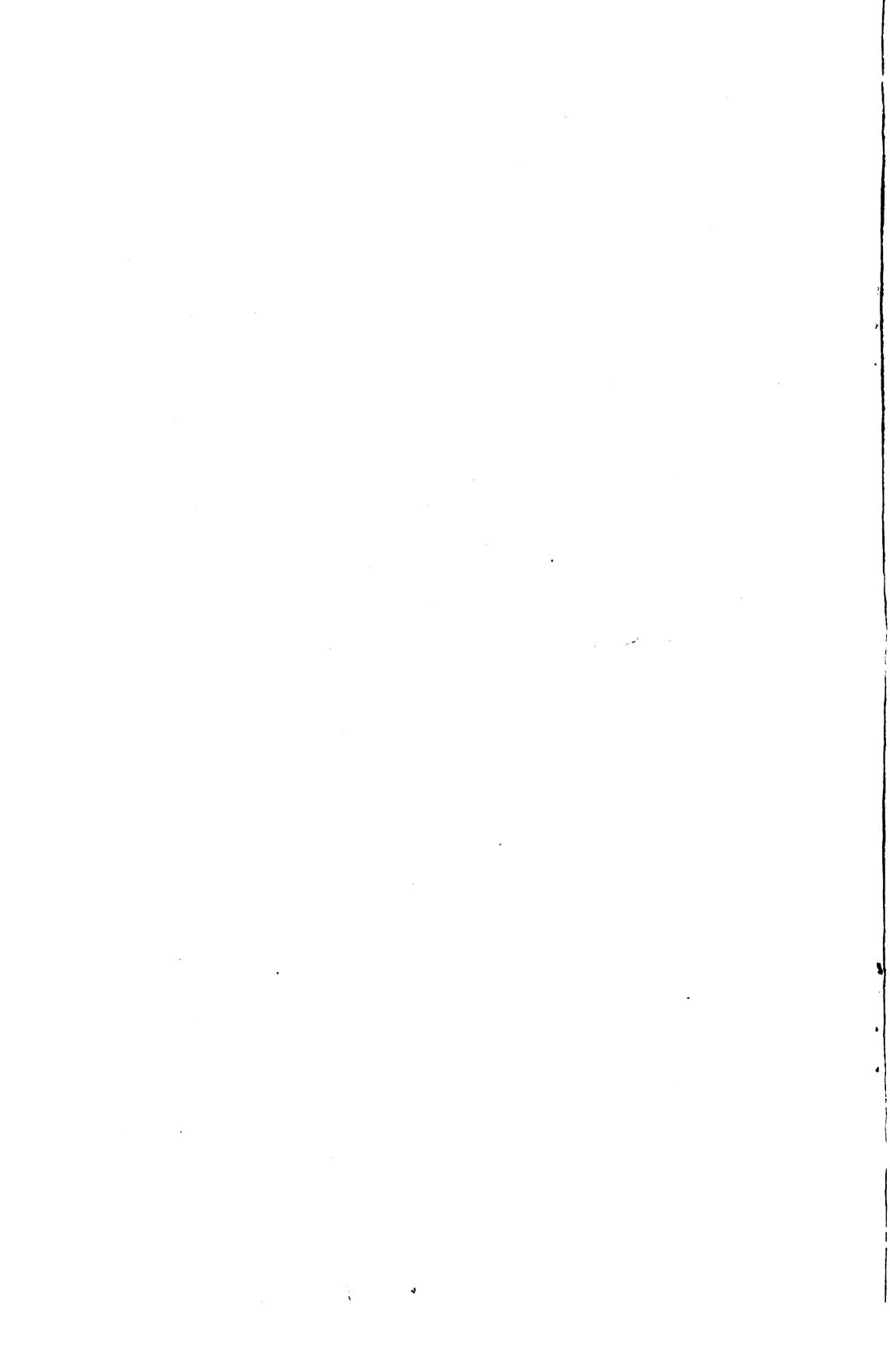


**THE  
COMMUNIST REVIEW**

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# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

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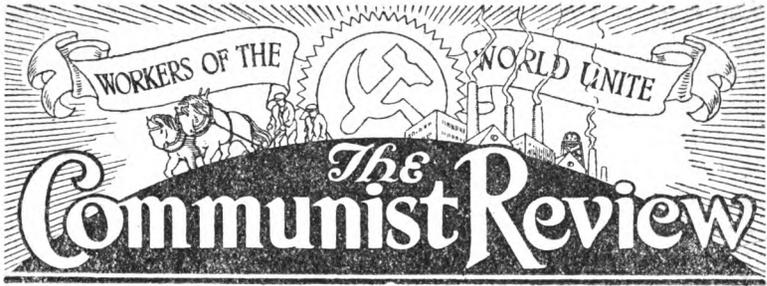


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## THE EDITORIAL VIEW

**A**DDRESSING a meeting of women unionists in the Queen's Hall, London, May 15th, the Home Secretary, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, amongst other threats, declared: "We mean, if necessary, to arm ourselves with effective powers against the Communist Party." This is a bit of straight talking. It is understandable language. There is no pacifist or democratic flavour about it. Evidently this government—a government of capitalists, a usurpation maintaining itself by equivocation—thinks its present powers so insufficient as to call for more "effective" scope to fight our Party!

This is not the first time the Home Secretary has spoken like this. Nor is he alone in these sentiments. We know that strong pressure is being brought to bear upon the Ministry to destroy the Communists. *For despite the experiment of the Labour Government to discredit Socialism, the mass of the workers are becoming more Socialist than ever.* What is more, larger and larger numbers of the best elements in the organised working class movement, notwithstanding calumny, lies and forged documents, are ceasing to be afraid of Communism and coming closer to the Communist Party.

We are a very modest party. We have never bragged of our strength. We know the extent of our influence, and the support we can muster from the working class. But when a responsible Minister of the Crown suggests it is necessary to have more effective powers against us, then we can congratulate ourselves on the correctness of our methods and policy. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks may rest assured he will not frighten nor intimidate us by threats of violence or "extraordinary" powers. It is long since we learned that

the class struggle was no drawing-room affair, and we shall know how to meet and deal with his kidnappers and burglars in our own time, *and in our own way.*

\* \* \* \* \*

It is worth while reflecting for a little upon the reasons why the Communist Party receives so much attention, and excites so much hatred and venom from the capitalist class and their lackeys. It has always been the proud boast of the British ruling class that Marxism, *i.e.*, real living Marxism, has never taken root in the working class movement of this country. And indeed, until the advent of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the main stream of Socialism took no Marxist line. Even the "Socialists" bragged of how "British" Socialism was different from "Continental" Socialism. With, however, the theoretical criticism of Lenin, particularly on the problems of imperialism and the state, the Communist Party has been able to find the proper key to the British Labour movement. It matters not that the numbers of our Party are small compared to the Labour Party, or less than the I.L.P. Given a correct estimation of forces underlying the class struggle, and a proper understanding of the driving factors in the immediate political issues of the day, plus the will to struggle, the Communist Party is bound to gain influence with the working masses and win through.

There are three factors of vital importance for a correct understanding of the British Labour situation. First, Great Britain no longer enjoys an unchallengeable monopolist position in the world market. Second, the colonial power of Great Britain is being severely shaken. Third, the Labour aristocracy is losing, if it has not already lost, its privileged position.

Here then, we think, is to be found the solution to the problem of "the English aversion to Marxism." So long as the British capitalists maintained a dominant place in world affairs, and London was the world's counting-house, Marxism could make little headway. All the objective conditions were against it. Every time there was a little war on, it was always miles and miles away from the "homeland." A powerful press was always able to concoct some "outrage" to justify a "civilising" mission. With each succeeding victory there always followed a little business in railways or textiles; for "trade always follows the flag." Not only in this way did work and wages for the artisan class find an impetus, or an unemployed crisis get staved off, but, as the Empire's Emporium grew, it reared a larger and larger class

of professional technicians, whose position became privileged at the expense of the colonial natives. In actual practice the British capitalists were by virtue of their empire domination, able to make concessions to the working class in the metropolis, and in the process corrupt the whole Labour movement, including its leaders.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is a far cry from the days of Pitt and Clive to "Jimmy Thomas." But history has been at work since then. The great war gave a great expansion to industrial productivity, particularly in the domain of textiles, iron and steel. The young peoples in the colonies, especially in India, Africa, Australia and Canada, have shot up almost overnight. The native bourgeoisie refuses to be bullied or talked down to. The proletariat and peasantry are revolting against exploitation; either from their own bourgeoisie, or the international financiers. Everywhere the demand goes up for full rights of self-government. In some cases, as *e.g.*, the maritime provinces of Canada, there is open talk of separation.

The capitalist owners of this huge ramshackle federation are becoming nervous. They see everywhere a loosening of the bonds taking place. That is why they are resorting to expensive and hysterical "Empire" propaganda, such as the Wembley sideshows, the subsidising of fascist and anti-Communist societies, and the rabid imperialist teachings in the State schools.

A new period has begun, rousing the masses to a new life, and demanding new methods of struggle. The old policy of "class collaboration" no longer suffices. The political consciousness of the British working class is being aroused, and it is looking beyond the frontiers of petty craft or national boundaries. It is, therefore, not accidental that the movement for international trade union unity is finding its strongest backing outside of Soviet Russia amongst the British workers.

Our Party has once and for all found the way out of "the English aversion to Marxism," which has held back the British Labour movement for decades. A part of the working class movement—the vanguard—we are determined to maintain a living organic contact with every mass movement, and to participate in all the struggles of the working class. For four years now the mandarins of the Labour Party have tried to isolate us from that Party, because they fear our influence and policy. In the trade union movement attempts to exclude the Communists are even more hopeless. It is an open secret that the Labour Party Executive

has found, after the report of the commission of enquiry into the operation of the clauses in the constitution against the Communists, that exclusion is impossible. The next Labour Party Conference, we hope, will end this futile attempt at exclusion, and back up the demand of the workers throughout the country for unity in the ranks against the forces of reaction.

\* \* \* \* \*

Not the least important contribution to the conquest of the "English aversion to Marxism" is the Bolshevisation of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Bolshevisation, unlike social-democracy, is not an arid or mechanical thing. Bolshevisation implies a definite type of organisation; its essence is the ability to estimate and conduct a correct line of policy towards the questions of the day, e.g., the trade unions, the colonies, etc. Above all, it is the ability to know how to work with the masses, and recruit them to the Party.

The transformation of the basis of our Party on to the factory group is therefore a step of tremendous historical and practical importance. Historically, it marks a definite break from the type of Socialists, who are Socialists only on Sundays, at parades, or in intellectual circles. Practically, it will make of every Communist a revolutionist in action as well as in speech.

By means of the factory nuclei and groups the workers are brought together to discuss their own grievances, as well as the general Labour problems; the Party newspapers or trade union journals are distributed, read and discussed. Communism and the C.P. thus becomes a living thing, Party members being compelled to assume definite responsibilities. Already we can record some practical results. From experience in the distribution of our factory newspapers we find growing up, on the part of the workers, a decided demand for theoretical knowledge and training. And this demand we intend to meet.

