

**THE
COMMUNIST REVIEW**

BUILDING UP SOCIALISM

By N. Bukharin

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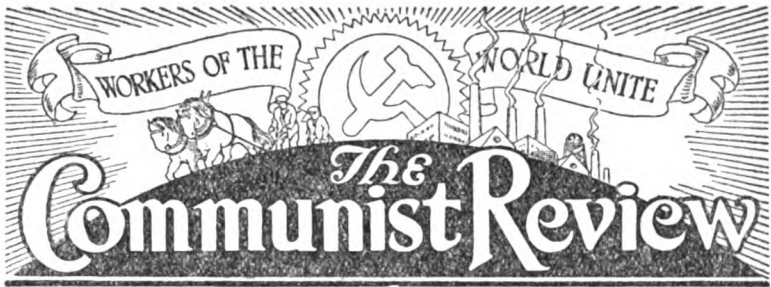
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THE EDITORIAL VIEW

THE opening of a New Year of intensified struggle and class conflict is foreshadowed by the events of the preceding year. The importance of 1926 in working-class history arises from the fact that it is a vital turning point. It represents the parting of the ways between reformist and revolutionary practice. The General Strike and the miners' lockout were the portent, the writing on the wall, foreshadowing the future struggles and ultimate victory of the working-class. From January to December of 1926 the continued declining system of capitalist Britain coincides with the rising revolutionary tide of the working-class movement.

* * * * *

January opened with the struggle of the rank and file of the N.U.R. turning down the award of the National Wages Board, the reversal of which required all the diplomacy of J. H. Thomas to achieve. What he achieved has now become history. Hoe's dispute culminating in the brutal lock-out threat of the Engineering Employers' Federation and the weak-kneed policy of the A.E.U. executive terminated a magnificent demonstration of the courage and determination of the rank and file. March, with the Coal Commission report and the defeatist policy of silence by the Trade Union and Labour leaders as to its objective of driving down wages and lengthening of hours has its high relief in the message of the Communist Party to the miners. It reads as follows:—"The miners are faced with two dangers to-day. In the first place there is the direct offensive of the capitalist class which means to abolish the last remnants of the national minimum and national agreements, to set district against district, collier against surface-worker, so that a decadent system of private enterprise may continue to

draw life from the living bodies of miners, their wives and their children. The second danger comes from the existence of a number of Labour leaders who are so obsessed with the idea of uniting all classes and of speaking of the interests of 'the Community as a whole,' that they fail to defend the workers they represent." True a hundred times! And the pity is that it should be true.

* * * * *

The insistent demand of the Communist Party for a special congress of the T.U.C. in view of the impending struggle reflected itself in the mass pressure which called the national conference of executives. Again the militancy of the working-class re-echoed the expression of Red Friday in the overwhelming vote to support the miners. The events which followed the glorious 1st of May with the culminating treachery on May 12th, have been dealt with extensively and will be even more so on the 20th of this month at the conference which has been convened. We feel justified in openly declaring that the verdict of the Communist Party regarding the unexampled treachery of the working-class is supported in the main by the rank and file of the working class movement. The strategy of the General Council and the trade union bureaucrats in postponing this Conference for months in the hope of being able to say to the "defeated" miners, "We told you so. You could have got better terms last May," will deceive nobody. The miners are by no means vanquished. Dialectical arguments and paltry excuses will never wash out the criminal cowardice and treachery shown by these leaders since the 1st of May.

* * * * *

The isolation of the miners and the open sabotage marked by the pitiful support by the trade union leaders and the Amsterdam International revealed more clearly than ever their role as lackeys and agents of the bourgeoisie. Against this, however, we must place the magnificent practical demonstration of international working-class solidarity manifested by the Russian trade union movement. In word and deed they practised the unity of the working-class. The correctness of every pronouncement of the Communist Party in relation to the miners' struggle has been clearly shown by the magnificent militancy of the rank and file of the miners. The Samuel memorandum, the Bishops' proposals, the Government terms were all rejected and the support of the miners given for the South Wales resolution, all this despite the operation of the E.P.A. against the miners and the Party, which only served the purpose of binding closer the ties between the miners and the Party. The recruitment of miner comrades during

the period of the struggle has come solely as a result of the correct leadership of the Party. The so-called settlement, which in reality is only an armed truce, settles nothing. The duration of the truce will be determined by the degree of reorganisation for one union for all mineworkers. There is neither dismay nor disappointment in the ranks of the militant miners with the results of the struggle. Rather do we see a grim determination to remedy the weaknesses which manifested themselves and to close up the ranks for greater struggles in the near future.

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The correctness of the analysis of the Communists that the period of 1914-18 was the culminating point of the upward development of capitalism, that it constituted the end of the historical phase of peaceful competition between imperialist powers is now being borne out. The war of 1914-18 ushered in a new historical epoch: the epoch of the downward development of capitalism, of its decay, of fierce competition between imperialist groupings, of frantic armaments, of acute class struggle, of avowed bourgeois dictatorship and of a systematic capitalist offensive. The industry of post-war Europe has not reached pre-war level. The decline of British industry during the last few years has become more rapid. There is a serious crisis in French economy. The economy of Germany stabilised with the help of American credits, is on the eve of another crisis. America, on whose help the reformists set such great hopes, is more concerned about the instability of capitalism than about the hard life of the workers which is steadily growing worse. Yet another sign of the diminishing power of world imperialism is the rising of the 400 million population of China, for the unexampled exploitation of the Chinese workers and peasants was one of the foundations which upheld world and particularly British imperialism. The practical disintegration of the Entente since Locarno was witnessed in the March and September meetings of the League of Nations. The creation of the Steel Cartel, the events of Thoiry, Leghorn and Romsey are evidence of the instability of capitalist "stabilisation."

* * * * *

The economic struggle between capital and labour as compared with the pre-war epoch has become more acute. The events of the past year in Britain, which for many decades has been the Mecca of reformists, are now a classical example of the growing acuteness of the class struggle and of rapidly developing class antagonisms. The perspectives for the New Year, therefore, are intensified competition between the imperialist groups leading

to imperialist wars, capitalist offensive against the standards of the workers leading to increasing class conflict. The experience of the eight post-war years shows that these cannot be evaded by parliamentarianism nor by relying on social compromise, but that the only radical method has been and is class struggle, proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

* * * * *

1926 closed with one of the most important conferences of the Communist International, the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee. This conference in noting the temporary partial stabilisation of capitalism underlined the process of what is called "the rationalisation of industry." Rationalisation simply means the scientific management of industry. This process has been, and is being, extensively applied to modern industry. Its results are manifested in varying forms in different countries. In general, however, under capitalism rationalisation spells increased unemployment with wages, hours and working conditions subject to violent disturbances, and the general class struggle rendered more acute.

Trade unionism and Labour organisation, therefore, assume even more importance now than before. A closer organisation from below amongst all workers irrespective of craft or sex becomes the order of the day. The further fusion and amalgamation of the trade union organisations become imperative. But, above all, the necessity and urgency for closer alliances between the workers' organisations internationally brook no delay in face of the rapid regroupings going on amongst the imperialists. This the Plenum underlined heavily as one of the most important tasks before all parties.

The Seventh Plenum devoted considerable study to events in China. To the chagrin of the imperialists—and not the least amongst these are our bourgeoisie in Great Britain—the forces of the National Revolutionary Movement are making rapid strides. Not only huge tracts of fresh territory have been won over from the imperialists' tools and counter-revolutionary puppets in North China, but millions of labouring and peasant masses are becoming loyally attached to the victorious armies of the South.

That the old order of concessions and foreign jurisdiction is closed for good is patent to all. This is now recognised even by the Baldwin Government, which, in its recent memorandum to the Powers, and with characteristic diplomacy, seeks to give the appearance of recognising the new order whilst urging the Powers to a closer alliance for the defence of "vital" interests. Already

the diehard press is chiding the Government for its weakness. The bondholders of China are aroused to the danger and are feeling alarmed at the triumphant march of the Cantonese troops.

The struggle now assumes the form of a tussle between the imperialists and the Nationalist forces for the direction of the revolution. In this connection a heavy task is imposed on our young brother Party in China, in alliance with the Kuomintang Party to formulate a sound programme that will consolidate the gains of the revolution and lay the foundations of a new proletarian order in China. This Seventh Plenum did much to help our Chinese brothers and sisters to find the right road. What the Conference did emphasise was the imminent danger of armed intervention by the imperialist armies. In this connection we in this country have an international obligation as fighters for proletarian freedom and the liberation of the colonial peoples, to help to stop our financial mandarins at home from stabbing the Chinese proletariat in the back for the glory of international capital. "Hands off China" is no pious slogan. Intervention is being prepared now. It is the duty of all good proletarians to prevent it.

* * * * *

Yet another important international subject was the question of the "Opposition" which came to the front, an echo of the 15th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union summarised elsewhere in this issue of the "Review." Apart from the tiny fraction of expelled "ultra-Lefts" of our brother party in Germany, the Russian "Opposition" was unanimously condemned by the Plenum of the C.I. The C.I. can now go forward united and free from fractional activities to the urgent tasks that lie before it in the gigantic international upheavals pending.

That Lenin was supremely right when he said that it is possible to build up Socialism in one country has been brilliantly borne out by the economic and cultural successes of the U.S.S.R. during the years which have elapsed since Lenin's death. Sceptics and avowed enemies of the proletarian revolution considered these plans of Lenin utopian. Unfortunately during Lenin's life the U.S.S.R. was only beginning to reap the fruit of the seizure of power and the nationalisation of land and industry, but the last three years after Lenin's death have produced colossal results in this field. At the Fourth Congress in 1922 he spoke of a great success—of the accumulation of 20 million roubles from light industry. The re-establishment of heavy industry he could only dream of. But now in the tenth economic year the U.S.S.R. is expending 1000 million roubles on various branches of industry, and there is every reason to believe that the entire heavy industry

will have exceeded pre-war level during the forthcoming year. The same advance manifests itself in the progress made by State and Co-operative trading which takes first place in the wholesale and wholesale-retail trade of the U.S.S.R. The increasing economic and cultural improvements of the standard of life of the Russian working-class and peasantry are borne out by the reports of numerous workers' delegations who have visited Soviet Russia. The phenomenon of a rising standard in Soviet Russia in comparison with a declining standard in Britain is the difference of Socialist economy and capitalist economy, which expresses itself in the class relations of the working-class in the respective countries. In Russia the workers and peasants are the ruling class, in Britain they are a subject-class dominated by a capitalist dictatorship.

