, is the product of a covenant; first, of a covenant among the rulers themselves, and, second, of a covenant of the ruler with the people. If one party breaks the agreement, the whole of it falls, the other party being no longer bound by it.*]

\* \* \*

This brings us to the bottom of page 38 of "The Revolutionary

Act" and to the bottom of page 113, April issue of the *Plebs* magazine. In some places where excisions have been made there are dots, presumably conscience dots of the translators, but in some places not even this formality has been observed, and in no place in the remarks of the translators is there a word about anything having been left out of the

Engels text to show that the dots could not just as easily have appeared for some reason or another in the original text.

In this place no further comments are required except again to ask the question: who are the falsifiers?

—Editorial article, WEEKLY PEOPLE, August 14, 1926.

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## FALSIFIERS AND HYPOCRITES—BOTH.

This week the WEEKLY PEOPLE is supplying another chapter to the legend: *Who are the falsifiers?* By documentary evidence we prove that two English Communists, Eden and Cedar Paul, well-known members of Communist circles in Great Britain, "literati" and spokesmen of the congregation, "comrades" and fellow international Communists of Messrs. Trachtenberg, Duncker and other American burlesque bolsheviki, who have been trying to tie S.L.P. publications up with nefarious literary piracy, in 1921 translated for the *Plebs* magazine (London) Engels's introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France," expurgating nearly all the important passages dealing with the futility and obsolescence of street barricades. Have Messrs. Trachtenberg and Duncker, self-styled protectors of "our Marx and our Engels" from "such desecration" ever been heard to protest against the two Pauls and their translation, from which unscrupulously whole passages were struck out? Did any ambitious and righteous Riazanov arise in Moscow to put the stamp of Ananias on their forehead? Not so that anybody knows of it and the two merry expurgators remain to this day members of the international Communist fraternity.

It was otherwise when the S.L.P. presumed to translate and publish the *whole* of the introduction ("The Revolutionary Act") to the "Class Struggles in France." This hit the

Communists in their sorest spot, as it by the authority of Engels placed in the museum of antiquities the silly anarcho-physical force tactics of the Communists. Heaven and earth were turned over to discredit the work. We have it on good authority that an emissary was sent out from England to the continent where he stayed for months in a fruitless attempt to gather evidence to discredit the S. L. P. translation. He failed and came back to England admitting he had failed but what he failed to do Riazanov accomplished—only to be proven to have most miserably failed. Engels's introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France"—the Vorwaerts edition from which the S. L. P. translation was made—stands today unchallenged as being the approved edition which Frederick Engels himself supervised in publication. Moreover, we have now shown that no matter how "infamously" "the scared rabbits of the Social Democratic party of Berlin" may have acted, the American burlesque bolsheviki and their English allies have acted infinitely more infamously. Fools and falsifiers we proved them last week to be; falsifiers and hypocrites we are now justified in pronouncing them. Scared rabbits are innocent creatures compared with such.

With this we are through with the American Workers party on this subject. Nothing but an apology from Mr. Trachtenberg and the

*Workers Monthly* or from the executive committee of the Workers party on behalf of both and a repudiation of the Paul translation (or an apology or repudiation from the Third International on behalf of all) will wipe out this disgraceful attempt to discredit the work of one of the great Socialists, and with him the S. L. P. of America.

\* \*

It is, indeed, difficult not to believe that "Moscow" has been the instigator of these distortions and falsifications, no matter how much official responsibility may be disavowed. At any rate, this fact remains, that the attempt to discredit our translation and the edition from which it was taken (approved by Engels) has taken such wide international proportions as to become a scandal within the movement. The connection of the name of Riazanov, given the title of an accredited position within the

Communist party and the Soviet Republic, with the attempted discrediting of this work, has, justly or unjustly, tied up the whole disgraceful proceeding with the Communist party of Russia or the Third International. The documents we have produced are part of the history of the Socialist movement as easily accessible to other investigators as they are to us.

Since the matter has taken on international proportions and the name of the Marx-Engels Institute of Moscow has injected itself as the authority upon which were based accusations that have been proven entirely false, it will indeed be interesting to see whether the Russian comrades are going to let the matter rest.

Olive M. Johnson,  
Editor *Weekly People*.

—August 14, 1926.

# The Revolutionary Act

By Frederick Engels

This pamphlet, containing an essay on revolutionary tactics by Frederick Engels, originally written as a preface to a monograph by Karl Marx on the "Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850," is a discussion of the conditions in Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century, together with the status of the revolutionary movement. It deals particularly with revolutionary tactics and compares the resources, advantages and difficulties of the proletariat as compared with previous revolutions. But most important of all, it balances carefully the revolutionary weapons of the present revolution, and finds the possibilities of military insurrection under ordinary circumstances to be decidedly the weakest weapon in the hands of the modern revolutionary proletariat, as long as political power rests in the hands of its opponents.

Added to the Engels essay is a short statement by Daniel De Leon, an answer to a question regarding the necessity of both the political and industrial revolutionary organizations. Engels has made plain the weakness of military organization and the necessity of political action. De Leon shows that political action itself is not a force, that it requires backing. In preparing this backing the worker has to choose between two: military action or industrial organization. De Leon shows here, as he showed repeatedly, that in an industrial country, the backing of the Industrial Union is the logical and by far the most powerful.

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