This, then, is the secret of the capitalist vendetta against the Communist Party. We are not only breaking through the traditional capitalist ways of thinking and doing things, in matters of civic life, and refusing to follow along the trail of the old-time trade unionists and Labour leaders, but we are creating an entirely new psychology amongst bigger and bigger circles of the working class. In place of the old ideas we are creating a new outlook, an outlook of confidence in the workers' own ability, and above all the determination to wage the class war to a successful issue.

# On the Road to the Proletarian Revolution

By C. M. ROEBUCK.

*In the following pages an attempt is made to sketch in rough outline the chief circumstances and problems facing us at the coming Seventh Congress of our Party.*

## 1. Twelve Months' Battle.

**T**HE approaching Party Congress is going to survey the world situation and the tasks of the Party in a more thorough and businesslike fashion than any of its predecessors. As far as one can tell a month beforehand, much less time is going to be spent on discussing faults of policy and organisation, and much more on the main tasks which lie ahead. Without running the risk of falling into "official optimism," one can fairly say that this is because, taken as a whole, the Party's policy has been correct and singularly free from deviations since the last Congress, while organisationally big strides have been made. Locals, districts and centre feel that they are the living parts of one Party much more vividly than before. This is due in the main to the fact that for many months the Party was alone, and subject to converging attacks from all quarters, in warning the workers that *the Labour Government was a government of capitalist agents in the ranks of the working class.*

## 2. The World Situation.

After the war and the riot of speculation which followed, the capitalist class saw only one way of restoring its lost vitality and re-establishing "normal" conditions. That was to take away from the workers the privileges won or conceded during the war. All over the world, the years 1920, 1921 and 1922 saw a determined attempt to achieve this—an attempt that won a considerable measure of success. But the capitalists' main object was nevertheless not achieved.

The tactical objective of defeating the workers was reached : the strategical objective of stabilising capitalism was not. This was due to two main reasons—the quarrels of the European capitalists amongst themselves (over reparations), and the fact that the strongest capitalist power after the war was the United States, and not Britain.

Not only were the European capitalists faced with a revival of the Labour movement immediately trade conditions improved ever so slightly (end of 1922 and 1923), but their own contradictions grew to such acuteness in 1923 that by the autumn the world revolution seemed once again likely to take a big stride forward, from Moscow to Berlin. Saved for the time being by opportunism within Labour's own ranks, the capitalists prepared a new tactical plan—to keep Labour quiet by conceding it the shadow of power, and meanwhile at all costs to come to some sort of agreement amongst themselves which would prevent the front being opened to the world revolution. The assistance of the opportunists in Labour's own ranks was assured. The first part of the execution of this tactical plan was the short-lived "era of democratic pacifism"—MacDonald's government in Britain, Herriot in France, Branting in Sweden, Mussolini's "repentance" in Italy, etc. It succeeded : Labour kept quiet. The Dawes Report was carried through.

We are now witnessing the sequel—a new attack on world labour, by world reaction, taking the form in Britain of a new mass attack on wages and hours. *Upon the workers' ability to meet and defeat this attack depends the success or failure of capital's new effort to stabilise itself on the basis of coolie labour in Germany.* There are plenty of latent and even open antagonisms still within the capitalist system—Britain against America all over the world, France against Britain in Europe, France, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia against Germany, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia against Bulgaria, China and Japan against Britain, and so forth—to say nothing of the perpetual and unweakening antagonism between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world. But the immediate front is that of capital against Labour, and particularly in Britain. A defeat on this front means that it is more difficult for us to utilise the difficulties of capitalism on its other fronts. A victory on this front means that every new complication facing capitalism will be a new encouragement to the workers for further attacks. Therefore, the Communists, without neglecting the other fronts, must concentrate on this one, particularly during the next few months.

### 3. International Trade Union Unity.

The growing popularity of the campaign for international trade union unity, not only in Britain, but even among the reformist-ridden trade unions of Germany, France and Belgium, is above all a sign that the workers have learnt the lesson of their defeats in 1921 and 1922, and in a general way realise the meaning of the particular historical period through which we are passing. Just as in Britain the signs of a new capitalist offensive has produced a widespread desire to avoid a new "Black Friday" (the setting up of "Councils of Action" by the trades councils, the miners' move for a new alliance), so the similar signs all over Europe, in many cases taking the form of white terror, have produced a strong agitation for world trade union unity. *The first effects of the Dawes Report have provided a common platform for workers in all countries.* The contrast between their own misery and the steady progress of the workers in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has added point to the campaign—first of all in Britain, of course, but more and more even in those countries where the British Trade Union delegation's report has been "blockaded" by the reformists. The workers are being given a practical demonstration that the policy advocated by the Communist International—of a common front of all workers against capital—is correct. Even the American workers, hitherto outside the politics of European Labour, seem likely to be drawn into the common struggle by the beginning of a new depression, caused by American capitalism preferring to invest in the cheap labour of Dawes-ridden Germany and Eastern Europe, rather than in dearer labour at home.

The fight for international trade union unity is likely to become more intense.

### 4. The Fight against Reformism in the Unions.

The fight for international trade union unity, the fight against capitalist aggression as a whole, is involving the workers more and more in a fight against reformism. The successes of the Minority Movement are in reality a sign that the workers are coming to look upon the unions less and less as a means of improving their individual well-being within the framework of the capitalist system, and more and more as a weapon of struggle against the capitalist class. For this reason the Minority Movement cannot be compared with previous "unofficial," "vigilance" and "reform" movements,

in the era of capitalist vigour. The prophecy of Engels, made as long ago as 1885, that there would "once again be Socialism in England," when the British workers lost the privileged position they enjoyed in comparison with workers of other countries, is coming true: for the struggle of the workers in the unions against capitalism as a whole is necessarily a Socialist struggle. In this struggle the workers naturally come up against the opposition of those reformist leaders who see the unions merely as corporations for improving conditions within capitalist society, struggling against individual capitalists, not against the capitalist class. There can be no doubt that, being comparatively near to the masses, many reformist leaders would rather swim with the current than against it. Without pushing away anyone who will fight, the task of the Communists in the Minority Movement is to see that this does not obscure in the eyes of the workers the fact that *their fight is a class fight against a class enemy, and not a fight for small reforms*; and to draw all the logical conclusions from the obstinate resistance of individual Liberals and reformists occupying elective trade union posts.

### 5. The Fight against Reformism in the Labour Party.

The fight against reformism in the trade unions necessarily involves a fight in the Labour Party, which still is based mainly on the unions, although not entirely so. But the fight is more bitter because of the special composition of the Labour Party—admitting Socialist societies and a special "individual members' section," which amounts to a separate society.

Within the Labour Party the Communists, as the vanguard of the workers, have to deal with the worst heritage of the long period when the British workers as a class were in the position of a world aristocracy, maintained at a higher level of comfort than other workers, out of scraps from the proceeds of the latter's exploitation. The Labour Party was originally formed for the purpose of advancing the sectional interests of the unions on the parliamentary field, not for the purpose of conducting a political struggle against the capitalist class as a whole. It naturally fell under the influence of reformists who in practice carried out a Liberal, *i.e.*, a middle class policy. After the war, when large sections of the middle class were brought nearer by economic depression to the proletariat, the doors of the Labour Party were thrown open to them, through the "individual members' sections," and the I.L.P. The definite aim of the re-

formist leaders of the Labour Party is to transform it from a federation of trade unions into a People's Party, *i.e.*, to draw the logical conclusions from the mass admission of the lower middle classes. This necessarily involves a bitter resistance to all attempts to make of the Labour Party a vehicle for expressing the growing demand of the workers for Socialism. The middle class leaders are reinforced by the presence of large groups of the middle class who are outside the trade unions. Thus the final conflict within the Labour Party is not only between the I.L.P. and the Communists, although these represent the vanguard of the two opposing sides: it is between the middle class, which gained the upper hand when the workers were still content to leave "politics" to the middle class, and the workers, who to-day want to play an active part in politics themselves. More and more the workers in the Labour Party (*i.e.*, in the trade unions) are coming to realise that the policy of the Labour Government was anti-Labour and pro-capitalist precisely because it was inspired by the middle-class bloc in the Labour Party. It is the business of the Communists to drive home this lesson, to keep on, persistently and doggedly, explaining the nature of the Labour Party, and to help the workers to form that working class counter-bloc within the Labour Party which the resistance to Socialism is necessitating, and which the existence of various "Left-wing" groups and tendencies is heralding. *The real "Left-wing" in the Labour Party will be a bloc of the working class against the bloc of the middle class.* At the same time the Communists need to warn the workers that, while the reformists could aspire to transform the Labour Party into a "People's" or Liberal Party by driving out first the Communists and ultimately the trade unions, the Labour Party, even if the Communists are re-admitted, is not a party in the real sense of the word, and at best will remain the parliamentary weapon of the trade unions, not the political vanguard of the workers. Within the trade unions, within all other working class organisations, within the mass of unorganised workers as well, the vanguard needs to be bound together in a single centralised political party, which has as its programme the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class.

## 6. The Fight against Imperialist Exploitation in the Colonies.

The main principles of the fight against British Imperialism are familiar to our Party. But in all probability we have not yet realised the magnitude of the prejudices still latent

in the British working class, and sown by years of indirect participation in the exploitation of the colonies. The watchword of "independence of the colonies" and "break-up of the Empire," is the only one which an honest Socialist can put forward. Any other watchword strengthens, instead of weakening, the capitalist class. Any other watchword tends to hide the real problem with which the British workers are faced in the colonies—namely, that their existence as a "closed market" for British commerce, or as a privileged field of investment for British capital (involving a special reservoir of cheap labour for the British capitalist), means special facilities for British capitalists to accumulate profits (let alone to recruit native soldiers who may be useful in trouble at home), and, therefore, to perpetuate their rule indefinitely. But just for this reason *the British capitalist class has done its utmost to sow misunderstanding of and contempt for the colonial peoples in the minds of the British workers*, and the fight against these prejudices is likely to be very bitter. This is particularly true in the case of those colonies where native industry, competing with British, has begun to develop (India and Egypt). Here there is already a strong tendency for Labour Imperialism to support British capitalist rule on the plea that the poor native workers are being exploited by their native capitalist, and that their cheap labour is consequently driving down British conditions. Here the Party must tell the workers frankly that British capitalist rule is no different in the long run, and no more considerate of British workers' standards: and that the chief guarantee for the native workers overthrowing their own capitalists, and thus getting an opportunity for raising their standards of living, is to throw off the grip of British imperialism (backed up by troops) on their country.