* * * * *

This month will witness the third anniversary of Lenin's death, and during those three years new millions of workers in the Soviet Union and throughout the world have appreciated at their right value the genius, the revolutionary determination, the steady perseverance and the remarkable foresight of the late leader of the international proletariat. Hundreds of Social Democratic and non-union party rank and file and leading workers who visited the Soviet Union during the last year have brought to millions of workers throughout the world the message of love and veneration in which the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. hold Lenin.

They became imbued with this love and veneration on seeing how rapidly Lenin's injunctions are being realised in the U.S.S.R.. and from them this feeling of veneration was conveyed to many millions of working men and women.

On the third anniversary of the death of the great leader every class-conscious proletarian must resolve in his mind Lenin's injunctions to the working class.

Lenin's message to the working class was as follows :—

“The only remedy for the evils of imperialism—wars, fascism, acute economic crises—is proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

“Soviet Russia, the first country of proletarian dictatorship, must be protected by all means and at all costs.

“ Fraternal help must be given to the oppressed peoples of the revolutionary East which have risen against the oppression of their own militarists and that of foreign imperialists. One must bear in mind the lessons of the recent imperialist wars.

“ In the struggle against imperialism the peril of new wars, and for the defence of the Soviet Republic and the revolutionary East, it is essential to form a united front of the proletarians of all countries, a united front of all workers organised in trade unions.

“ Efforts must be made to form a close union with the working peasantry, to draw into the struggle all women who earn their living, above all the working women.

“ Every class-conscious worker must bear in mind that the Communist Party alone is the unshakable, faithful and determined vanguard of the proletariat, relentless towards the enemy of the latter.”

* * * * *

That the Communist Parties of all countries are determined to put into practice Lenin's injunctions is shown by their activity in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Everyday practice is convincing and will convince the majority of the workers that the Communist Party is not only the Party of proletarian revolution, but also the only Party which is consistent in its defence of minimum class demands, the only Party which is preparing the coming victory of the proletarian revolution.

During the period of the Lenin Anniversary Week and the month following the Communist Party is running a campaign for a Lenin enrolment. The doubling of the membership of the Party during the past six months has been a wonderful achievement, and a magnificent vote of confidence in the leadership of the Party. The struggles which face the working-class in the continued period of declining British capitalism are of such a character as call for a centralised co-ordinated party whose policy is based on the class-struggle. That this Party is the Communist Party the events of the past year have proved. Our achievements were only limited by our numbers. With a Party twice as large we could do infinitely more than we have done last year. Every new recruit helps to lighten the burden on all. Our appeal is to **you** and all who endorse our policy and are willing to participate in our daily fight against capitalism and for proletarian power—**JOIN NOW.**

The Miners' Struggle and the Future

By ARTHUR HORNER.

ON November 14th, 1926, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain delegates, assembled in conference in London, decided to recommend the Districts to accept the terms of settlement as proposed by the Government; clause 1 of which reads as follows:—"The Miners' Federation undertake to do all in their power to promote an immediate resumption of work by means of District Settlements, the hours to be worked not being excluded from the District negotiations."

It must be noted in this clause that the miners are called upon to agree to the discussion and possible application of longer hours and lower wages, by means of District settlements. These three conditions laid down as the preliminaries to any detailed negotiations involved the sacrifice of the whole miners' programme, which they had fought so hard to realise by months of struggle. The week following the reference of the terms to the men, was one of terrific propaganda. On the one hand the officials of the organisation, with some notable exceptions, spent the whole time in painting the lily in order to persuade the men to vote in favour of acceptance. On the other hand the active elements amongst the rank and file, led by the Communists, fought valiantly for their rejection. In spite of the most terrific press propaganda, the defeatist pictures painted by the leaders, and cruel Government pressure, the men by a majority of 147,000 votes refused to give up the principles for which they had stood from the beginning.

At this time, even the most reactionary officials of the Miners' Federation made no attempt to argue the merits of the proposals of the Government, but sought to base their defeatist attitude upon the alleged incapacity of the rank and file to continue the struggle, and proof of their contention was sought in the progressively increasing numbers of men returning to work as blacklegs. Every possible excuse for retreat was utilised, whilst no point was ever made of the terrific effect which the struggle was having on the whole industrial apparatus of this country.

The Situation when the Lock-out Ended.

It is true that approximately 200,000 men were actually engaged in blackleg work producing approximately 1,500,000 tons

per week, whilst 750,000 tons per week was being imported, making a total of $2\frac{1}{4}$ million tons per week.

It is, however, equally correct to say that approximately 800,000 miners were still loyal, and that the normal winter coal consumption weekly in Britain, excluding export and bunkers, and "some of the latter are essential," is $3\frac{3}{4}$ million tons per week. The main users and quantities being as follows:—

	Tons per week
Railways	250,000
Gas and electricity	600,000
Domestic	950,000
	1,800,000
Iron and Steel	700,000
Other industries	1,250,000
	3,750,000
Absolute maximum	2,250,000
	1,500,000
Shortage	1,500,000

This means that only 450,000 tons per week was available for bunkers; the iron and steel and all other industries of the country, which of necessity determined that industry generally in Britain, was only able to function, where it functioned at all, on a relatively small scale, as the following tables illustrate:—

IRON AND STEEL.

Average Monthly Output	No. blast furnaces in Operation	Pig Iron Tons	Steel Tons
1913	338	850,000	639,000
1925	141	520,000	616,000
April, 1926	147	539,000	661,000
Sept., 1926	5	12,000	96,000

The whole of the consequences of the miners' continued resistance cannot be estimated simply by comparing stoppage production, plus imported coal, with normal internal consumption because Britain depends to a large extent, for its ability to secure and maintain a proper balance as between exports and imports, upon the sale of coal as a raw material abroad, to the extent of approximately one million tons per week. Instead of exporting to this extent, however, export coal was strictly prohibited by law, and from May to October (inclusive) £31,273,752 was expended on the purchase of 14,324,314 tons of foreign coal. The financial loss incurred by capitalism in general has been estimated

by capitalist experts, at between £550 millions and £730 millions to the end of October.

The serious menace of imported "black coal," was rapidly lessening. Of the two chief sources of supply, Germany had exhausted her surplus stocks, and was imposing restrictions upon the export of coal, whilst America faced with the expiration of the Jackson agreement, in April, 1927, was preparing stocks for her own consumption on the event of a stoppage there. The mine-workers and their dependants were it is true suffering great hardship, but it was only slightly more than had been the case in the majority of the Districts throughout, and the prospects of financial support were certainly better than at any period of the struggle.

The workers of Soviet Russia were doing better than ever, paying approximately £100,000 per week. In France and Belgium special efforts were being made, whilst after months of chiefly Communist agitation, the conference of executives of unions affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress had agreed to collect a voluntary levy.

The Surrender of the Officials.

The conference of delegates called for November 19th had all these facts before them, as well as their marching orders from the workers, who were in effect telling the leaders in the vote to give up worrying about their condition and to carry on the fight.

Such a marvellous demonstration of courage and unparalleled loyalty should have infected the delegates, with new vigour, calculated to bring an end to blacklegging, and to aim for an embargo on black coal.

It had the desirable effect upon one leader at any rate, namely, A. J. Cook, who pleaded for a fresh endeavour on national lines, by and through the intensification of the fight.

It is regrettable that such a valiant army was led by such faithless and pessimistic officers, but the majority of the officials who were there as delegates shirked the responsibility of carrying out the instructions of the rank and file, and forced the following resolution on their own initiative :—

RESOLUTION.

"That this Conference having considered the whole of the circumstances, recommends the Districts to immediately open negotiations with the coalowners in their respective districts with the view of arriving at an agreement.

"The Executive Committee be asked to consider what

general principles should guide the District organisations in the negotiations. No District shall enter into a final settlement until a further National Conference is held to receive reports of all the negotiations."

This resolution was passed by the Conference after due warning had been given, that it was a violation of the constitution of the unions, and that it meant District agreements, naked and unashamed, accompanied by their natural corollaries—Lower Wages and Increased Hours.

District Agreements.

This reactionary step it must always be remembered was taken in spite of the decision of the workers in the industry. No person inside the M.F.G.B., except Spencer, ever argued that there was any merit in this method of determining wages and conditions for the mass of those employed in and about the mining industry, and he looked at it purely from the temporary angle of the consequences of agreements, so decided upon, in his own particular area. The only possible implication that can be drawn from the fact, that men so violently opposed in principle to the method, as the M.F.G.B. delegates were is that they resorted to it, from fear for the men, or fear for themselves, and in face of the vote of the men who were the greatest sufferers in the struggle there was no possible justification for the existence of fear in their behalf, therefore it must have been fear for themselves, that decided the delegates to brave the overwhelming desire of the men to fight on.

The objection so generally held amongst mineworkers, to other than National Agreements, is not as often supposed an objection based upon an abstract and sentimental desire for unity; on the contrary, it is the outcome of very painful economic experiences, and since a measure of national supervision and uniformity has been introduced, considerably improved wages and conditions of labour. The owners have great objections to this as is shown by the statement of Evan Williams, President of the British Mineowners' Association, in a signed leaflet addressed to the South Wales Miners on April 22nd, 1926, in which District he controls collieries. This leaflet reads as follows:

"The settlement of the wages in the District and in the light of the circumstances of the District is a vital necessity for South Wales :—

(a) Over 70 per cent. of the output is exported, and therefore comes into direct and constant competition with coals produced by other countries. Cost of production and consequently the price at which South Wales coals can be offered in foreign markets is the prime factor in determining the amount of employment which can be given.

(b) South Wales has a higher standard wages cost, and a lower output per workman per shift, than any other exporting district.

(c) South Wales has suffered more than any other district by the reduction in the hours of working from eight to seven.

(d) The owners' and workmens' representatives in South Wales are the only parties who are in a position to know and discuss the terms and conditions on which the South Wales coal trade can be carried on. The owners' and workmen's representatives of other coalfields have no direct knowledge of this district, and have no interest in the working of its collieries, in the volume of its trade, or the regularity of employment of its miners.

“ In no other coalfield of the country is a bonus turn paid to workmen on the afternoon and night shifts. It is, therefore, proposed to remove the handicap upon the cost of production of South Wales, and consequently upon its power of competition with other districts.”

This simply means that in his opinion and the opinions of his colleagues in South Wales, in whose behalf he is working, it would be better for the Welsh coalowners if they were not bound to a minimum percentage, and a seven-hour day, which determines his particular coalfield, paying wages and permitting working conditions, which are more costly to the owners than they would be if the South Wales miners, as an isolated unit, depended upon their own local power. The M.F.G.B. has grown up to its recent past position of control of miners' affairs by reason of its proved economic value to its members, and a national organisation, however poor in construction, and consequently weak in execution, is immeasurably superior in every way to a number of completely independent units.

· ADVANTAGES OF NATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

National organisation amongst the miners has been directly responsible for two very definite gains, which are obnoxious in every sense to the owners.

1. The principle of a *minimum wage*.
2. The seven-hour day.

In addition to these, its general influence in the sphere of workmen's compensation, and safety regulations in the mines, etc., has been inestimable. Apart from these facts, however, the economic structure of the mining industry in Britain is such as to force the miners towards the maximum possible national uniformity. There is no argument which can be advanced for

District settlements which cannot, with equal effect, be put forward against them, for pit or even seam settlements.

It is only a question of degree, not of principle. The varying geological conditions, and the peculiar marketable qualities of certain grades of coal, upon which are usually based the arguments advanced by the coalowners, can be paralleled between pits inside Districts, just as between Districts, yet these very variations, with their varying consequences, are the very factors which force the miners to fight for National Agreements giving national uniformity.

Only by the pooling of the whole industries income is it possible for the mining industry, whilst under the control of private ownership, to pay a barely sufficient wage to the workers employed in all districts, without subsidisation of the relatively uneconomic sections. The miners have to choose between the simple alternatives of hanging together or being hanged separately by the coalowners. Without national wages and working principles the tendency in capitalist production is for the highest paid and conditioned workers to be forced down to the level of the lowest, as the only means whereby the least efficient and worse conditioned capitalist can struggle against the attacks of and absorption by the highest.

From November 20th to the 25th, the Districts sought to carry out the resolution passed on the 19th by entering into negotiations in the Districts. It was quickly found, however, that the owners in every District were operating upon a common and well-defined policy, for all insisted upon reductions in wages and longer hours to practically the same extent, quite regardless of the fact that in certain Districts, the *status quo* was economically possible, and had in many cases been offered prior to and since the stoppage commenced. They invited the miners to split themselves up into Districts ostensibly that they might more generously treat the parts, but it was quickly obvious that the object was to "divide and conquer," and owing to the limitations of the miners' leadership the owners were secure of success, the effect of District settlements was national disaster.

The Meaning of the Employers' Attack.

There can be no doubt that the miners were the subject of an attack, launched and sustained by the whole employing class of this country, backed and supported by the henchmen of capitalism, who did not hesitate to coerce the miners by the utilisation of the State forces in the most open and brazen fashion. E.P.A., and the

restrictions placed upon the local authorities constitute a cynical satire upon capitalist democracy.

There is, however, no unity within capitalism itself, except in so far as its resources be utilised for the advantage of capitalism in general. Capitalism is true to its nature, when its parts uncomplainingly tolerate conditions demanding sacrifices, in order to defeat the common enemy, i.e., the working class. That is why the bankers, big industrialists, and the State, bore the sacrifices and expended the money necessary for the defeat of the miners whom they regard, and rightly so, as the shock troops of the working-class of Great Britain. And since Baldwin had made it plain that "The wages of all workers must come down," the miners' fight was necessarily the first step in a circular process which can only reach its determination when capitalism itself is destroyed, or the workers accept slavery.

The miners' resistance to this attack was only possible to the extent it was actually offered, because of two factors :—

First : The miners' standard of life was already intolerable on April 30th ; the average daily wage was 10s. 5d. for all those below the grade of an under manager, e.g., officials, contractors, butty's, and a comparatively few piece workers were paid in excess of this figure, which only serves to reduce the average for 80 per cent. to between 7s. and 9s. per shift actually worked. Only 4½ shifts per week were possible owing to a multiplicity of causes, short time due to slackness of trade, breakdowns of implements and machinery, accidents and illness of the men themselves, etc. All these account for the low average working week, and consequently the multiple which must be used to ascertain the weekly wage of the average mineworker. Seven hours, which in practice means eight hours in the mine, was as much as men could reasonably tolerate. These and other concrete factors of a similar character lay at the base of the miners' determination to resist to the last.

Secondly : The conscious mineworker takes his position in the advance guard of Britain's working-class very seriously, and invariably regards himself as the defender of his comrades who will of a surety be destroyed, if through cowardice or treachery, the miner leaves the position entrusted to him in the fighting line of the class war.

In the recent struggle the words of Baldwin, threatening all workers with worsened conditions, were a tremendous factor in determining the quality of the resistance which they put up.

Class pride is not the least amongst the miners' virtues, and so deeply is this consciousness embedded in his nature, in conse-

quence of his experience in warring, that though but yesterday he was betrayed, to-morrow if called upon he would go to the assistance of his erstwhile comrades.

The Working Class Support.

Confronted by a solid and united enemy conscious of the representative part they were called upon to play, the mineworkers looked with eyes of faith and joy towards their comrades who so readily came to their assistance on May 3rd. Whatever befall, no treachery of leaders can ever wipe out from our memory the wonderful and unquestioning fashion in which the call for the General Strike was answered, pregnant as that demonstration was with hope for the future. "It can happen again." "It will happen again," but steps will be taken to see to it that no "never again" leaders are given charge with minds made up for the happen again," but steps will be taken to see to it that no "never practice of treachery. Millions of workers stood ready to fight in order that victory might have been achieved; however, they were not led against our common enemy, they were diverted against the miners. Since then, in spite of this, thousands of workers have demonstrated their support and admiration of their fellow soldiers whom they were cheated into deserting on the battle-field. Though they were isolated in compounds by Union Agreements made without their consent, they have on innumerable occasions called for renewed action in support of the miners, for they realise the tremendous importance to them of the issue of the fight.

The Results of the Struggle.

Is the miners' fight over? No; for more than ever before the miners are awake to the fact that only power counts, and power in the first instance consists in building up machinery of struggle suitable for being used in the new tasks before us, and which shall be placed in the hands of trusted and tried class fighters. Capitalism never reaches finality in its demands for concessions. Like the bulldog it merely rests to grab more.

The mineworkers can never stay content with the present condition of affairs and will not tolerate them for a day longer when they can change them.

The political results of the struggle are tremendous, the capitalist State is discredited and regarded for what it really is, "a reflex of the interests of capitalism." "A convenience for the boss." It is a State no longer in the minds of the workers, "Its police are paid bullies, and its soldiers armed Thugs"; faith

in its pretended impartiality is dead, and its laws are now regarded as barricades to be thrown down. From now on it is a question of power and how to obtain it.

Whichever section is next attacked the mass of the workers must set about the task at once of knitting ourselves together with the General Council.

The same General Council which betrayed, yes, but we must work for it being different in personnel as compared with last time. This is the immediate task, to get a leadership which will fight capitalism, in whatever guise it may appear, whether as Baldwin of Baldwins Ltd., or as Prime Minister of England. We must set about the task at once of knitting ourselves together through a political Party, which shall constitute a real working-class movement.

In particular industries non-unionism and scab unionism must be squeezed out, and the miners in particular must begin in earnest upon the job of building up One Miners' Union, which will claim the right to enter into National Agreements, leaving no loophole in the structure to give traitors such as Spencer opportunities for betrayal as the autonomous County and District Federations did in the M.F.G.B.

The increasing speed with which capitalism is now approaching its collapse in consequence of its own inherent contradictions, is already too noticeable to escape the attention of the most pacific worker. The affects of its frantic endeavours to save itself by and through the extraction of more and more labour energy, for an ever-lessening quantity of real wages, are forcing all workers to fight or accept slave conditions.

The recent struggle has opened the door to new methods of fighting and the previously existing restrictions upon methods which might have been effective, have been discredited.

Each and every weapon is now agreed to by the workers if it can achieve success. Militancy is growing, and the phrases of those who have entered into collaboration with capitalism have now little effect.

The Communist Party which stands for effective class struggle has come into its own in the mining Districts. Its policy is heard with friendliness, and support for the Communist programme is very easy to secure. These evidences of the spirit and outlook of the workers show that the future is safe if only the Communist Party can secure for itself a position in the leadership of the masses.

The Results of the Imperial Conference

By C. P. DURR.

THE British Empire is the huge territory seized and held by the tentacles of British capitalism stretched out over the whole surface of the globe. Over a quarter of the world, both in area and population, is within its grasp. A white population of a few million, a minute fraction of the whole, is attempting to monopolise for its exclusive benefit these vast stretches of country against the rest of the population of the world. The problems involved in the maintenance of this system have enormously augmented since the war. It was the object of the Imperial Conference to consider and settle these problems. For over a month, starting from October 20th, the white rulers of the Empire were engaged in this task. What has been the outcome and what is its significance?

The general opinion, as expressed both in the imperialist and in the Labour press of this country, has been that the main result of the conference consists in a further move towards independent status on the part of the white Dominions. This view is radically wrong and indicates that even left wing labour representatives have fallen a victim to the clever camouflage by which British capitalism disguises its actions. The question of status of the Dominions was not the central question of the Conference, nor was the result of the Conference in any way a recognition of their increasing independence.

A Secret Conference.

The first and foremost difficulty in eliminating the results of the Conference lies in the secrecy and silence with which it surrounded itself. To judge of its results it is necessary to bear in mind both what is known to have been discussed, and what was actually reported of its proceedings, and what was not reported. Most of the real work was done in secret session, behind closed doors, and no report given. The Empire rulers are becoming increasingly more afraid either to confess their failures or to reveal what they are engaged upon. As an indication of this it is sufficient to notice that three years ago the last Conference made public half of the Lord Curzon report on foreign relations, this year nothing of Baldwin's report has been published.

Inter-Imperial Relations.

It is true that the Conference, as far as is known, most prominently concerned itself with, firstly, the constitutional questions of inter-imperial relations, and secondly, with greater significance but less publicity, with the problems of foreign relations.

The constitutional issues arising from the difference of interest taken between the white rulers of the centre and of the Dominions form the most apparent obstacle to Empire unity. The economic development of the Dominions, the changes in the relative strengths of the chief imperialist powers resulting from the world war, and especially the relative decline in the strength of British imperialism, have caused the white Dominions to demand an ever-increasing measure of freedom from central control. Both Mackenzie King, the Canadian Premier and General Hertzog, the South African Premier and Nationalist Leader, had been returned to power by parties representing nationalist or separatist tendencies which had decisively defeated the conservative or loyalist parties in their countries.

The "Free" Dominions.

The report on international relations published in full, appears to show that Great Britain has made great concessions. It declares "every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever."

A great deal is made by the decision that henceforth the Governor-General represents the Crown and is "not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government."

The press, no doubt, obediently responsive to hints from above, proclaimed with all its force that the King was now the "Empire's only link." All were united in this view from the capitalist "Economist," which hailed the realisation of "our long cherished ideal that the Empire should depend on a state of mind and not on any set of formal institutions," to Lansbury's weekly, which declared that the Dominions were now republics in all but name, and the Governor-Generals relegated to the position of errand boys.