### 7. Bolshevisation of the Party.

The big struggle against capitalism, and against capitalist influence within the working class, has already been waged by our Party for nearly five years, and though there have been many mistakes, our success has been sufficient for us not to be ashamed. We have made good progress towards the transformation of our Party into a Bolshevik Party, i.e., an organisation rooted in the workers, in constant contact with them, studying and profiting by the experience of the class struggle summed up in Marxism and Leninism. But, as we have seen, to-day, we have to carry on this work farther. We have to widen our work in the trade unions, in the Labour Party, and in the colonies. These remain the chief activities which will make our Party a Bolshevik

Party. But there are two important subsidiary tasks. We have to undertake a big task of theoretical explanation to the workers—on the nature of the Labour Party, the tasks of the unions, the significance of the colonial struggle, and so on. The resolutions on the colonial question passed by the Scottish Trade Union Congress and other important trade union bodies, to take only one illustration, are giving practical proof that the saying: "The British workers are averse to theory" was only true of the old, reformist, aristocratic period of British Labour. To-day the workers are beginning (only beginning) to want theory. Again, the need of the workers for leadership in their daily struggles in the factory; the need of the Party for close contact with the masses in their daily lives, not only with the militant minority of a minority that we meet in the trade union branches, the ever-nearing flood of White Terror that is creeping over Europe, the abandonment of the pretence of impartial justice in the case of the Fascist attack on Pollitt, —these things are dictating a new step in the organisational policy of the Party. *The two new links in the chain that must be added are intensification of Marxist and Leninist training, and re-organisation on the basis of factory groups.* Without these, our work in the unions and on the other fields will at best leave us in the position of a propagandist organisation and at worst may involve very serious confusion and errors in our own ranks. With these links, we shall take a big step forward to recruiting the vanguard of the workers, and keeping them in our ranks. That means that we shall become a Mass Party, which is one of the biggest problems of Bolshevisation to-day.



# Bucharin on 'Trotskyism'

[Last month we published a lengthy criticism by Comrade Arthur McManus of Max Eastmann's book on "Since Lenin Died." This book attacks the present leaders of the Russian Communist Party, and attempts to give the "facts" regarding the recent discussion led by Comrade Trotsky. Comrade McManus had no difficulty in reducing Eastmann's book to a collection of gossipy tales. This month we print for the first time in English the speech of Comrade Bucharin on "Trotskyism," delivered at the Tenth Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern in April of this year.—Editor.]

**T**HE discussion in the Russian Communist Party was not over the appreciation of any individual, but over a line of political policy; therefore, in order to judge this question properly, we must eliminate all personalities and only investigate and estimate the various political tendencies.

We are living in that period of the development of the revolutionary, the Communist, movement in which in Western Europe we have a protracted development of the revolutionary movement, and in which, in spite of the growth of the Soviet economy, fresh obstacles arise in our path. If we analyse the position in all our Parties carefully and soberly, we shall observe, on the one hand, a serious opportunist danger, and on the other, certain ultra-left deviations. We, however—and this is the principle doctrine of Leninism—must have neither a left nor a right policy, but a correct Marxian policy. We must, therefore, not only combat the opportunist danger, but also the "ultra-left" deviations.

When we examine the relation of forces within the Comintern, we immediately observe that a *bloc* exists, to which the elements of the Russian opposition and the right elements of the Comintern generally belong (and this was brilliantly illustrated in Comrade Kreibich's speech here at the Plenum) and to which also the "ultra-left" belong. It is well known that Comrade Bordiga has associated himself with Comrade Trotsky. When certain comrades say that there is no such thing as Trotskyism, that no such tendency exists at all, we can refute this by the mere fact alone that within the Comintern there is at least an attempt to concentrate the forces against the official policy of the Comintern. The Comintern must combat and overcome these ideological deviations and these politically harmful tendencies.

There is not the slightest doubt that crises in the Comintern are the more significant for the fact that they are immediately exploited by our avowed and semi-avowed enemies. You know that all the ex-members, all the expelled members of the Comintern, who now have become the avowed opponents of the Comintern, support the Russian opposition and all the elements in our Parties which support the Russian opposition. Of this we can be convinced from the statements made by the Hoeglunds, the Tranmaels and Balabanova, by the Italian Maximalists, by Rosmer and Monatte and others. Moreover not only the renegades but also the bourgeois politicians, who fully appreciate the significance of the discipline in the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern, desire to exploit the incidents in the Russian Communist Party.

The discussion and the expressions even of the whole extreme imperialist press of all capitalist countries adopt the policy of objectively supporting our opposition. Of course, it cannot be said that our opposition and Comrade Trotsky are personally connected with these elements. It is in the mechanics and in the division of these social forces that every disruptive factor in our ranks is immediately supported by our enemies.

We must refer to another category of individuals to be found to a certain extent in our ranks, namely, the individuals who might be described as sentimental Communists. These usually are very good fellows, but they totally lack political sense. They are pained by these discussions and regard them not from the political, but from the sentimental standpoint. They say that we ought not to ill-treat a comrade like Trotsky and that generally it is unpleasant to discuss such things. This, of course, is all very virtuous, and no doubt these people will find their reward in heaven, but from the political standpoint, from the standpoint of the class struggle, this kind of criticism is, of course, useless. Our task is to find the correct line of policy, and to appreciate properly the incorrect line of policy of our opposition.

Many foreign comrades may put the following question to us: How is it that Comrade Trotsky has for so many years done brilliant work in the Party, and that now a conflict should have broken out? There is a very "popular" explanation to the effect that while Lenin lived, everything was well kept together, and now that he is dead, all his pupils are beginning to come to loggerheads and that Trotsky is one of the first victims of the conflict. Of course Lenin's

role cannot be minimised, but the fact that our controversy with Comrade Trotsky has assumed an acute form has no connection at all with Comrade Lenin's death.

The two specific features of Trotskyism in its present form are, on the one hand, the under-estimation of the role of the peasantry, and on the other, the over-estimation of the role of the State apparatus. During the period of war Communism these features of Trotskyism were not so dangerous; they became dangerous only after we adopted the New Economic Policy. NEP demands other methods, more subtle discrimination, and the elements which were useful in the previous period are dangerous in the new period. During the period of war Communism our relations with the peasantry were very simple. It was a military alliance. On the other hand, the interference of the apparatus of the State in social life was developed to the maximum, and during that period was the normal condition. As soon as we adopted the New Economic Policy, however, the situation changed.

The social importance of the peasantry came to the forefront: quite different, less elementary, methods, therefore, had to be adopted, and it was on this account that the antagonisms between the majority of the Central Committee and Comrade Trotsky became more acute on the threshold of the New Economic Policy. The controversy began over the Trade Union question. Later differences over important political, and more particularly over economic, questions became more acute and developed into the discussion of 1923 and the more recent discussion.

Among foreign comrades, there is a widespread view that Trotskyism is nothing else but Menshevism, but that is a very crude estimate of the subject and is absolutely false. We must understand Trotskyism in its specific form as a peculiar system. I think that the best way of describing Trotskyism would be to explain certain concrete questions.

Is it an accident that the last discussion broke out just at the moment when the Party was adopting a new orientation towards the peasant question? The objective grounds for this discussion were that in this new epoch of peaceful development, of the recognition of the Soviet Government by capitalist powers, the relations between the workers and the peasants assume other forms. We must seek new methods for maintaining the hegemony of the proletariat. We are in a new economic situation, new social relations

exist between the classes, and consequently we are also in a new political situation. The whole Party is with difficulty seeking new paths and this was reflected in the discussion with Comrade Trotsky. The following questions were discussed—the question of the so-called dictatorship of industry, economic planning, the prices policy of our trusts and syndicates, monetary reform, the question of Socialist accumulation, and the fight against private capitalism.

There are comrades who will probably ask whether differences of opinion cannot here be tolerated, and whether differences of opinion on these questions are so very terrible. We must, however, bear in mind that we in Russia are not conducting a mere literary discussion. When we were in opposition, such literary discussions and such deviations from correct policy were not so dangerous, since the literary exercises were not transformed into practical politics. To-day, however, it is different. When the Party comes to a decision on a question, *e.g.*, the question of prices policy, that decision immediately becomes the decision of the government, and affects our economic life, and, therefore, our political life. On these concrete questions depend the whole of our economic life and our whole economic development. By such literary exercises we may wreck the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently such deviations—especially on such an acute question as the relations between the working class and the peasantry—are for us a question of life and death.

The relations between the working class and the peasantry have recently become very important—or rather have assumed a quite new footing. The conflicts that formerly arose between the working class and the peasantry were due to the process of impoverishment. But now we are on the rise, our economic life is developing; the output of our industry last year increased by more than 30 per cent. and our agriculture is also expanding. In many branches of industry wages have reached the pre-war level, and in some branches have even exceeded it. The peasant is selling more. So is industry. With this expansion new dangers have arisen. The reason for these dangers is that the more the peasant sells the more interested he is in the price of necessities. On the other hand, the working class is interested in the low price of bread. And this contradiction of interests between the purchaser and seller furnishes the basis for various discontents within the peasant class.

There is also a social economic difficulty. The forces of

production in agriculture and industry are developing rapidly; the number of employed workers is increasing, yet over-population is so great that, in spite of the expansion of industry, unemployment in the towns is growing, and, in spite of the expansion of agriculture, there is apparently a large surplus population in the countryside. In this connection we observe the following interesting phenomena in agriculture. The village poor, who have no opportunity of employing their labour power, are often opposed to us because we forbid wage labour in agriculture. In the same way the upper sections of the village are also against us, because we do not allow them to employ wage labour. Naturally there are powerful counter-tendencies, and the whole process results in violent contradictions. Politically the position is that the peasant is far more active, his horizon has become far more extended, and he is taking a much more energetic part in political life, in the work of the Soviet machine, the village soviets, the co-operatives, etc. For this there are also specific reasons.

Formerly we held a great trump card in the hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry. Our trump card was the fact that the Bolshevik Party was the only party which divided the landowners' land among the peasants. During the civil war, the most powerful argument in our agitation was that the landowner would take back the land in the event of the dictatorship of the proletariat collapsing. Many years have passed since them. A new generation has grown up in the villages. Our enemies have already lost all hope of recovering the land. And as a result we have lost our trump card. It is the result of our growth, it is true, but that does not alter the fact.

As I said in my report yesterday, the characteristic factor in the situation, from the point of view of the social relation of forces, is that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are carrying on an obstinate fight for the peasantry. That is also the case with us. We are growing, but at the same time the danger of a rupture between the proletariat and the peasantry is also growing. We cannot employ the old methods any longer; we need new methods and those methods take two forms. Economically we must so improve our industry that the peasantry can obtain cheaper goods from the state industries than from the bourgeoisie. And politically, we must not relax our dictatorship, and must under no circumstances so change our policy that the class domination of the proletariat becomes the dictatorship of the proletariat *and* the peasantry. We must create such circumstances that

the dictatorship is consolidated by new methods consonant with the new class relations. The main thing to-day is persuasion, so-called peaceful methods, rather than the methods of pressure which were specific to and characteristic of the time of military communism.

This task is an extremely difficult one : the cadres which lived in the villages are blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh ; they grew up in the period of military Communism. To re-educate them is very difficult. That is the objective basis of our discussion. It was, therefore, not a personal collision as vulgar people think. Of course, without the personal element a conflict between human things is unfortunately impossible. But the objective basis of the conflict was the necessity for a new orientation of our party in the most important question of social life, *i.e.*, the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry.