The Power of the Purse.

The whole thing is a trick and represents a clever diplomatic victory for Great Britain. The more realistic press of the United States has not failed to point out that Britain loses none of its power by creating the new Empire status, while the French paper "Le Journal" crudely declares that the British Empire will still cling together while London holds the purse. In fact, the domin-

ation of British capitalist power over the Dominions has been strengthened and not weakened by the change. The Crown is only the intangible and unattackable symbol of British capitalism. The Governor-Generals, as representatives of the Crown, will receive all information and have access to all secret documents. The part they will play will be the larger for being behind the scenes.

The use of the Crown as a binding link over the Dominions will no doubt be fully demonstrated in the next war. How far the representatives of British imperialism succeeded in actually tying the hands of the Dominion leaders and committing them to support of Great Britain in the next war, it is not possible to say, for the vital discussions on foreign relations took place under an impenetrable cloak of secrecy, but it is possible that the chief endeavours were devoted to entangling the Dominions rather than to demanding promises and declarations in black and white. The 'Crown' link provides an incomparable weapon for this purpose. When the war comes, full use will be made of the "Entente" trick, and every effort will be made to stampede the Dominions by insisting that they have been bound in honour, and that the only alternative is to secede from the Empire.

The Dominions object to being compelled to support the struggle of British capitalism for power in Europe. Their representatives came prepared to raise all sorts of awkward questions about the Locarno Pact. Nevertheless, astute British diplomacy here also seems to have been victorious. Though the Dominions still may not sign the Pact, they appear to have been argued out of their scruples against it. It may be that their attitude was determined by the knowledge that they were dependent on Britain for imperial defence, and naturally enough, therefore, with regard to foreign policy it was "frankly recognised that the major share of responsibility rests now and must for some time continue to rest" on the British Government.

The Dominions and Defence.

Great Britain may have scored a victory as far as the question of supporting the Locarno policy goes. But on the much greater issue on which the endeavours of British capitalism have long been bent, viz., the task of persuading the Dominions to shoulder part of the burden of imperial defence, there has been no progress. Payment towards the cost of armaments is the material expression of imperial solidarity, and for this the Dominion representatives refused to lift a finger, at least in public. They were ready enough to welcome the Singapore base, the growth of imperial air forces, etc., but they politely regretted that they were not in a

position to undertake financial responsibility. The clearest illustration of the Dominions' outlook on this matter is seen in the figures of their payments per head of population for the upkeep of the Navy. While the amount paid per head in Great Britain is £1 6s. 10d., Australia pays 13s. 2d. per head, New Zealand 8s., South Africa 1s. 9d., and Canada 13 cents. This gives a fairly true estimation of their relative valuations of the benefit of keeping within the British Empire.

It is Australia and New Zealand that especially feel the need of protection. They are in the fighting ground of the next war. Their six million inhabitants are doing their best to exclude the teeming millions of Asia from invading the vast areas that they so sparsely occupy. The recent visit of the American fleet to Australia met with an enthusiastic reception, much to the disgust of the British Navy League. The U.S.A. as much as hinted that Australia might reckon on her as a protector. It will be remembered, also, that, when the Labour Government declared against going ahead with the Singapore base, Australian politicians hinted very broadly that in that case they would have to look elsewhere for protection. The need of the Empire being so much greater than that of the other Dominions, and their financial tie being so strong (the Australian public debt, practically all held in England, is over £1000 millions for a population less than that of London), it is not surprising that at the Imperial Conference it was always Bruce, the Australian Premier, that was put forward to defend British policy.

Great Britain and Empire Trade.

Yet even Bruce could not help raising the question of the economic stability of Great Britain, and his doubts were immediately echoed by all the others. Here the real fundamental economic problem of the Empire was touched upon, but it could not be solved. All the attention, all the display was given to the superficial political questions, while the economic questions were practically ignored, with a tacit admission that nothing could be done about them.

Of course, for propaganda purposes, it was proclaimed that economically also the British Empire is becoming closer knit together. It is reported with jubilation that the proportion of British trade with the Empire has increased, but it is not pointed out that the absolute total has gone down, now that the Dominion trade with Great Britain shows a diminished proportion both as regards exports and imports.

The Dominion Premiers emphasise too that they have in fact given increased preference to Great Britain. They do not mention that this preference is insignificant in comparison with the heavy

all-round increases in the height of the tariff walls. As a matter of fact, the Balfour Committee in its Survey of Overseas markets notes that the tariff rates imposed on British exports have increased within the Empire by 66 2-3 per cent. in the same period that the general tariff rate of foreign countries on British exports has decreased by 20 per cent.

These figures disclose at a glance the whole impossibility of welding the Empire together by means of Imperial Preference. The subject was therefore quietly put on the shelf at the Conference in spite of the fact that it forms an indisputable part of the scheme of Empire unity as contemplated by British imperialists. Such a scheme of Imperial Preferences can only be based on the idea that Britain remains the workshop of the Empire, while the other parts supply the raw material, and nothing will induce the Dominions to consent to this.

Mond's Dream Shattered.

On this rock also foundered all the schemes of "nationalisation" of Imperial production, such as those prominently put forward by Sir Alfred Mond. In this connection it is striking to note the outburst of indignation in the whole Australian press that occurred during the visit of the Empire Parliamentary Delegation last September, when Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. naively asked why Australia should experiment with and establish secondary industries when such already existed in Great Britain. The time for Australia to be self-contained, he said, would come when its population was 106 millions and not six millions.

The Australian press points out, firstly, that restriction to primary protection means unemployment and poverty, and secondly, that already more workers are employed in factories and secondary industries than in agriculture or mining. The farmers themselves depend more on the home market than on export. Thus the "Daily Standard" (22-9-26) says:—"Excluding wool we find that out of 520,670,000 units of production only 156,900,000 were sent abroad."

The conclusion is drawn that any possibility of immigration, of colonisation, depends on the establishment of great secondary industries.

The Failure of the Emigration Policy.

The colossal failure of the Empire Migration schemes destroys the second main plank in Empire co-ordination. The whole policy of holding the Dominions as a monopoly for white men depends on being able to colonise them from Great Britain. Yet in Australia, for example, the increase of population since the war has been practically limited to the natural increase. Meanwhile the

unemployment rate increases in all the Dominions, all mass migration schemes came to nothing, and Great Britain is unable to supply the types that are able to be absorbed in the colonies.

The Slave Empire.

It is on the economic ground that the real fiasco of the Imperial Conference is to be traced. Neither preference nor migration schemes could be found to work. The Conference, therefore, had to abandon the problems of building up the white Empire and turn to the slave Empire, the seven-eighths of the Empire population in the colonies and mandated territories. Great stress is laid on the importance of such exploitation of the colonial empire by Great Britain and the Dominions. Already South Africa, Australia and New Zealand have been provided with mandated territory. It only remains to find a mandate for Canada, and perhaps, at least nominally, for India also. That the Dominions are already far from mere primary producers and markets for Great Britain, and are themselves becoming imperialist powers joining with Great Britain in the responsibility for the maintenance of the subject Empire, is clear from their Common Note of protest to the League of Nations at its unwarrantable interference (by inquiry only) into the administration of the mandates.

The new Empire policy of concentration on the Crown colonies and mandated areas can only accentuate the dangers threatening the Empire. It means further economic decline in Great Britain. It means intensified competition with the rival imperialists of the U.S.A., etc. Finally, it will inevitably give a great impetus to the movement for national liberation on the part of the exploited masses in the colonies. The subject populations grow in consciousness in proportion to the growth of capitalist exploitation.

The threats to the British Empire are growing and increasing. It is not enough, however, merely to speak of the inevitable decline of British imperialism. It is necessary to analyse the changes that are taking place in each of the Dominions and their significance in the development of imperial relations in relation to the decline of British capitalism as a whole. It is necessary to show their importance for the struggle against the deceptions and illusions of social reformism, with its slogans of a Commonwealth of Nations, of socialising the Empire and the impossibility of social revolution in Great Britain.

Flashlights on Lenin, the Man

By ERIC VERNEY.

MUCH has already been written about the greatest revolutionary leader, thinker and fighter of our times—Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. But we have mainly seen Lenin from the angle of his theoretical conceptions and his practical policy, expressed in the Russian Revolution. We are now also beginning to study his political and economic doctrines and put them into force. But how many people know the human side of Lenin, how he worked and how he rested? Little is known as yet of the inner side of Lenin's life in his schooldays, in exile and in emigration.

It is true we get some "close-ups" of Lenin from the works of John Reed, Ransome and other writers. But only from those Russian comrades who lived and worked with Lenin on intimate terms can we get a real insight into Lenin's personality. With the exception of writings by Trotsky and Gorky, practically no Russian biographical material on Lenin has appeared in English. Meanwhile, the literature on Lenin in Russia is increasing year by year. Besides the valuable reminiscences of Lenin's wife and sisters, there is a multitude of books, pamphlets and articles by intimate comrades of Lenin. These biographers include the compositor who for years set up the type of "Iskra" and other Bolshevik papers in Geneva and elsewhere; the worker who hid Lenin in Finland in 1917, Lenin's chauffeur, telephone operator, secretary and many others who have lived or worked with him. This is all material for the all-embracing biography of Lenin which is bound to see light some day.

Meanwhile, I will endeavour to present English readers with a few sidelights on Lenin's life, revealing traits in his many-sided character hitherto unknown to most people. Everyone knows what colossal brain power, indomitable will, superhuman energy, courage and audacity Lenin had. He is also known as a ruthless and bitter enemy of all and everything standing in his path—the path of the workers' revolution. But Lenin was also extremely gentle and a loving comrade, a lover of children and of nature, a man of extreme simplicity and rare modesty. Some people picture Lenin as a kind of ascetic. This is quite incorrect. Lenin

knew how to enjoy life. Nothing that was human was alien to him. He liked to observe human life and absorb everything surrounding him. He was cheerful and optimistic even at the time of the most difficult trials.

Lenin's Schooldays.

Those who remember Lenin from his schooldays say he was a bright youngster with fair curly hair and mischievous eyes. He was the liveliest child in the family. He was inventive, fond of playing pranks and the ringleader in many escapades. One of Lenin's favourite games in his early childhood was to play at soldiers with his brothers and sisters. He would line them up in the garden and bawl out commands at them. He also liked to play at hunting and was fond of gymnastics, especially parallel bars.

Though he disclosed great talent in school, young Volodya (as he was called in his childhood) was just as playful as the other boys. He loved to throw snowballs at passers-by from behind the garden wall. He liked swimming in the neighbouring river, shooting with a catapult, catching birds and fishing. On holidays he would often get a rouble from his father to buy birds, and let them out of the cage next morning. Like most children, he was very fond of sweets.

As he grew older, though becoming more serious, Volodya lost none of his vivacity. His school reports revealed him as a gifted, studious and industrious pupil. He used to cope with his lessons with the greatest ease, and was never encumbered with unfinished homework. His schoolmates used to come to him for aid which he gave readily. He helped one student with languages for eighteen months without any compensation. Lenin showed great ability for French, German, Latin and Greek.

By the time Lenin was 13, he was an ardent chess player and bookworm. Tolstoy's "Anna Karanina" was one of his favourite books at this period. His father having liberal views, Lenin had a fair amount of freedom. Although there was a reasonable amount of discipline, he could develop his inclinations as he wished. As a youth, Lenin was extremely interested in everything surrounding him and very impressionable. It is not known exactly when he first became infected with revolutionary ideas, but he was undoubtedly greatly influenced by his elder brother, Alexander Ulianov.

He loved to sit listening to the various political exiles or revolutionaries who came to see his brother. Once a visitor when speaking on secret matters pointed to the young Vladimir sitting

nearby. "Don't worry," said his brother Alexander, "he is a born conspirator."

Lenin's Revolutionary Baptism.

The execution of his brother Alexander Ulianov, in connection with a plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III., made a tremendous impression on Lenin. He was only 17 years old at the time and was greatly attached to his brother, but he took the terrible blow calmly. "Tears are of no avail," he said, "I must avenge him." And from this time on he became more serious and began to think profoundly. At this time the whole country was seething with unrest; peasants were burning estates, Tsarist oppression was at its fiercest. Lenin also felt the oppression of the narrow, religious, conservative atmosphere of the petty bourgeois provincial town he lived in.

Meanwhile, there was already a stigma on the Ulianov family in connection with the eldest son. On leaving the high school, Ilyitch was only granted his gold medal with reluctance. All the former friends of the family deserted them. Life became unbearable and the family left for Kazan. All these factors and the execution of his brother made Lenin think about the necessity of the revolutionary struggle.

Refused admittance to the St. Petersburg University, Lenin entered the University of Kazan. Here he took a leading part in a students' riot, being the youngest out of thirty-two participants. He was expelled for this exploit. It was in Kazan that Lenin first studied the works of Marx. After getting his degree in law at St. Petersburg, as an external graduate, Lenin settled in Samara. At the age of 22 he worked as assistant juror in the Samara district court. In this capacity he had to defend many



peasants tried on various charges, such as stealing. He nearly always pleaded for reduced sentences. In one case, when a merchant was charged with whipping his wife with a knout, the young juror, Lenin, was asked to plead for a reduction of sentence. This Lenin refused. During this period Lenin took part in Samara Marxist circles.

When he came to St. Petersburg in 1893, this was ostensibly also to practice at the bar. He actually defended a few criminal cases, wearing his father's black frock coat. But he soon established contact with workers' circles and started revolutionary activity. The police were immediately on his track. But even by this time he was skilled at conspirative work. He not only knew how to dodge detectives. He taught the comrades how to inscribe various secret signs, how to write with "invisible" chemical inks, how to make codes, etc.

In Prison and Exile.

In 1895, Lenin went abroad to establish contact with Plekhanov. He returned to Russia with illegal Social-Democratic literature. He was shortly afterwards arrested and imprisoned for over a year. He soon learnt the technique of getting things out of prison, and maintained contact with the outside world by corresponding in books, and passing out notes in his soiled linen.

He even wrote whole pamphlets which he got sent outside while still in prison. These included "On Strikes" and "Draft Programme of Russian Social-Democracy." This term of imprisonment was spent in writing his first important work, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia."

In 1897, exiled for three years to the little village of Shushensk in Siberia, he lived in a small clean room in a peasant's house with whitewashed walls. There were only two other political exiles here—a Polish worker and a Finn. Lenin soon began to teach them Marxism and explain Marx's "Capital." He tried to make acquaintance with the local "intelligentsia." However, the teachers whom he approached preferred to drink and to play cards with the priests, merchants and other members of the local aristocracy.

After a while, Lenin was joined by Krupskaya, who was also exiled to Siberia and was accompanied by her mother. As it was difficult to employ a girl in the winter months, they did their own cooking. The food was very simple. Bread, milk and sometimes mutton. It could not be otherwise, for political exiles only got a "grant" of 8 roubles per month to cover all expenses.

However, there was a kitchen garden by the house, so they grew their own cucumbers, carrots and beetroots.

Work in Exile.

Lenin accomplished a tremendous amount of work during these years of exile. In the mornings, together with Krupskaya, he would translate Sydney Webb's book on trade unionism. After dinner, they would write out "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," which he had commenced in prison. At this time a wide correspondence was maintained not only with the Social-Democrats in Russia, but also with the exiles in Siberia. This was difficult as the police were vigilant and correspondence had to go by way of indirect addresses. Lenin always looked forward eagerly to the post which came twice a week.

His sister, Anna, used to write all the St. Petersburg news. The correspondence covered Russian news, plans for the future, new books and philosophical tendencies. Lenin did considerable translation work from English, German and French into Russian, assisted by Krupskaya. They translated, at this time, Kautsky's "Anti-Bernstein" in two weeks.

Another of Lenin's occupations in exile was chess playing. Lepeshinsky recounts how he used to play chess with Lenin for hours at a stretch, when the latter used to come to visit him at his place of exile in Minusinsk. Lepeshinsky could never win a game. Once he organised an "alliance" of three comrades against Lenin. Lenin began to lose piece after piece. But stubbornly, persistently he fought them, concentrating the whole strength of his mind on the board. So great was his effort that the perspiration was dripping from his brow. At that moment nothing would have moved him from the board, not even the cry of "Fire." Lepeshinsky compares this game of chess to Lenin's own life work.

In the evenings, after work was finished, the chief recreations were walking, fishing and shooting. He was specially fond of hunting wild duck and hare. Krupskaya tells how Lenin was absolutely bubbling over with high spirits on those Siberian evenings.

Love for Nature, Music, Poetry.

Lenin was passionately fond of nature. He loved to walk miles along the river on autumn nights, and hear the thin ice cracking beneath his feet. In the summer he would sit by the running river, which reminded him of his native Volga. He was very fond of music, but what music there was, was very primitive in these parts. The harmoniums of the village youth pleased

him none the less. When he returned from the evening walk his reading generally comprised the philosophical books of Hegel, Kant or the French materialists. When he became tired he would turn to the poems of Pushkin, Lermontov or Nekrasov. It has been said that Lenin only liked "serious" books and never read novels. This is a legend. He read Turgeniev, Tolstoy, and was very fond of the classics. It is interesting here to note that he kept a photograph album containing portraits not only of famous contemporary revolutionaries, but also of Emile Zola, Herzen and Tchernyshevsky.

On returning to Russia from exile, Lenin gave up chess playing. "It gets too much of a grip on you, and hinders work," he said. And as he did not do anything by halves, but always put his whole heart into all he accomplished, he was unwilling to devote himself to chess even when resting in emigration. From his early youth, he was always able to give up anything that hindered his work. When still at school, for example, he used to love skating, but found he got tired and sleepy after it, and therefore gave it up as it hindered his studies. He was also very fond of Latin, but he also gave this up as it hindered more important work. Krupskaya, in her reminiscences, alludes to the fact that several writers have compared Lenin's style and phrasing with the phraseology of the Roman orators. She thinks that this is not by chance, but under influence of his former enthusiasm for the Roman writers.

Meanwhile, throughout these years of exile, Lenin's interest and enthusiasm for the revolutionary movement did not subside. On the contrary, as the termination of his exile drew near, his hopes for the future increased with his impatience to be free. Already before his return, he was planning the work for the formation of a compact Party with a clear-cut ideology. He spent many sleepless night thinking out detailed plans for a Party paper published abroad, means of illegal transportation into Russia, and so on. He communicated these plans to Martov and the comrades in Russia.

Return from Exile.

In March, 1900, Lenin's exile ended. Day and night he travelled in a sleigh across the Siberian snow—300 versts up the River Yenesei, dreaming of the future. Returning to Pskov, he began organising a network of connections for the future Social-Democratic paper that was to be published abroad, but he was soon to leave Russia to join Axelrod and Plekhanov. Just as he was about to leave Pskov for abroad, Lenin was arrested in the street together with Martov. He had 2,000 roubles in his pocket. He explained to the police that he had got the money

from his "aunt." Luckily, the list of contacts for the newspaper was written in chemical ink and covered with faked calculations. If the gendarmes had thought of heating this piece of paper, the entire scheme for the newspaper might have been wrecked. However, Lenin was released after being under arrest ten days.

In August, 1900, Lenin came to agreement with the Plekhanov group for the publication of "Iskra." After a short stay in Geneva, he settled in Munich, where he was later joined by Krupskaya, who had just completed her Siberian exile. Krupskaya relates an interesting incident connected with her journey abroad. She had been given an address in Prague. On arriving there, she found Lenin was actually in Munich and the Prague address had only been a point for the despatch of correspondence. Occurrences of this kind were frequent in the history of the illegal work of the Party. Shliapnikov, for instance, once went to Genoa instead of Geneva, while another comrade was almost sent to America instead of England. In this case, Krupskaya was sent on from Prague to Herr Rithmeyer at an address in Munich. She arrived at a beer-house and enquired for Herr Rithmeyer, expecting to be presented to Lenin. But again it appeared she was on the wrong track. "I am Rithmeyer," replied the owner of the beer-house. But he told her there was a Russian gentleman staying there who was expecting his wife from Siberia. Fortunately, the Russian gentleman turned out to be Lenin. He had written to her to come to Munich, but she had not received his letter.

Krupskaya found Lenin living very simply. The owner of the beer-house to whom the room belonged, was a Social-Democrat. His wife, a buxom German woman, used to feed Lenin on mehlspise (a kind of pudding) while he used to get his breakfasts and suppers himself. He drank out of a tin mug which he himself washed out and hung up on a nail by the tap. Although the Russian emigrants in Munich mostly lived legally, Lenin and Krupskaya lived apart from the Russian colony in order not to compromise comrades coming from Russia on Party work. Krupskaya was appointed editorial secretary. Together with Axelrod, Vera Zassulitch and Plekhanov, they organised the production of "Iskra" and its illegal transportation to Russia. It was generally sent to various arranged addresses in Russia, "to be called for."