At the beginning of the discussion we were in the midst of a great economic crisis. Our industry was unable to sell its products. The circulation of goods was hampered. That was the first fact. The second fact was that the Soviet rouble had sunk to zero. The peasants would no longer accept Soviet money. We had not a "Smytchka," not an alliance, but rather a rupture between the town and the country. These were the circumstances in which the Party had to find a solution. It was not a question of theory, but in very fact a question of life and death for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Two political or economic-political policies existed, representing, so to speak, two systems.

Comrade Trotsky asserted that the cause of the crisis was to be sought in the fact that there was no plan in industry. The only way of saving the situation was to increase the elements of planned economic life by a drastic concentration of industry, by various administrative measures in the sphere of the organisation of industry, etc. All the opposition comrades shared this point of view. The important thing with them, therefore, was the question of the economic plan. Comrade Trotsky also expressed the same thought as follows. He said : We have now the dictatorship of our Commissariat for Finance, but the Commissariat for Finance often does not give enough money to industry. That was an expression of anarchy and absence of plan in the conduct of industry. Everything else must be considered of secondary importance. Comrade Trotsky and the opposition adopted a similar attitude towards the question of prices and the monetary reform. For them they were secondary and of sub-

ordinate importance. The central point was economic planning.

Our Party Central Committee had an entirely different view of the situation. Its opinion was that we were faced with two important problems: the problem of monetary reform and the problem of lower prices, a prices policy which was bound up with the reduction of the cartel profits of our trusts and syndicates. Of course, planned economy is better than anarchic economy. Our aim is to get closer to planned economy; we prefer planned economy to anarchy in economy. Planned economy is the approach to Socialism. There is no question here of a fight with Liberals to prove that Socialist economy is better than anarchic economy. The question is one of practical measures, as to what steps are to be taken in order to achieve planned economy.

In the situation which then existed all talk of planned economy was empty words, unless the monetary reform could be carried out. What was the most important thing? We have to count with the fact that in our country we have millions of people living under conditions of commodity economy. Industry is in the hands of the state. But the peasantry consists entirely of small producers. How can we then approach planned economy when the monetary system has gone to pieces? What sort of plan can we construct when the peasant is unable to calculate, when he cannot sell, and when he receives worthless money? The same is true of industry. Industry was also unable to calculate, to draw up a balance sheet, or to start enterprises. We had no markets for our goods, and in general there could be no rational elements in our economic life. Consequently, the first step towards planned economy was monetary reform. But in order to bring about monetary reform, we had to adopt various measures. With a state budget which was based upon paper issues, monetary reform was impossible. Consequently we had frequently to give the various branches of industry too little money, in order to maintain a stable currency, to make it unnecessary to resort to currency issues, and to be in a position to carry out monetary reform.

In these circumstances, what does the demand of the dictatorship of industry over our "Ministry of Finance" mean? I must point out here that our Commissariat of Finance is not the same thing as a Ministry of Finance in a bourgeois state. Our state budget affects the *entire* economic life of the country. The Finance Commissariat is for us a directing organ; it is the most important thing in all of our

social-economic life. Much has been said about the plan. In what can such a plan consist? Only in a certain proportion between industry and peasant agriculture. However, the ratio of industry to agriculture as a whole is the basis of various ratios within industry. The plan of proportionality only within industry is an empty abstraction, a dilettante's toy. Therefore, if the Commissariat of Finance is the kind of authority we have pictured it to be, whose dictatorship do we need, provided that we use this term at all? Only that of the Finance Commissariat, of course. And what does the dictatorship of industry over the Commissariat of Finance signify? Nothing but an inability to comprehend that our industrial production should be dependent upon the agricultural markets.

Of course, Trotsky admits theoretically that we must have a bond between the proletariat and the peasantry, between town and country. Several comrades believe that when Trotsky makes that statement, the matter is settled. But it is not a question of the statement, but of the actual economic and political orientation and the corresponding practice. The policy of the dictatorship of industry was incorrect. It was based on an under-estimation of the peasant market in relationship to our industry. In the question of the plan it is clear that the entire problem was put incorrectly by Trotsky. The root of this mistake was the sceptical attitude toward currency reform.

You may ask: "Good, but why such a hubbub about it?" I repeat: everything depends upon this question. An incorrect policy in this problem leads us to destruction. If we should now ask ourselves, after the experience of the last few years, "What would have happened if the reform of the currency had not been carried out?" we should have to reply that we would have collapsed, for working with a ruined financial system would have meant a breach between town and country, and, in consequence, between the proletariat and the peasantry. Hence the reason why our discussion was fought out so bitterly.

Now for a second question. Is it perhaps an accident that in four or five of the most urgent and important political questions Comrade Trotsky, and with him a number of other comrades, acted incorrectly? Can one from that already determine the existence of Trotskyism or not? We must analyse that conscientiously. In the first phase the discussion was carried on upon very definitely practical questions. At the beginning of the last discussion, the so-called preface to

the new (or rather the old) book of Comrade Trotsky illuminated for us the entire situation within the Party. What was the most important thing in this preface? Many comrades believe that what was most important was the attack upon several comrades because of their position during the October revolution; they believed that caused all the fuss and was why the heated discussion began within the Party, a discussion which has in part made its way into the Communist International. This point of view is a very superficial view of the entire situation.

The most important thing in this preface is the statement that his estimate of the driving forces of the Russian Revolution, which were crystallised in the so-called "theory of the permanent revolution," had proved to be correct. One might ask what harm or advantage can such a theory cause us. That is, comrades, no literary question, but the most vital problem of our policy. And we have seen that all through the entire policy of Comrade Trotsky there runs a red thread, the under-estimation of the peasantry. Is that connected with Trotsky's false theory of the permanent revolution? Of course, root and branch. Trotsky's wrong proposals are deeply rooted in the previous theory of the permanent revolution which we fought for decades as a political form of reformism.

Now a few words on this theory of the permanent revolution. As you know, our Party, the Bolshevik wing of the Social-Democratic Party, with Lenin at its head, maintained during the revolution of 1905 that in Russia the bourgeois-democratic revolution was pending and that the key of this social transformation lay in the agrarian problem. Lenin formulated this thesis very definitely. He said that the national peculiarity of the Russian Revolution lay precisely in the agrarian problem. The principal slogan issued by us at that time was that of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. For instance, we at that time fought against the formulation of our Polish comrades: "The dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the peasantry." Trotsky and Parvus had a third slogan: "Down with the Czar, and up with the Workers' Government." That was, however, no concession to the Brandlerites. What were the differences between these slogans? We maintain that the bourgeois revolution was impending, that the vitalising forces of this bourgeois revolution are the peasantry and the proletariat. That after the victory of the revolution we would have the victorious revolution, the Jacobin dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. That the

axis around which this whole movement would revolve was the peasantry and the agrarian problem. Hence, our entire agrarian programme, etc.

Comrade Trotsky now says and writes : "I am right! I said at that time that the proletarian dictatorship would be established; that has happened. I said at the time that not the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but the proletarian dictatorship must be established."

At that time he said : "Socialist revolution." Lenin said : " Bourgeois revolution." Trotsky now maintains that he was right. He had demanded the Socialist revolution, and the Bolsheviks had not. Hence, Trotsky maintains—and that is the logical development of his train of thought—Bolshevism was *one* thing prior to February, 1917, and has become something else after the February revolution. The nature of Bolshevism, he maintains, has changed; Bolshevism has been Trotskyised, and this Trotskyised Bolshevism is the correct tactical and strategical doctrine.

In an essay by Lenin written in 1917, we find a note upon a discussion with Trotsky. Lenin quotes several words from one of Trotsky's speeches and says : Trotsky maintains that Bolshevism has re-organised itself; it has become a new Bolshevism. He can, therefore, call himself a Bolshevik, he will collaborate with the Bolsheviks, but just because they (the Bolsheviks) have changed. Trotsky believes—that is the vital point—not that he has come to Bolshevism, but that Bolshevism has come to Trotsky, and therefore it has been possible for him to become a member of our Party. That is the logic of Comrade Trotsky's arguments.

We should clearly understand wherein his errors lay, and why his arguments are dangerous, extremely dangerous. Many years elapsed since the first revolution and the February revolution. When Comrade Trotsky advocated this point of view as against the Bolsheviks, he developed amongst others the following train of thought : the Bolsheviks are not dangerous before victory; they are, however, extraordinarily dangerous after victory. The Party has two souls : a revolutionary one and a counter-revolutionary one; that is, the soul of the peasant, of the small owner of private property, and that is why the Bolsheviks are dangerous after the victory, must be dangerous because their counter-revolutionary allies, the peasants, will necessarily and inevitably proceed against the proletariat. And the Bolsheviks

will support these counter-revolutionary tendencies. That was Trotsky's standpoint during the first revolution.

In general, he spoke as follows of the relationship of the peasantry to the proletariat: after the victory of the revolution we shall inevitably have bitter and very violent conflicts with the peasantry, and with Russia's social composition we are irreparably, necessarily, lost without the state aid of the victorious Western European proletariat. Yet we see that the Russian Revolution is not lost even without the governmental aid of the Western European proletariat. We have, it is true, various conflicts with the peasantry, but they are not of such a nature as to lead us to destruction; and we believe that in this respect we are rather immortal.

Trotsky's error consisted and still consists, frankly speaking, in the incorrect estimate of the class relationships and in a misunderstanding of the fact that these relationships are continually changing. If, for instance, in the first revolution we had followed Comrade Trotsky and had issued the slogan of the Workers' Government in the expectation that, immediately after the seizure of power, we should have had a breach with the peasantry, we should have lost the revolution entirely. During the first revolution we had to consider the peasant questions as the axis of the revolutionary movement. That was absolutely correct, and the slogan "Workers' and Peasants' Government" was at that time also absolutely correct. Our Bolshevist tactics led to victory just because we understood how to utilise all social forms in the process of the developing revolution and how to concentrate all our energy against the enemy forces. Our revolution did not develop according to Comrade Trotsky's plan, and our tactics were not Trotskyist, but specifically Bolshevist, Leninist tactics.

Remember the February Revolution. Even at that time we emphasised the slogan, "The Land to the Peasantry." We did not issue the slogan of the Workers' Government even eleven years after the first revolution: but Lenin wrote after his April thesis: "Petty bourgeois Soviets with a peasant majority." Immediately after the October revolution, he accepted the platform of the Social Revolutionaries, as I have pointed out; we even formed a coalition government with the Left Social Revolutionaries after the seizure of political power.

We utilised against Czarism and the Kerensky Government not merely proletarian forces, but the proletariat and

the entire peasantry, including the rich peasants. Later the struggle developed further and further. We founded committees of the village poor. The class struggle flared up with greater violence in the villages, and that is why the Left S.R. left the government, and not in connection with the murder of Mirbach. The splitting off of the rich peasants and of a section of the middle peasants is the further development of the class struggle. We have gone through all phases, the bourgeois revolution in February and the October Revolution, which also contained elements of the Socialist and bourgeois revolutions. As a result of this process, we obtained the proletarian dictatorship. That is exactly the opposite of what Comrade Trotsky imagined the line of development would be.