While in Munich, Lenin commenced his famous book, "What is to be Done?" First, he would pace up and down in deep thought. Then he would sit down and write for hours at a stretch. Krupskaya never interrupted him with questions while he was working. But afterwards, in the evening, they would walk

right out to the quietest part of the suburbs, and he would outline with great enthusiasm the main content of what he had written. They would then return to their room where the meetings of the Editorial Board were held.

Martov used to come in the morning to look over the post and sit nearly all day long smoking and telling all the latest news. He used to go on and on, jumping from one subject to another. "Martov is a typical journalist," Lenin often said. "He is extremely talented, seems to grasp everything immediately, extremely impressionable, but takes up a light attitude towards everything." Other comrades used to drop in and they had long, heated arguments for hours at a stretch. Most of the Russian emigrants preferred talking, smoking and sitting round the table drinking endless glasses of tea. Lenin, however, could not stand this and whenever possible he tried to slip away for a walk. His love for Nature attracted him to the river, or far away to the outskirts of the town. Seeing that the long arguments and talks fatigued Lenin, and were detrimental to his health, Krupskaya went round to Martov and asked him to come to see them less frequently. It was agreed that she should go to Martov and report on all the letters received from Russia. But after two days the whole scheme broke down. Martov could not live without the long talks.

In London.

In April, 1902, Lenin came to London. As Lenin had translated Webb's "Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism" from English into Russian while in exile in Siberia, and as Krupskaya had learnt English from a self-tutor while in prison, they both thought they would be able to speak the language. To their dismay, they found that no one understood a word they were talking about. Nor could they understand a word of English "as she is spoke." However, they started learning the colloquial language assiduously. They went to all kinds of meetings, sat in the front, and attentively watched the speaker's mouth. Lenin used to go to Hyde Park to hear an Irish Atheist whose pronunciation he found easier to understand than the London accent. He also advertised and got two Englishmen to exchange English lessons for Russian. Lenin was thus able to learn the language fairly thoroughly.

Lenin also took great interest in studying London. Except for the British Museum, where he spent half his time in the library, he did not like visiting museums. Egyptian mummies and Babylonian cuneiform wearied him. The only museum of which he never tired, was a little museum of the 1848 French Revolution, in Rue des Cordilières, Paris. Very fond of going

round London on top of the bus, he would observe the comfortable semi-detached houses with gardens in the residential parts of the city and the squalid slums of the workers' districts. "Two nations!" he would mutter through his teeth in English to Krupskaya. He always felt an attraction towards crowds, and often went a bus ride on Saturday night through the working class districts, watching with interest the long rows of barrows with flares, and the people doing their Saturday shopping.

Already in those days, Lenin had great hopes in the British workers. He always tried to get as near to the rank and file as possible. He not only listened to the Hyde Park orators, talking about atheism, garden cities and the bad conditions of shop assistants, but also went to various Socialist meetings in the suburbs, and a Socialist church in Seven Sisters Road. He used to go to Whitechapel and talk with the Russian sailors and listen to the troubles of poor Russian Jew immigrants.

Even in whirling and smoky London, Lenin's love for Nature did not diminish. To use Krupskaya's own words, ". . . even in London we managed to get a glimpse of Nature, and this was not so easy in this smoky, foggy city—especially when we could not spend more than three-halfpence for a bus." When a comrade once said that Lenin only sat in the British Museum, Vera Zassulitch burst out indignantly: "He passionately loves Nature." During this period, Lenin paid a visit to his mother in Brittany. He loved the sea; its continual movement and great breadth soothed him, and he felt rested. While in London, he was very fond of the Zoological Gardens. He often walked up Primrose Hill and admired the view of the city.

(To be continued.)

Towards the Mass Party

By E. H. BROWN.

THE splendid efforts of our Party to increase its membership during the past year have been rewarded with complete success. Not only have we been able to more than double our numbers numerically but, to a large extent we have consolidated our gains. True, in some mining areas, we have not absorbed all who applied for membership. Hundreds of workers signed up, only to fall away again when the first flush of enthusiasm died down. This was to be expected and we could do no more than limit the backsliding to the lowest number. In spite of these defections the Party continues, month by month, to increase its membership, which means that recruiting is making up for the losses due to the above mentioned cause.

With the end of the Mining Lockout the possibilities of further recruiting successes do not disappear, on the contrary they are increased. The heavy strain upon our membership involved whilst the struggle continued has been, to some extent, relaxed and the Central Committee is in a position to mobilise bigger forces for the purpose of a recruiting drive for new members. As the Party never stood higher in the esteem of the workers the time also is opportune for this effort.

Campaign to Start in Lenin Week.

It has been decided to launch a big effort, starting with Lenin Anniversary meetings (January 23rd). The Campaign will be continued for five weeks, closing at the end of February. During this period the whole available sources of the Party must be brought into action for the purpose of recruiting new members, consolidating still further our recent gains and increasing the sales and circulation of our Party literature.

The consistent manner in which our Party has supported the miners' fight, the tremendous activity in the mining areas, and above all the repeated attempts of the reactionary Labour leaders to betray the miners provided rich soil for Party growth in the minefields. Small wonder that the heavy enrolment was overwhelmingly composed of miners and their wives. But this numerical bias of membership in favour of the miners must be balanced by rapid recruitment from other industries. Particularly is it necessary to concentrate upon the road, rail and transport centres.

Transport Workers Next.

During the mining Lockout our numerical weakness in the transport industry was clearly demonstrated. *The failure to secure the application of the embargo on coal* was, in the main, due to this cause. Five thousand determined Communists, spread over the transport systems and working in unison, could have broken the resistance of Thomas, Cramp, Bevin, Havelock Wilson at their head, are permanently open to the possibilities of might have been the deciding factor in giving victory to the valiant miners.

Again the defeat of the miners leaves the way open for the attack of the bosses upon other sections. Already there are indications that the railwaymen will soon be involved in a struggle to defend present wage standards, whilst the seamen, with Havelock Wilson at their head, are permanently open to the possibilities of wage reductions and longer hours. For these, and other reasons, we must secure, for the Party, all those militants in the transport unions who are now in sympathy with the Party.

A great drive must be made by our Party Districts to obtain a footing in the important transport centres where we are at present unestablished or where only weak locals exist. South Wales must make a dead set at Cardiff, Swansea, Bristol, Barry, Newport, etc., to increase Party influence and membership or start new locals where none exist at present. Bradford must break into York, Birmingham into Derby, Crewe, etc. In like manner each district must concentrate upon the important transport centres within its borders.

Our London District Committee must, with greater energy than ever, utilise this campaign for securing a big increase of members. The tasks before the Party in the metropolis are of such a character that a substantial increase of members is absolutely essential if the work facing the Party is to be accomplished.

Consolidate our Gains.

We would warn all our committees against embarking upon efforts which necessitate discontinuing the work of consolidating the new Locals in the coalfield. An essential part of the five weeks campaign must be to make these locals into fully functioning local organisations of the Party. It is very pleasing to note that in almost every district, with the ending of the mining struggle, the work of setting up pit and factory groups was renewed with good results. During the next few months the work must be continued, and in every pit or factory, where the conditions allow, a Party group, functioning fully as a basic unit, must be started and consolidated.

Nor should we forget to continue our recruiting efforts. All mining locals should set up, at once, a visitation committee, com-

posed of a few active and enthusiastic comrades, whose main business during the campaign period would be to visit all comrades who signed membership forms during the lockout, but who for some reason or other did not accept the full implications of Party membership and, as a consequence, drifted away.

Party Literature.

No campaign would be complete unless it involved a wide distribution of Party literature. It is an opportune moment for the inclusion of this work in our five weeks campaign. Never was the Party in such a fortunate position—thousands of workers are taking more than a passing interest in our propaganda meetings in every district. We were never so rich as now in our stock of printed words. No matter what the question that is agitating the minds of the workers, we have a pamphlet or booklet setting out in simple language the Party position thereon. On theoretical subjects we have a series of books which should be in the hands of all interested workers. Yet the circulation of Party pamphlets and books is lamentably low.

There are two main reasons for this.

First the majority of our members are miners, and during the past eight months their scanty means could not include the purchase of literature. Now that the lockout is over, all our new members should realise that they have a lot of leeway to make up and should make a systematic weekly purchase of the publications issued by the Party during 1926.

Secondly, it is quite obvious that our locals do not pay the attention necessary to the proper organisation of the sales of pamphlets and books. The circulation of our weekly organ averages out at seven copies per member. As the circulation is almost entirely in the hands of the Party members this means that, on the average, each member sells at least six copies. What is required is that the same results should attend distribution of other Party literature.

To make sure that the distribution of Party literature is well-organised during and after the campaign period, each local must organise a small working group, which can assist the literature leader to exploit every opportunity for selling our wares. Factory groups, fractions and area groups should give special attention to the organisation of proper distributing machinery.

With these three main objects clearly in mind the Party membership should give careful consideration to the details of the campaign in order that every member can render assistance in some way or other.

During 1926 the ground for building a mass Party was well and truly prepared. Our slogan should be: All together to reap the harvest during 1927! The recruiting and consolidation campaign should give a good start to a fruitful year's work.

Party Training Notes

The replies to our questionnaire about the Political Letter are not yet completed. There are some locals still to reply. We urge all locals to hurry up and send in their opinions as we are anxious to compile our returns before recording the views of our members as a whole to the value of our Letter.

As far as we can estimate the value of the Political Letter is greatly appreciated, especially amongst our new locals and membership. This is very encouraging for us. The Agit-Prop. Department had the new members in mind when the Letter was devised. The problem before us was the lack of competent and experienced tutors to undertake the more intense training groups, yet, the necessity for the general political education of our members, many of whom have joined a political party for the first time.

In some districts, where there has been no great influx of new members, the Political Letter may not have the same appeal, especially if systematic training is going on under the direction of experienced tutors. In such districts we can discount the views expressed, on the assumption that the more advanced training is proceeding. But it is necessary to point out to all that these Letters are not designed to provide an alternative to ordinary Party activities. Rather, must the Letters be supplementary to Party activity in providing political direction on current questions.

We wish to emphasise the importance of bringing as many of our women comrades as possible into these discussions. During the miners' lock-out many women workers were brought into touch with our Party for the first time. In our Party the women members take political rank and status with the men comrades. Our women don't join, nor must they be expected, to spend their time merely carrying out the "social" activities of the locals. Necessary as such "social" activities are, our women must have a minimum of political training. This is necessary alike for the housewife, as for the woman worker in the factory. Our propaganda has to be carried everywhere, and one very important place is the home. Street propaganda is as necessary as propaganda in the fac-

tory. Therefore, comrades, let us have a competent army of Communist women trained in Communist theory and practice. A good beginning can be made with the Political Letter.

Our Central School is having a brief vacation before tackling its second term. When these comrades are released for work in their respective districts we expect a big drive along the lines of the experience gained in the Central School. Our methods have broken with the past. In place of the barren lecturing of the Labour College type our students are encouraged to take an active part in the school work as a whole. Personal research, enquiry, mutual interrogation of each other and with tutors, common discussion of theoretical problems, essay writing and debate are the means towards the output of real Communist teachers, propagandists and leaders.

Our students have the advantage of the Labour College students. They are under the direction of the Party. Their theoretical work is related to the daily life of the Party. Their studies are rounded off with the definite political conclusions reached as a result of their work and enquiries. Here then is being laid the foundations of the newer type of working-class student. Not the pedant, the book-worm nor the "superior" person, but the proletarian leadership that is essential for the victory over capitalism.

Have you read our latest Party publication by Bucharin on "Building up Socialism"? If not you must do so straight away. At the recent Enlarged Executive of the E.C.C.I. this question was debated at length by all the leading members of the C.I. The question is especially important for Great Britain. In the past no clear answer has been given to the claims of the reformists—our Labour imperialists—that in the event of a workers' revolution in this country the population would be starved out. An attempt was made to answer this question by our delegation, and we hope to publish this speech next month. Meanwhile, every Party member should read our latest publication on "Building up Socialism," to be had from the Communist Bookshop, 16, King Street, London, W.C.2.

15th Party Conference of the C.P. of the Soviet Union

A SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

By THOMAS BELL.

[This important summary of the proceedings of the 15th Conference of the C.P.S.U. was set up for publication in our December issue, but unavoidably held over. Though a little belated, we feel sure much of the information contained in the article will be read with interest by many of our readers for the first time.—Editor.]

A PARTY conference in the Soviet Union is no ordinary mechanical event like a Labour Party conference in England. In Russia the Communist Party is the leading instrument in the proletarian dictatorship. It carries a dual burden. As a Party it is the advanced guard of the proletariat waging war on capitalism. In the government it is the leading authority of a territory covering one-sixth of the inhabitable globe. Naturally, the deliberations of such a conference are of tremendous importance. A false estimate of forces inside or outside the Soviet Union may involve the revolution in incalculable difficulties; failure to deal firmly with any attempt to weaken the disciplinary authority of the Party might very well plunge the whole country into the throes of civil war.

For, it must never be forgotten, though the Russian proletariat has successfully emerged from the chaos and ruin inherited from the Tsardom, and this year celebrates in triumph the ninth anniversary of the Soviet regime, there are still rocks ahead. Behind the financial blockade of the imperialists, greedy eyes ceaselessly watch every step taken by the Soviet leaders, ready to pounce upon the revolution and destroy it. Differences in Party policy or challenges to the Party leadership are only too readily seized upon to gratify a forlorn hope of the whole bourgeoisie, inside and outside the Soviet Union, that at last, the end has come.

Time and time again, the bourgeoisie has been encouraged in the belief that disruption had finally entered into the whole Soviet administration. Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel were their white hopes; the successive plots to murder Party leaders, the attempted assassination of Lenin and his subsequent death, the N.E.P., the Shliapnikov so-called Workers' Opposition, the discussion on Trotskyism, and finally, the Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, etc. combination in a new opposition to the Party direction—all these events have from time to time been a source of satisfaction to all the enemies of the Soviet Union and encouraged them in the belief that the proletarian dictatorship was about to collapse.

This year the Fifteenth Conference was called in the midst of a violent and heated controversy around Party policy and leadership. The existence of fractions and illegal machinery operated or condoned by "old" Bolsheviks had been unearthed—a most unusual happening for comrades who were, or boasted of being, disciples of Lenin. If ever the bourgeoisie had good grounds to rub their hands in glee, surely this was the occasion! But it was not to be. Once more the bourgeoisie have been disappointed, and the Party has triumphed. The opposition has been completely defeated. The revolution continues victorious.

This phenomenon of the Party is very disconcerting to the bourgeoisie and their lackeys. In the bourgeois democracy, sectional aims, which ever group around special propertied interests, express themselves in bribery, corruption and intrigue. The bourgeois critic of the Soviet regime brings such cultural standards into play in his criticism. He cannot understand why individuals count for so little compared with the Party. He is unable to grasp the tremendous ideological authority of a great leader like Lenin, and at the same time imagine the will of the Party being supreme. Our bourgeois critics cannot understand that devotion to the proletarian revolution implies devotion to the Party; that without the Party the revolution is impossible.

Yet this is why the Bolshevik revolution has lived through nine years of triumphant success, and why it will continue to endure. It also explains why the Russian proletariat will continue in the future, in spite of tremendous shocks from within or without, to solve all its problems, however contradictory they may appear.

Bukharin's Report.

The Conference opened on October 26th in the Andreyev Hall of the Great Palace in the Kremlin. There were 817 delegates present, of whom 194 had decisive votes and 623 consultative votes. Amongst the latter there were 36 representatives from the Communist International. (It should be explained here that a distinction has to be made between this **Conference** and the Party **Congress**. The **Congress**, which is due in 1927, is the supreme Party organ. The Party constitution provides for two **conferences** between **congresses** as a method of consolidating Party policy. This explains the disproportion between decisive and consultative votes.)

After the delegates had honoured the memory of Djerjinsky by standing in silence, the Presidium was elected. This comprised 37 comrades, including Stalin, Rykov, Bukharin, Molotov, Tomsky, Kalinin, Voroshilev, etc.

In conformity with sound Bolshevik practice, the discussion

opened on the international situation, comrade Bukharin leading the discussion. Beginning with the question of the stabilisation of capitalism, Bukharin underlined three signs: (1) the growth of the world production of iron, steel, and coal; (2) the turnover of international commerce; (3) the stabilisation of the currencies in the various countries. Estimating that capitalism is near the close of its reconstructive period, a certain over-production crisis is an important characteristic sign in this stabilisation.

Searching for markets, capitalism is seeking to reduce the costs of production and to nationalise production. At the same time a certain improvement has to be recorded in technique and in trustification of concentration in capital, the recently formed steel cartel being an outstanding example.

In China, the prospects for revolutionary China, declared Bukharin, are very favourable, due to the burden of taxation and the economic and political dominance of the foreign imperialists. The effects of the revolt in China are having their repercussion in India and in all the colonial countries, thus vindicating the predictions of Lenin at the Second Congress of the Comintern.

In Germany, the C.P. and the whole Comintern have to formulate national policy no longer in terms of the struggle for national freedom from the British and French yoke, but in terms of a land of full-blooded imperialism.

The fact of a partial stabilisation of capitalism has led some Social-Democrats to conclude that the period of military conflicts is closed. There are no grounds for such conclusions.

Proceeding to deal with the problems before the Comintern, Bukharin sees in the process of nationalising production an accompaniment of direct pressure upon the working class by the capitalists, revolutionising the masses and drawing them into a Left-ward tendency. This is especially reflected in the growth of the Left Wing in the trade unions and in the exclusion of Right Wing groups from some Social-Democratic organisations. From this, and similar signs, he concluded, that the General Council of Soviet Unions in the R.I.L.U. and the R.I.L.U. generally must intensify their trade union activities.

Analysing the ultra-Right and ultra-Left groupings in the C.P.S.U., and in the international movement, the basis for these groups outside the Soviet Union, said Bukharin, was to be found in the attitude of a section of the bourgeoisie which was turning towards the U.S.S.R. Our ultra-Lefts like Korsch, Fischer, Maslov, thereupon believed the Russian Revolution was simply a bourgeois one now leaving the radical bourgeois period for a simple bourgeois period. All these groups drew strength from

the oppositional ideas of Trotsky and Zinoviev, and pushed them to their logical conclusion.

In Great Britain and China, Bukharin concluded, tremendous events of world importance are developing as may be seen in the miners' lock-out and the Chinese revolution. Add to these the work of Socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union and we have a trinity of forces of decisive importance for final victory.

Amongst the speakers who took part in the discussion were Manuilsky, Lozovsky, Skrypnik and Raskolnikov, but none of the opposition. In closing the debate, Bukharin pointed out that the Communist Party of Great Britain had pursued a correct policy in connecting general slogans with the concrete daily demands of the working class. He referred to the ironical references formerly made to Communism in Great Britain, and to the "Asiatic" mind at work in Britain. The successes, however, of the British Party are the best reply to our opponents, especially since they seriously threaten British imperialism.

Rykov on Internal Policy.

The discussion on the international situation having closed, comrade Rykov reported on the economic situation in the Soviet Union, and the tasks of the Party. Qualitatively and quantitatively, said Rykov, various branches of industry have passed pre-war level. With the entrance of the Co-operatives into the village and the growth of the agricultural communes, our reconstruction is being operated under different circumstances from those existing before the war, while industrial reconstruction is going on parallel with our electrification plans. This period involves internal accumulation, not only of raw materials and a massing of workers, but in the formation of large masses of circulating capital. Industry, formerly showing a deficit, produces now 500 million roubles profit.

Capital investments, declared Rykov, have three sources—the accumulated capital of industry itself; transformation of the accumulation from other sources into industry; and the savings of the population. Capital investment must take place in the order of engineering, fuel production and electrification and transport.

Replying to the opposition arguments on the peasant question, Rykov repudiated the suggestion that the Party policy was a capitulation in face of the kulaks. A general improvement has taken place in the situation of all sections in the peasantry, and, above all, a strengthening of the middle peasantry is to be observed.

Concluding his speech on commodity hunger and price policy,

comrade Rykov showed how the good harvests in the last two years had made it possible to lower agricultural prices, but that in the lowering of the prices of industrial commodities only minimal successes were to be recorded recently. The opposition had demanded a policy of increased prices, whereas, the Party pursued a policy of price reductions. The opposition seemed to forget that a policy of high prices means a coalition with the kulaks and the N.E.P.-men, rendering industrial commodities inaccessible to the village poor, and even for the middle peasants. The opinions of the opposition may be termed defeatist, and, said Rykov "The leader of the opposition, comrade Trotsky, forgets that it is good to be a defeatist during an imperialist war, but bad to be a defeatist when the proletariat is fighting for the consolidation of its dictatorship."

In this discussion, none of the opposition took any part. The most of the speakers were workers from the provinces, who contributed many practical suggestions on the problems of reconstruction, to which comrade Rykov summed up.

Tomsky on Trade Unionism.

Comrade Tomsky then opened a discussion on "The Activity and Tasks of the Labour Unions." The number of workers in the Soviet Union, declared Tomsky, steadily increases. On the 1st of April, 1925, the total was 6,035,300 (exclusive of working Communes); on the 1st of April, 1926, the total was 7,700,600. The number of members in Labour Unions for the same periods were respectively 6,950,400 and 8,760,600. The difference between the numbers employed and those in the Labour Unions is explained by the non-registration of seasonal workers, a section of the land workers and the unemployed.