Now Trotsky has the subjective illusion that Bolshevism has been transformed with Lenin's aid in the spirit of Trotsky. Lenin is dead, the old "counter-revolutionary" features can now again make their appearance within Bolshevism and, therefore, the alarm must be sounded and the Party must be won for real Trotskyism. This illusion is by no means neutral, but has a practical effect and the entire dictatorship of the proletariat would be destroyed if we were not to combat this.

From Comrade Trotsky's conception there follows that, if Bolshevism can manifest counter-revolutionary features, the present epoch is the most suitable for this. Lenin is dead. The peasantry is becoming more and more active and wants a stronger opposition. The Party membership must, therefore, be gained for Trotskyism and the Bolshevik old guard must be shaken up a bit.

The Central Committee is continuing the policy of Leninism, which is developing continuously and always adapts itself to the situation. The principle Leninist teachings upon the relationship of the proletariat to the peasantry are being put into practice by the Central Committee and are being attacked by our opposition with Trotsky at the head. It would, of course, be entirely false to believe that we have here a subjective lack of sincerity on Trotsky's part. He is an absolutely honest Party comrade. Objectively, he is playing a great disorganising role within the Party.

Now this question of "shaking up" the old guard played an important role in the first discussion. The Opposition said that the Central Committee of the Party had led the country to the edge of the abyss; that there is the possibility

of the degeneration of our Central Committee. They maintain that the youth must come to the fore; and then there was the question of the freedom of factions and of groupings within the Party.

We all know that the organisational principle of Leninism is that all questions can and must be discussed, but not in accordance with the principle of factions. And when Trotsky now says that that is not correct, that the individual groupings must have greater freedom, he pursues a strategical and tactical goal. There was a period when the majority of the Moscow comrades were in the same opposition. The Opposition hoped that with the demand for the freedom of groupings they could win the Party. This hope, however, has proved false. Only a few comrades of the old Opposition have held to their old standpoint, but we have had to fight this out, just because the ideological standpoint of our Opposition, and especially of Comrade Trotsky, represented a deviation from the line of Leninism, a deviation in so important a question as that of the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry.

There were many other questions which I cannot take up here. I will only say a few words upon the tendency towards the separation of our state apparatus from the Party. This tendency was present in many proposals of Comrade Trotsky, and of the Opposition, and was justified by the necessity of a better division of labour. This tendency was and is dangerous. Of course, the Party should not interfere in all the small problems of the state apparatus, but it is an absolutely necessary pre-requisite for the existence of the proletarian dictatorship that the Party retain a position of leadership with respect to the state apparatus.

This over-estimation of the state apparatus and under-estimation of the role of the Party in the state apparatus is one of the tendencies branded as petty bourgeois deviations by our Party Conferences and Party Congress. We must, therefore, understand that our Party and our C.E.C. had to undertake the most determined struggle against all these deviations. When several foreign comrades, oppositionally inclined, write articles in which they do not discuss the fundamental problems, but only the chatter, they show that they are politically bankrupt. If we solve incorrectly the problem of the role of the state apparatus, of the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry, and the problem of discipline within our Party, that leads irrevocably to the liquidation of our dictatorship.

And it is no accident that all our enemies within and outside of the country immediately began to support the Party Opposition. Why? Because they expected that the Opposition would undermine the forces of the Party. The last move of Comrade Trotsky brought this question up before the International, and, as I have already mentioned, there is a certain bloc of Robinson Crusoes, of Trotskyism, in the various countries. (They are so isolated that they can really be called Robinson Crusoes.)

Comrades, in this discussion, in this struggle, we naturally did not only take organisational steps. We mobilised all the intellectual forces of our Party. We have created a whole new literature. We have experienced a great ideological mobilisation of our Party, and we can assure you that after these two discussions our Party has risen a stage higher. It has no longer only the old Bolshevist cadres but also many new elements which also have the necessary experience.

One of the comrades told me that he did know that he formerly was no Bolshevik, but now he knows it. That was symptomatic of the situation in the Party. We do not want to maintain that our Party is now 100 per cent. Bolshevist. But in this first and second discussion we have won a brilliant Bolshevist victory. We overcame Trotskyism ideologically; we isolated the opposition leaders, and only then did we take various organisational measures. You know all our measures and the decisions of the Party Central Committee concerning Comrade Trotsky's last move, which was connected with Comrade Trotsky's removal from the War Commissariat. However, I emphasise here that we did a great work of preparation and this had a highly educative effect upon the development of our entire Party.

As for the further development of our Party, the Central Committee will in the future also consider it its primary obligation to carry on the most resolute struggle—connected with the most extensive work of enlightenment—against deviations. We cannot exist, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist, if within our ranks such grave deviations from the Leninist standpoint make their appearance.

There are comrades who say that Trotsky is a great man and that, therefore, we should have acted otherwise. It is just because Trotsky is a great man that his deviations are dangerous, for they become an event in the life of the Party, a disorganising force.

Comrades, we have been recognised by most of the imperialist powers; we are thus at peace. We see our growth politically and economically. But we have an extremely contradictory spirit of development. I have already pointed out the difficulties within the country. But even outside the country, the difficulties continue to exist. The extraordinary growth of the Soviet Union gives rise to new endeavours of the world bourgeoisie to fight against us. We are in a transition period, and, therefore, by no means require less discipline than before. We need a finer, more varied method of support of the proletarian dictatorship, but the finer the methods we employ, the more we require absolutely homogeneity in the entire leadership of our Party.

I, therefore, on behalf of our Party, request the Enlarged Executive to lend its complete support to the measures of the Central Committee against Trotskyism.

## Our New Push A Success

**I**N reducing the price of the REVIEW to fourpence, we were taking a risk, as we said in the May issue. Nevertheless, we think it was worth it. Our circulation, so far as we can estimate at the time of writing, has nearly doubled. That is not enough, although it is splendid from the fact that the Party members have responded to our appeal for more work on behalf of the REVIEW. What is necessary at the present time is the interest of all our members in the magazine, and another *four thousand readers*. That should not be so difficult. *Repeat the work of last month* and we shall have them. If we get those extra readers, we can launch out straight away and issue the REVIEW at **THREEPENCE**.

THE Party members will have the burden of pushing and circulating. That is obvious, since the capitalist distributing agents won't handle it. We intend to do our part in making the REVIEW more attractive, so that the task of selling it will not be so difficult. We do not say we can make it a brilliant magazine all at once. We will just keep on improving.

ON THIS point we again ask for the help and advice of our readers. Write to us and say what you think about the REVIEW. If you do not like the get-up, say so. If you do not like the articles, say so. But in saying so, tell us WHY you do not like them. We cannot promise to publish all correspondence, but remember your opinion is valuable in helping us to realise our aim.

A better and brighter Review for threepence—that's our aim. To get this we need but one thing—every Party member a reader, and active agent.

# Women In Industry

By M. FRANCE.

**T**HE presence of women in the "noble" pursuit of commodity production assumes greater definition and becomes more perceptible with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century.

The introduction to an increased extent of the factory and workshop system, allied with the growing application of steam power to machinery, enabled the capitalistic organisation with its insatiable demand for profits to draw women from the home into the workshop. The machine tended to destroy the advantage man possessed by virtue of his greater strength. Women and children could tend machines and were found to be considerably cheaper than male labour. Factories were opened in increasing numbers; the countryside was enclosed and migration to the towns proceeded apace. Labour power was wanted, but it had to be cheap, for capital had to be accumulated somehow.

The changes brought about by the revolutionising effects of the introduction of power-driven machinery were such as to cause at the beginning of the last century in a large number of cases a complete reversal of previous custom. The wife and children went out to their daily work in the factory while the husband stayed at home. His labour power was too expensive!

The inexorable laws of necessity acted as the driving force compelling women to leave their homes for the factory and workshops. They gained their entry by competition, and became during the early part of the nineteenth century victims of the most vicious system of exploitation yet known in history, whilst the employers invented religious and economic theories which gave them holy and pedagogic sanction for the iniquitous crimes which were perpetrated in their factories.

The introduction of women into the division-of-labour scheme was fraught with intense suffering and sorrow for these victims of a revolutionised industry; nevertheless, they entered and have stayed, and they will remain, if we are to judge by the relevant social facts, for economic conditions are supreme rulers.

### Women in Industry.

Reliable statistics relating to the employment of women in industry, covering the greater and earlier portion of the last century are not available, but in 1919 a Cabinet Committee dealing with the question of Women in Industry issued a Report (Cmd. 135) from which it is possible to glean some very interesting information. According to this publication the proportion of women employed in the *Chemical Trades* increased from about one woman in 15½ persons employed in 1861, to one woman in 3½ persons employed in 1911.

In the *Textile Trades* something like the same number of men and women were employed in 1855, but in 1914 the proportion was four women to three men.

In 1861 the *Food, Drink and Tobacco Trades* employed 4½ men to one woman. By 1911 the proportion had fallen to about two to one.

In the *Paper and Printing Trades* nearly four times as many men as women were employed in 1861, but the proportion in 1911 was less than two to one.

In the *Pottery Trade*, subsequent to 1891, the proportion of men to women went down from 2½ to 1½.

And so we could go on for all those industries where mechanical processes have been applied with ever-increasing ingenuity. For it is to be noted that it is generally only the introduction of machinery which brings women into industry in increasing numbers.

As the Report points out regarding the Metal Trades, "It was only with the development of automatic machinery in the 'nineties that women entered general engineering on drilling and milling machines, and in the small engineering shops."

The increase in the number of women employed in commerce was not less than in industry proper. The proportion of women to men commercial clerks grew enormously. Between 1881 and 1911 the number of men rather more than doubled (175,000) but that of women multiplied twenty-fold (from 6,000). In London, between 1911 and 1921 there was an increase of women clerks and typists of nearly 200 per cent.

In the professional ranks, *i.e.*, teachers, nurses, etc., the

proportion of women to men went up from about two to three in 1861 to one to one in 1911.

The Report goes on to state, “. . . there is no doubt that the enlargement of women’s operations went on with increasing rapidly from 1901 onward. Between that year and 1911 the numbers working on metal, machines, etc., had increased by 52.4 per cent., and on paper, books, stationery and prints by 30.8 per cent. against an increase of female population over ten of 12.6 per cent.”

It is important to note that “The proportion of women to men engaged in industry proper (that is leaving out the one or two-thirds million women engaged in domestic service alone, also such occupations as employment in hotels, theatres, etc., agriculture and the professions) at July, 1914, was three men to one woman.”

The following table, however, shows the total numbers of both sexes engaged in all occupations with the total populations. The figures relate only to England and Wales.

	1881		1891		1921	
	Total Population	Total Employed	Total Population	Total Employed	Total Population	Total Employed
Men	12,639,702	7,753,000	14,052,901	8,805,000	18,075,239	12,112,718
Women	13,334,537	3,402,000	14,949,624	3,945,000	19,811,460	5,065,332

These figures establish a definite increase in the proportion of women employed to the total population during a period of forty years. But this is still more important when we consider the diminution in the number of women employed in domestic service. This explains largely the increase previously pointed out of women engaged in industry proper. There had been a steady decrease in the number of female domestic servants up to 1911, when the figure stood at 1,734,040. This figure had fallen in 1921 to 1,004,666. According to the 1921 Census figures for London the employment of domestic servants in that city had fallen by 21 per cent. as compared with 1911.

I think sufficient has been said to establish that during the past century or so the economic movement towards the increasing participation of women in the division-of-labour process has gone on with irresistible force. We now have women doctors, scientists and members of parliament. In fact there are scarcely any callings formerly peculiar to men which are not now encroached upon by women.

This growth is irresistible, because it falls into line with progress. The discussion of its desirability is useless, for the compelling force of the laws of social development appear to be drawing women into the scheme of greater social co-operation in the same inexorable manner as man was compelled to enter the factory.

It is only force of circumstances that causes women to enter the occupational field. Generally they would prefer the state of marriage and care of the home, but as one noted sociologist says: "Circumstances are stronger than men; it is just in the great social movements that we are most clearly aware of the iron sway of inexorable sociological laws which, heedless of the wishes of the individuals, govern development and continually transform society."

Women are entering industry to-day in larger numbers and staying there for longer periods than has hitherto been the case. Some, because they have not the wish to marry, owing to the concomitant loss of independence, and others, because they have not the opportunity. The Cabinet Committee Report tells us that: "The Table from the Registrar-General's Report for 1912 shows the fall in the proportion of marriages of marriageable persons, and also the later age of marriage among women." This was in 1912, and I do not think it is assuming too much to say that in 1925 this tendency has increased rather than diminished.

### Trade Unionism.

What, then, should be the working class attitude generally to the question of women engaged in industry? To base any policy on the idea that this is a temporary phenomenon is to ignore all the facts which history has to teach us; it is to fail to deal with the problem scientifically, because it ignores the tendencies of social evolution.

It will first of all be interesting to relate the increasing participation of women in production to their organisation in Trade Unions and the same with male workers. The following figures give the aggregate T.U. membership for the years from 1913 to 1923 for Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

	1913	1920	1922	1923
MEN ...	3,703,000	6,996,000	4,742,000	4,590,000
WOMEN	433,000	1,340,000	868,000	815,000

Of the 815,000 women trade unionists in 1923, 339,000 were engaged in the textile industry.

It was written of the Lancashire cotton workers as early as 1894 that: "Their leaders have been fully alive to the absurdity of attempting to carry through an heroic policy in the absence of effective co-operation on the part of the majority. To ignore the women workers would have been fatal in an industry which numbers them by tens of thousands. Accordingly, the policy of the unionists has been to bring men and women together into the same organisation;

to treat their labour as one and the same; and to provide equal rules for the remuneration and protection of all."

Unfortunately this has remained a policy which has only operated in those industries where female labour has reached a preponderant proportion, and the trade union movement as a whole has not yet thought fit to deal with the question on lines which become every day more imperative.

The following Table (based upon the Industry Tables (1925) relating to 1921 Census) is instructive as showing the necessity for attacking the problem from the workers' point of view. These figures are by no means a complete analysis of the numbers of women engaged in occupations. They are merely extracts of some of the main divisions shown by the Government statistician. It would have been of value to compare in a detailed manner the number of women organised in trade unions covering various industries with the actual numbers employed, but this is not possible, as the Industry Tables from which these figures are quoted are built up on an absolute industrial basis, whilst the trade union figures obtainable are still based more or less on craft organisation. It is interesting to note in passing that while capitalist statisticians recognise without equivocation that employed workers are organised by industry, there are still existent high-placed individuals in the trade union movement who refuse to recognise any other than the antiquated method of craft or (so-called) skilled as opposed to unskilled labour. Fortunately this type of trade union official is more and more receding into the background. The theoretical supremacy of industrial organisation is undoubtedly established. If doubt did exist before, this Blue Book should destroy it.

INDUSTRY	MEN	WOMEN
Manufacture of Earthenware, China, Porcelain, Terra Cotta and Glazed Tiles ... ..	35,460	35,766
Manufacture of Chemicals and Explosives ... ..	76,733	12,342
Manufacture of Cutlery and Small Tools ... ..	37,520	10,200
Manufacture of Brass and Yellow Metal (spinning and finishing) ... ..	14,457	9,599
Sheet Metal Working ... ..	28,833	17,495
Various small metal industries ... ..	48,133	24,402
Manufacture of Jewellery, etc. ... ..	47,165	23,320
Paper and Cardboard Manufacture ... ..	57,413	50,467
Printing and Bookbinding ... ..	160,795	65,153
Manufacture of Cottons ... ..	227,558	367,997
Manufacture of Woollens ... ..	59,251	58,976
Manufacture of Silks (including artificial) ... ..	13,703	19,704
<b>COMMERCE :</b>		
Banking, etc. ... ..	58,043	20,842
Insurance ... ..	90,359	31,490
Other Commerce and Finance ... ..	76,579	25,680
<b>CIVIL SERVICE (Central Government) ... ..</b>		
Local Government ... ..	536,086	110,855
Professions ... ..	445,058	243,880
	272,267	242,509

It can be said with a fair degree of accuracy that in 1923 about one-third of the men engaged in occupations were trade unionists, but only something less than one-sixth of the women so engaged were organised. It must be perfectly obvious that these unorganised women offer a very tempting morsel to a system of capitalism which to-day cries aloud for cheaper labour power. Besides the foreign competition which our banking lords prate about, we thus see that there is a competitive force of labour power at home. In the interests of both sexes this competition must be eliminated. As Mrs. Sidney Webb points out in her *Minority Report* (Cmd. 135) : " Men and women in industry are, in fact, ceasing to be distinct classes, even if they ever were, and are more and more becoming merged in the armies of the skilled and semi-skilled, each of them divided into numerous sectional grades." This makes it essential that many trade unions should discard their hoary traditions and open their doors to women, making their demand " Equal pay for equal work."

For this policy they have very good authority in the *Majority Report* of the Cabinet Committee who considered this question. This Cabinet Committee, I suppose, was still (1919) suffering from the effects of the war : possibly the fact that women were organised in trade unions in larger numbers than ever before or since may have had something to do with their findings, some of which I give below :

1. They accept the "principle of equal pay for equal work."
2. " That the employment of women in commercial and clerical occupations especially requires regulating in accordance with the principle of 'equal pay for equal work.'
3. "That the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' should be early and fully adopted for the manipulative branches of the Civil Service."
4. " That the Government should support the application to industry of the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' by applying it with the least possible delay to their own establishments."

So far these are only words and so they are likely to remain until the organised power of the trade unions compels their application.

### **Conclusion.**

Women are subject to the same exploitation as men, but unfortunately women in offices, factories, workshops, etc., are willing (though for the most part unconscious) tools for

capitalist employers, who do their utmost to apply the Golden Rule of Roman Emperors, "Divide and conquer." Employed women of to-day often do the same work as men and accept the same responsibilities, but they do not get the same wages. They compete with the men, thereby not only harming themselves, but also their male fellow-workers. Women must derive a lesson from capitalism itself, which proceeds from competition to combination. It was to face the combination of employers that the workers in the early part of the last century struggled and fought for the right to organise and combine. They saw that the elimination of competition amongst themselves was the only way to maintain or better their conditions, and that is our remedy to-day. Men and women must combine in the struggle for a decent standard of living—in the struggle against capitalism.

At Hall last year the Trades Union Congress was forced to recognise the importance of this question, and the General Council was instructed to organise a Conference of Women Trade Unionists. It was seven months later (19th March, 1925) that this took place. Undoubtedly a step forward—but much remains to be done. The president of this Conference pointed out, as I have already done in this article, that, out of over 4,000,000 women engaged in industry, and another 1,000,000 or so engaged in domestic service, only about 800,000 are organised. This situation is one that cannot be left to the women's organisation to deal with alone. It requires the definite co-operation of the whole trade union movement, regardless of sex, and at the next Trades Union Congress the General Council should be instructed to set on foot an intensive campaign throughout the country for the organisation of women workers. Towards this end the machinery which has lately been set up linking the General Council with the local Trades Councils should undoubtedly prove to be of great value.

Through the medium of the Trades Union Congress, the unions must further be brought to realise the necessity for freely opening the door to women on the same terms as to men, the women being expected and granted full opportunity for taking the same duties and responsibilities as the men. "Equal pay for equal work" should be the slogan taken up, but, at the same time, this should not mean that, where such conditions have been won and the wages of men safeguarded, the women are to be left to fight their own battles alone once more. Trade unionism implies solidarity always. This has, unhappily, not yet been generally realised, but the organisation of women in trade unions is one of the essential steps towards its achievement.

# Economic History & the Class Struggle

By JAMES MCDUGALL  
(Scottish Labour College Tutor)

Two years' experience has proved beyond question the urgent need for the training of Party members towards an understanding of its policy and programme. Under pressure of the class struggle, hundreds of thousands of workers are now flocking to the Labour movement, who have had no previous contact with any political organisation. This means *raw* recruits in the fullest sense of the term.

How to meet the needs of those recruits who come to our Party in a practical way has long been a problem for the Central Training Committee of the Communist Party. Some Party locals want more "elementary" lessons; others demand a more "theoretical" syllabus. In some cases these demands are coloured by local circumstances of a complex nature, and difficult to meet.

The Training Committee have accordingly arranged for a series of articles to appear in the *Communist Review*, elementary in their character, and specially designed to aid new Party members with little time to study, or no previous contact with any political party. These articles should prove valuable for supplementary discussion at the Training Group meetings.

The following article is the second of the series, and a continuation from last month of a sketch of the conditions leading to the foundations of the capitalist system, the birth of the classes, and the subsequent struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. The author, James MacDougal, has been a Labour College tutor for many years, and is thoroughly competent as a teacher in Marxian economics.