The opposition had contended that the State apparatus and the standard of living were developing further away from the proletariat and into the rising town intelligentsia, the traders and the kulaks. This is refuted by the statistics. 73 per cent. of State employees in the towns, and 90½ per cent. of those in the country earn a wage of less than 80 roubles.

The number of shop councils has grown from 30,000 to 56,000 and their membership from 200,000 to 800,000. The cultural work of the unions is being strengthened. The liquidation of illiteracy has made great progress. The Conferences concerning questions of production have been successful in advancing thousands of working men and women to administrative posts.

Regarding the question of wages, had the policy of the opposition been carried out we should have witnessed a rise in prices,

a depreciation of the chervonetz and an actual decrease in real wages.

Turning to the question of unemployment, the special character of this, declared Tomsy, is due to its seasonal character and an excess of population on the land, and, he argued, unemployment amongst the youths who leave school and find no place in industry must receive the utmost attention. The youths must be brought under the influence of workers' organisations by improving the workers' clubs.

Tomsy concluded by slating the opposition for demanding the liquidation of the Anglo-Russian Committee, and declaring for winning over the trade unions and thus the working masses by untiring labour. Our Labour unions, he said, have achieved great successes. In the nine years of Soviet power we have created a firmly organised and centralised Labour union movement which has two million functionaries. The unions have worked and fought hand in hand with the Party during the civil war; together with the Party they have built the Soviet power, and now they are building Socialism with the Party and will continue with it until our aim is achieved.

Twenty-five speakers took part in the discussion, the chief question being co-operative work between the economists and the Labour unionists in connection with the leadership of production and the solution of Labour questions.

Declaration of Shliapnikov.

Comrade Molotov then read the following declaration of Shliapnikov and Medvedyev to the Central Committee and the Control Commission. Dated the 27th October:

"In the interest of the Party and its real unity we openly declare:

"1. The letter of comrade Medvedyev to the comrades in Baku (1924) contains a number of erroneous opinions directed against certain principles of the Party and in contradiction with Leninism and the principles of the Comintern.

"2. The most erroneous part of this letter was that which mentioned the methods and the activity of the Comintern and which contains an odious comparison with regard to one of the Comintern sections ("petty bourgeois slaves who are supported by Russian money"). This important section of the letter is completely false and does not reflect our real attitude towards the Comintern.

"3. The sentence mentioning the Red International of Labour Unions is also false because it permits the assumption

that the author of the letter is in favour of the liquidation of the R.I.L.U. We consider this formulation to be false. In connection with the R.I.L.U., we stand upon the basis of the decisions of the Party.

"4. We are decisive and unconditional supporters of the Comintern and just as decisive opponents of the Second International. We believe that the leaders of the present Social-Democratic parties have betrayed the interests of the working class. We believe that they are the agents of the bourgeoisie.

"5. We recognise that a number of similar vulgar errors have caused accusations to be made against us in the columns of the 'Pravda' and the 'Bolshevik.'

"6. We consider the polemical tone and a number of acid expressions in the article of Shliapnikov in No. 17 of the 'Bolshevik' to be impermissible.

"7. In connection with the 'Baku opposition' we directed a number of abrupt demands both by word of mouth and by letter to the C.C. and the C.C.C. We regard this as having been incorrect.

"8. We decisively and unconditionally condemn the methods used by us in the fractional struggle. We also condemn every organisational expression of opinions which are in contradiction with the decisions of the Party. We appeal to our sympathisers who have commenced to build fractional underground groupings, to immediately liquidate the same. We hold the decisions of the congresses and the conferences of the Party, its C.C. and its C.C.C. to be absolutely binding for us and we will carry them out unconditionally.

' "With Communist greetings,

SHLIAPNIKOV,
MEDVEDYEV."

Comrade Stalin then opened a discussion upon "The Internal Party Situation and the Opposition Bloc." This speech lasted four hours. In the debate, Kamenev, Yaroslavsky, Trotsky and Larin took part, and Stalin's reply lasted two hours.

In the final session comrade Rykov closed the conference with a long speech in which he pointed out that the opposition had not made the expected steps towards a rapprochement with the Party, but that it had used the tribune of the conference to continue the propagation of its erroneous ideas, which had been unanimously condemned by the whole Party. The Party would nevertheless continue the work of Socialist reconstruction in accordance with the principles of Lenin and conduct a struggle against the opposition.

Book Reviews

The Peasants' War in Germany, by Frederick Engels. Price 1 dollar 50 cents. International Publishers, 381, Fourth Avenue, New York.

This publishing house bids fair to fulfil a long felt want in this country for Marxist literature. It has always been a reflection on our movement in Great Britain that so few of the Marxian classics had been translated into English.

The excuse that we are not theoreticians has been insidiously spread abroad by our "little Englander" Socialists, who were more bent on stifling Marxist thought than advancing clear thinking in the Socialist movement. This excuse will no longer hold water. The fierce struggles of recent years have undoubtedly made indispensable scientific thinking on Labour problems. The list of books foreshadowed for publication by this house as the "Marxist Library" will materially help our movement.

The Peasants' War in Germany is the first of the series. In this book Engels analyses the social and economic forces which brought about the peasant revolts around the Reformation period. Starting from a picture of the economic situation and the class composition of Germany at the time, the author treats of the oppositional groups with their programmes, giving a graphic picture of Luther and Thomas Muenzer and a brief history of the peasant uprisings from 1476 to 1517. The uprising of the nobility under Franz von Sickingen, the narrative of the events of the peasants' war and the main causes of the peasants' defeat are concluded by an examination of the significance of the Peasants' War and its consequences in German history.

Our Communist International movement attaches the greatest importance to all activities of the peasantry. We see how important the peasantry are for the Soviet Union. In nearly all the countries of Central Europe the peasantry occupies a predominant place in all revolutionary movements. A critical study of the history of the peasantry is therefore a necessary part of the arsenal of every Communist.

This book as Engels says in his

Preface to the Second Edition, was written in London in the summer of 1850 under the vivid impression of the counter-revolution that had just been completed, and appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* edited by Marx in Hamburg. It sought to prove "that the political and religious theories were not the causes, but the result of that stage in the development of agriculture, industry, land and waterways, commerce and finance, which then existed in Germany."

In other words, this is a classic example of the application of the materialist conception of history to a great historical epoch. For that reason this work is an indispensable addition to Marxist literature in English.

The explanatory notes and index complete a well arranged book which will be specially appreciated by student readers.

T. B.

Lenin on Organisation, Lenin Library, Vol. 1. "Daily Worker" Publishing Company, U.S.A.

The problem of organisation is the problem of the proletarian revolution. Only a correct form of organisation can achieve and ensure victory for the proletarian class. Such is the essence of Bolshevism and all Communist Party teaching. Without the Bolshevik Party, i.e., the Soviet C.P., backed up by the Communist International, the nine years' victorious march of the Russian workers and peasants could not have been maintained.

Our Labour reformists in this country argue as if the Communist Party was a particular species of Russian growth. Ignoring the teachings of Marx, and the lessons of history, such as our own Chartist movement or the Paris Commune of glorious French experience, the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship for them does not arise. Where it is brought to the front, in contrast with the dictatorship of capitalism, these simpletons, dosed with the spurious doctrines of bourgeois democracy can only see a fantastic "red hand" of Moscow.

The Communist International does not ask its Sections to copy slavishly in all its details the methods of the Soviet C.P. Lenin was never

wearied in urging the Sections of the International to learn their own history, and organise on the basis of their own experience. At the same time every section of the International proletariat is enjoined to supplement and strengthen its own experience from the lessons to be learned from the working class in other lands. No country is so insular that it can afford to shut its eyes to the rest of the world. Modern capitalist economy creates interdependence in all phases of life, industrial, political, or social, and willy-nilly the working class is confronted with the task of organising upon an international scale to meet the onslaught of capitalism.

We, therefore, cannot ignore, even if we would, the events of the October revolution in what is now Soviet Russia. But no one can think of the October revolution without thinking of the Bolshevik Party, its organisation and its great leadership. Only mountebanks argue as if the Bolshevik Party sprung up overnight. They never speak of the long years of preparedness in organisation undertaken by the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin. It is just for such reasons we commend this useful collection of Lenin's writings and views on organisation now published by our brother party in America.

In this volume—the first of a series—we are taken back to 1901 when Lenin was discussing the problem of "Where to begin" in organisation. In the succeeding 14 chapters the reader makes an acquaintance with Lenin's views on a multitude of questions, such as often perplexes many active working-class fighters, e.g., how to distribute literature and the significance of the same, pure and simple economism, types of organisation, membership, opportunism in organisational questions, proletarian leadership, Party unity, and advice to Sections of the Comintern—all these and kindred subjects are dealt with in Lenin's own inimitable style.

"The strength of the working class is organisation. Without organisation the mass of the proletariat is nothing. Organised it is all. Organisation is unity of action, but of course, all action is useful only because, and to the extent that, it advances and does not retreat; to the

extent that it intellectually combines the proletariat and lifts it up, and does not degrade and weaken it. . . . The Communist Party is a section of the working class; its most progressive, most class conscious, and, therefore, its most revolutionary section.

. . . . We must work at forming a militant organisation and conducting political agitation even in "drab" and peaceful conditions, and even in the period of "declining revolutionary spirit." More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such a period that this work is necessary, because in the moment of outbreaks and outbursts it will be too late to set up an organisation. The organisation must be ready in order to be able to develop into activity immediately."

Such are a few choice extracts from this book, which we call for the benefit of our readers who are actively engaged or interested in our Party's campaign for recruits, as the best way of revering the memory of our great master and teacher.

Now that the Communist Party of Great Britain is on the high road to becoming a real mass party of the working class in this country, the problem of organisation becomes doubly important. We shall have to tackle this question for ourselves, leaving the working class to judge us for our successes and our failures. But we can learn much from the ripe experiences of the old Bolshevik Party, and best of all from the teachings of Lenin.

Every Party member, therefore, but certainly every Party functionary can derive a rich store of learning from these invaluable essays. Appended are a series of *Notes* making a mine of history in themselves. These with a useful introduction will enable the reader to understand what a long and arduous struggle was the lot of the Bolsheviks before victory crowned their efforts in October, 1917—a victory made more glorious by the nine years of proletarian dictatorship and consolidation of the Soviet Union.

A CORRECTION.

Page 387 in our December issue on last line of 8th verse of "The Lilt of the Revolution, the word "charging" should read "coming."—Ed.