## 14. Division of Labour and Manufacture.

When we contrast manufacture with the guild system, we find many striking differences. Handicraft or guild production was on a small scale; each master could only employ a few people; manufacture from the start was upon a large scale, and involved the employment of numerous workers. The master craftsman himself had to work side by side with his journeymen, for they were so few in number, that the profits yielded did not allow him to live solely upon them. The capitalist, on the other hand, had enough workers in his service to produce a mass of profit, which set him free from labour. The journeyman of the guilds was so only temporarily; in due course he could become a master. In manufacture, however, the minimum capital needed in order to carry on production had grown so large, that it was impossible for the worker to become a master; he was condemned to life-long wage-labour. Manufacture, also being on a larger scale, effected many economies by that fact alone. The shed to hold thirty looms need not cost ten times as much as

one to contain three looms. Thus, even though at first the methods of production used in manufacture were simply those of handicraft multiplied, the manufacturers were able to sell cheaper than the small masters, and consequently easily drove them from the field. More important still, the employment of a considerable number of workers together in one workshop evokes a new productive power co-operation. Thirty weavers, working together even with the same methods as those of the guild weavers, will produce not ten times as much as three of the latter, but more. Man is a gregarious creature and in association with his fellows, where feelings of emulation are aroused, produces much more than in isolation. As the workers were only associated when joined together in a workshop under the control of a capitalist, this additional productive power seemed to be a power of capital, as such, and not what it really was, namely, a natural power of social labour. But with the grouping of a large number of workers under the same roof, important changes in the actual process of labour began to take place. Division of labour was introduced. Under the guilds each craftsman made the whole article himself from start to finish, handling all the tools that were needed, and passing from one phase of the labour to the other in succession. Now each phase or a small number of phases was allocated to one worker, who performed that only. Division of labour arose in two ways: either through the division into separate operations of the formerly united labour of a handicraft, as *e.g.*, in the manufacture of pins, or through bringing together in one workshop men of different handicrafts who were required for the making of one commodity, as *e.g.*, in coachbuilding, where the former painters, wrights, upholsterers, etc., became specialised into coach painters, coachwrights, etc. There were two types of manufacture: one in which the material passed successively from one detail labourer to the other in the course of its manufacture, as *e.g.*, in pin making, the other in which each detail labourer finished a part of the article in his own home, and all these separate parts were ultimately collected and assembled into the finished product in the capitalist's workshop, as *e.g.*, in watch manufacture. Under division of labour, where each kind of worker provided the raw materials for those who followed, a definite proportion of the different kinds of workers to one another was necessary if the flow of the labour process was to go on undisturbed. If, say, in pin making one affixer of heads could fix 200 tops in an hour, while one cutter could cut 1,000 pieces per hour, then for economical working, five affixers must be employed for every cutter. It was a matter of accident whether the handi-

craftsman took the average time to make an article or not. In manufacture that the average time only should be taken had become a technical necessity of the labour process itself. As a consequence of division, there now arose a hierarchy of labourers, for some operations required more training and skill than others; corresponding to this there came into being a scale of wages and a distinction between labourers of greater or less skill. Certainly within his narrow limits the detail labourer of manufacture was more skilled than the craftsman, but he had lost the all-round capacity of the latter and his labour, robbed of all variety, had become crippling to mind and body. The time of training required by even the most skilled labourer of manufacture was less than that needed by the handicraftsman, so that wages fell. In addition, also, co-operation, division of labour, and the economies incidental to production on a larger scale cheapened the commodities consumed by the workers, which was a further case for lower wages. But in one important aspect handicraft and manufacture were alike, they both rested on a basis of manual skill. Few machines were in use. The workers, though less skilled than before, were still possessed of skill, and through that fact had a relative monopoly of the supply of labour. When the workers of a country left it, as the Huguenots left France, the manufactures they had carried on practically died out and were transplanted to Holland, Prussia and Britain, whither they took refuge. Hence the workers of the manufacturing period were anything but submissive. Karl Marx in his great work, "Capital," Vol. I., quotes from the pamphlet literature of the day some of the many and loud complaints raised as to their laziness, insubordination and independence. Sidney Webb assures us that the labourers during the first half of that century enjoyed a higher standing of living than had existed for hundreds of years; they ate roast beef, drank deeply and were scrupulous in observing all fairs and wakes that gave an excuse for a holiday. It was during this age, also, that trade unionism first made its appearance. The earliest trade unions arose among the workers of the woollen trade, then England's staple industry. From that industry the principle spread to practically all the more skilled occupations. They well knew, these early pioneers, how, by means of the law\* and against the law, now by tenacious and violent strikes, again by legal process and constitutional petition to parliament, to protect their traditional standard from attack.

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\* Wages under old statutes, dating from the 14th century, were fixed annually by the Justices at Quarter Sessions in proportion to the cost of living. Where this practice had become in the 18th century only nominal or had ceased to be observed, the trade unions pressed for its revival.

### 15. Primitive Accumulation.

The principal source of capitalist accumulation in its earlier days was the exploitation of tropical and other colonies. The original explorers and colonisers of the great trans-oceanic world, Portugal and Spain, were exhausted by their efforts and proved incapable of establishing manufactures on the basis of their colonial worth, hence their place was later taken by Holland. If Holland possessed the most flourishing manufactures in Europe at the dawn of capitalism, this was in no small degree due to the accumulation of enormous profits derived from the cruel and merciless exploitation of the natives of the fertile Indies. When the aboriginal inhabitants of certain parts of America had been almost extirpated through wearing them out in the gold and silver mines, Spain, for the working of mines and plantations, began to import negro slaves from Africa. This trade carried on by British and Dutch ships continued for centuries. By the eighteenth century a string of English colonies had been planted along the eastern coast of North America. The French had settlements in Canada, and laid claim to the vast North-West and the Mississippi valley. English and French companies were rivals for trade and territory in India. The two great European powers stood confronting one another all over the world. Several great wars were fought between them for world dominion, and the victory, owing to her sea power, eventually rested with Britain.\* This meant that the best markets of the world were monopolised by Britain—her conversion to free trade came later, when there was nothing to fear from the competition of other countries—and that gave a tremendous impetus to British industrial progress.

### 16. The Industrial Revolution.

Moreover, it was during the manufacturing period, in which few mechanical inventions were discovered, that the advances in pure science were made by the Galileos, Newtons, Franklins, Boyles, etc., which were to provide the principles ready-made for application at the hands of the practical mechanical geniuses who were to perfect the machines. For there was now to begin an age of mechanical progress unparalleled in the history of the world to that time. The call of the world market for ever more and ever cheaper

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\* There was nothing peculiarly "national" about Britain's naval superiority. The relatively longer sea coast of Britain had caused a greater growth of shipping and had created a large body of skilled seamen. The earlier development of capitalism in Britain made the industries and trade of that country better able to withstand the strain than those of France, still hampered by feudal shackles.

goods could not be met by industry on its old basis of hand labour. The cotton industry was the first to advance. This had never been a guild industry in Britain, and from its first introduction had been developed by capitalists. With the growing demand for cotton wares, the cotton spinners became incapable of keeping the weavers going with yarn. Then came a series of inventions by Arkwright, Hargreaves and Crompton, which resulted in a spinning machine able to turn out more yarn than the weavers could weave. The spinning mills were first driven by water, then, as a result of Watt's invention, by steam. Mechanical spinning was followed by mechanical weaving, the bleaching, engraving, printing and dyeing branches were revolutionised on the principles of science, and the production of cotton goods had become a machine industry. Analogous changes took place in the other industries of the country. Under the volume of trade the old means of transport broke down. So good roads had to be constructed, canals dug, docks opened out, rivers dredged, bridges built, until in the 'thirties, as the crowning discovery, came steam transport by land and sea. Naturally these far-reaching industrial changes caused vast movements of population throughout the country, completely upset the balance of power in the state, and were by no means accomplished without friction. With this enormous increase in production and trade, business methods underwent a great alteration. Credit came to play a far more important part than it had ever done before. Banks had been in existence before the Industrial Revolution, the Bank of England being founded towards the close of the 17th century, but with the tremendous demand for accommodation that now sprang up they multiplied in number, extended their transactions, and provided abundance of credit through the issue of notes. The Stock Exchange became necessary as a centre for share dealing and for the handling of government issues. The functions assumed by the state increased day by day as new wants were created by the young economic system. The magnitude of the income and expenditure of the state made its financial policy of the very first importance to the monied interests, and that close connection between government and the money market, which has ever characterised capitalism, was to be seen developing.

### 17. The Essence of the Change.

Before analysing, as we will, following upon the lines laid down by the illustrious founders of scientific Socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the effect of the mechanical inventions on the conditions of the working class, we must

first become clear as to the essence of the change. What is a machine? Is it an instrument driven by non-human power? No, for the hand loom is a machine, though driven by the muscles of the weaver. A machine is a mechanism so constructed as to embody certain operations formerly done by hand. As Marx puts it, a machine consists of three parts: (1) the motor which may be man, animal, steam-power, etc.; (2) the transmitting mechanism, composed of the pulleys, shafts, cranks, etc., needed to carry and transform power from the motor to drive; (3) the working tool, which is the essential portion. At first the working tool was simply a copy of the old hand tool. But from the beginning it was free from the limits set by the fact that the worker has only one pair of hands. The machine could contain many such tools. As experience accumulated, the machine builders emancipated themselves from the former types of knives, needles, spindles, hammers, etc., and made the machine tools ever more perfect. Now these machines were themselves the product of hand labour; without the skilled millwrights and artisans trained by manufacture it would have been impossible to transcend the limits of that system. But this very fact imposed obstacles to the free use of the machines by making them costly, for the number of skilled wrights was not unlimited. Moreover, the easily wrought materials such as wood, first used for machine construction, began to give place to more refractory substances such as iron, which offered increasing difficulty to manipulation by hand. Further changes were necessary if progress was to be made. Early in the 19th century, came Henry Maudsley's invention of the "slide rest," which, when fitted to the lathes, ensured the turning of the planes, cylinders, etc., in the machine parts with the geometrical exactness required for smooth working. The machines were now made by machinery. With the advance to cyclopean engines like the steam hammer, huge masses of iron could be forged and gigantic machines of great power became possible. As the machines grew cheaper, their use developed to an ever greater extent, penetrating into every branch of industry. A great new trade came into being, engineering, destined to play a most important part in the development of capitalism.

## 18. Enclosures of the Commons.

Agriculture, too, underwent a transformation during the latter half of the 18th century, and in the changes that ensued hundreds of thousands of peasants and labourers were driven from the soil and forced by hunger into the industrial areas, where they provided the army of workers required by the

mushroom-like growth of the new factory industry. Scientific agriculture had made great progress in Holland, and it was from there the enterprising landlords of England learned how to organise the exploitation of their estates so as to swell their rent rolls. First among the improvements introduced was a scientific rotation of crops. By planting turnips and artificial grasses, alternately with grain, it became possible to avoid the wasteful periods of fallow, which were usual under the old system, and to make the land immensely more productive. Other useful changes were, proper drainage and fencing, the stall feeding of cattle and systematic manuring of the soil, the improvement of the breeds of sheep, cattle, horses, etc., by selection, and later on the use of machinery. But the ancient three-field system, with its intermixture of strips and compulsory co-operation of the occupants in the traditional husbandry, presented itself as a barrier to all progress. Further, the common rights of pasture, wood-gathering, etc., possessed by the country people prevented the enclosure and improvement of the "waste." The landlords, driven on by greed and perhaps to some extent by a passion for progress, and being moreover in full possession of both Lords and Commons, proceeded to legislate away the rights of peasants and labourers, turning common lands into private property, without the slightest consideration for those dispossessed. Between 1760 and 1843, seven million acres of common land were enclosed. The unfortunate folk had to leave the homes and farms, which in many cases their ancestors had occupied for generations, and hasten to the manufacturing districts, there to consume their lives in misery, piling up wealth for the newly rich.

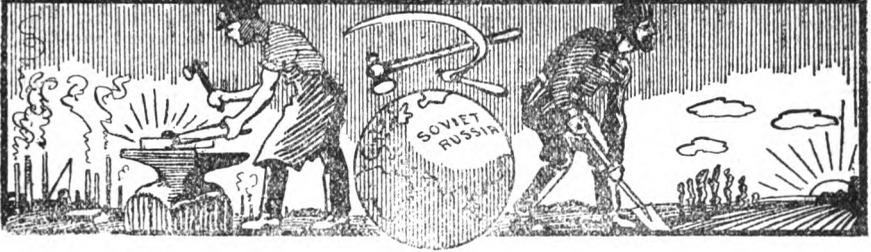
(Continued next month)

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## Books Received

- Since Lenin Died*, by MAX EASTMANN. Price 4/-. Labour Publishing Company, 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.1.
- The Week-end Book* (2nd edition). Price 6/- cloth, 8/6 leather. The Nonsuch Press, 16, Great James Street, London.
- The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, by J. LESLIE HOTSON. Price 7/6.
- The Morality of Birth Control*, by ETIE A. ROUT. Price 5/- net. John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd. Vigo Street, W.1.
- Relations with Russia*, By FRED BRAMLEY.
- Some Impressions of Russia*, by BEN TILLET. Price 3d. each. Labour Research Dept., 162, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.
- Labour, Social Reform and Social Democracy*, by Dr. A. S. RAPPOPORT. 15/- net. Stanley Paul and Company, Upper Woburn Place, N.W.1.

# INTERNATIONAL REVIEW



## DECLARATION OF THE E.C.C.I. AS TO THE EVENTS IN BULGARIA

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued the following declaration:

Forgeries and deceptions are becoming more and more the chief instruments of the enemies of the Communist International. Month after month, and in recent times week after week, there appear, now in one country and now in another, clumsy forgeries of alleged letters, orders, decisions and other "documents" purporting to emanate from the E.C.C.I.

The fascist Zankov government has beaten all records in this respect. In connection with the explosion which took place in the Sofia Cathedral, this fascist government published some hastily fabricated documents which are intended to prove the participation of the Communist International in this act of terror. It is superfluous to say, that neither the Communist International nor any of its sections could have had any connection with the explosion in Sofia, **AS THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IS OPPOSED ON PRINCIPLE TO INDIVIDUAL TERROR.**

**THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL EMPHATICALLY DECLARES THAT ALL DOCUMENTS REFERRING TO THIS EVENT, AS WELL AS THOSE WHICH ARE SAID TO MENTION THE DATE OF A CONTEMPLATED BULGARIAN REVOLT, AND WHICH ARE ATTRIBUTED TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, ARE ABSOLUTE FORGERIES.**

**THE RABID ENEMIES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, WHO ARE CONDUCTING A "HOLY WAR AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS**

**ARE BECOMING MORE INSOLENT EVERY DAY.**

**THE E.C.C.I. CALLS UPON THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES TO PREPARE TO TAKE UP THE DEFENCE AND TO STIGMATISE THE TREACHERY OF THE FASCIST GOVERNMENT AS IT DESERVES. NO WHITE TERROR IS CAPABLE OF HOLDING UP THE FIGHT OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS FOR FREEDOM. THE SYMPATHIES OF THE ADVANCED WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES ARE WHOLLY AND ENTIRELY ON THE SIDE OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF BULGARIA AND THEIR CHAMPIONS WHO DO NOT SHRINK FROM DEATH IN THEIR RIGHTEOUS STRUGGLE.**

## EGYPTIAN COMMUNISTS IN CONFERENCE

On Saturday and Sunday, 25th and 26th April, the Communist Party of Egypt held its annual conference. Twenty-two delegates were present. This is the first conference since the smashing of the Party over a year ago.

The report of the Central Committee pointed out how the loose organisation of the Party in the past had resulted in a complete collapse under the first government persecution, and how the Party was only kept intact by the devotion of a small handful of comrades who were determined in keeping up the fight. Profiting from its bitter experience, and though working illegally, the Party was recovering much of the ground lost. New members were coming in, and wider and wider contacts were being secured.

Since the persecution began the Central Committee had been working under exceptional difficulties in the production of literature in the Arabic

and European languages. A weekly Party bulletin of 14 pages was being duplicated on a Ronso. Pamphlets on work in the trade unions, portions of the A.B.C. of Communism, and from Rappoport's "Precis of Communism" had been printed, while the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels was in preparation. The production of a legal workers' paper, the *El Hisab* has aroused the police into a temper, and threats of confiscation and arrest are continually being made. Provocateurs are numerous, and large sums of money are continually being offered by the police for information.

Following the report of the Central Committee good discussions ensued upon the political situation in Egypt, and problems of practical work. The Central Committee is charged with the task of outlining plans for the development of a Workers' and Peasants' Party, and a programme of demands for the workers, peasants and the small bourgeoisie, which will unite all in the common struggle against the foreign imperialists and their Egyptian lackeys.

Amongst the other important problems tackled by the conference were Tasks of the Party in the Trade Unions, and the C.G.T., the Organisation of the Party on the Basis of Factory Nuclei.

Very important news for the British movement is the steps that are being taken to unite into a working federation the parties in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. In this connection a conference is being held at an early date.

The conference has awakened enthusiasm, and with the events in Palestine and Morocco, our Egyptian comrades are going forward from this conference towards the creation of a big mass workers' party.

### **SOUTH AFRICA**

On March 25th to 26th, a Congress of delegates representing twenty-five South African Trade Unions, met in Johannesburg.

The "Emergency Powers Bill," designed to enable the government to control trade union activity during disputes with employers and sponsored by the Minister of Labour in the Labour-Nationalist ("Pact") government, was severely criticised by the delegates despite the presence of the Minister of Labour, Col. Cresswell, and other prominent Labour officials. Only the pleading of these latter, and

the efforts of the chairman of the Congress, who is also chairman of the South African Labour Party, persuaded a majority to accept the "intentions" of Cresswell, but even then it was agreed that the Bill be sent to a select Parliamentary committee.

The most important and critical discussion took place regarding which unions should be allowed to affiliate to the Congress, the point at issue being whether or not unions of coloured workers should be eligible for membership. It is encouraging to note that almost every delegate spoke of the necessity of coloured and native workers being organised, and the need for co-operation between these and the white unions in South Africa.

Only the Miners' Union delegates raised serious objections, stating that they could not recommend their union to affiliate with a body which included coloured and native workers. They, however, finally agreed on a compromise based on the insertion of a clause in the constitution to the effect that, unions seeking affiliation should state the percentage of native and coloured workers on their books, and that the N.E.C. of Congress should consult affiliated bodies on the acceptance or otherwise of such unions for membership.

While one would have been better pleased to see the principle of trade union unity accepted in a more enlightened and comradesly spirit, one nevertheless, must be glad to see even this amount of progress made.

Native and coloured workers have too long been viewed as inferiors by some of the organised white workers in South Africa. Conditions, however, are changing very rapidly in the Union; the native and Asiatic workers are becoming equally as well educated and skilled as the whites, and the employers are attempting more and more widely to use them as cheap competitors with the white workers.

Only working class unity, based on class interests and the common struggle of all the workers against the employers can achieve anything for the South African working class. It is here where the small Communist Party can play a big part in proving this to be correct. Already, in the election of Comrade Andrews as secretary of the South African T.U. Congress, the South African C.P. has succeeded in securing a valuable contact to assist them in this work.

# Party Training Notes

On May 9th a representative from the Agit-Prop Dept. at the Centre attended the Birmingham District Congress in order to deal with Party propaganda activity. The training of Party members, which is part of our propaganda work, was dealt with and the Congress agreed that this activity must be developed.

The position with regard to Party training in the Birmingham District shows that the work is already being tackled, two training groups are in existence in Birmingham, one in the Potteries, and one in Wolverhampton. A Stafford group was examined on May 10th, the comrades concerned showing excellent results, and another group is to be commenced immediately.

It is evident that members are beginning to realise more and more clearly the need for training being developed, and there is no doubt that the coming months will see a large increase in the number being trained in the Midlands.

## TRAINERS' REPORTS.

The reports sent in by training group leaders show that some comrades in charge of groups do not understand exactly what the character of their final report to the District or Centre should be.

Generalisations on the domestic affairs or health of the various members being trained do not constitute a report.

The report should show the particular abilities of the various comrades concerned, and the sphere of Party activity to which the trainer's experience leads him to believe the member is best adapted.

Some comrades might be developed as speakers, others as leaders of factory groups, others are possibly best fitted for dealing with distribution or show organising capacity. All such indications should be noted and commented upon.

Newcastle District reports training groups in S. Shields, Newcastle, Jarrow, Birtley and Blaydon, with proposal to form one at Felling. The number of members attending being

approximately 69. There are still three locals where no training is going on, viz., Stanley, High Spenn, and Ashington.

The South Hants group write approving our reduction in price of *Review* to 4d., but urging necessity for simplicity in writing, "so as to reach the unconverted." May we ask the S. Hants comrades, and others to read our introductory note to Comrade MacDougall's article in this issue, and take the tip. These articles should make the necessary appeal.

We often hear opinions expressed about "the inability of women to grasp theory." Party training amongst our women comrades shows that the women are often more apt than men in this sphere. We reproduce the following replies to questions set for the examination of a group in London. The comrade is a young woman, little over 20 years of age. In reproducing these answers as they were written, we are not concerned about the accuracy or inaccuracy of the replies, but for their general excellence.

### 1. What is the State.

The State is the administrative organisation built up by the bourgeoisie for the protection of their own interests. The existence of a State in any country shows that society in that country is made up of different classes, and that one of these classes dominates the others, and uses the whole network of State machinery to preserve its domination. With its police and fighting services, the bourgeois State has the necessary force to crush revolts. Its schools and churches influence the minds of the workers; its diplomatic and consular services look after capitalist interests abroad; it assists commerce with Trade Boards, unemployment exchanges, etc. and in addition, takes over the management of certain services such as telephones, postal services, when it is to the interest of the capitalist class as a whole that it should do so.

### 2. What is Imperialism and its results.

Imperialism, briefly, is the struggle for the sources of raw materials, and

for new markets and for outlets for the ever-increasing reserves of capital. The home markets of the big capitalist states become exhausted, and new ones have to be found. To have control of raw materials capitalists must have control of the lands from which they come, and in the highly industrialised countries there is no longer any room for the expansion of capital. Capital must go on increasing, and so the backward countries are annexed and railways, factories, etc., are constructed, which in their turn begin to create surplus values. Because of the need for investing this surplus value, imperialism will ultimately mean the collapse of capitalism. In the meantime it means a constant conflict of interests between the big capitalist states, which leads to wars, and also the added suppression of the workers at home by using cheap colonial labour.

**3. Why have we a Women's Department and what is its work.**

Because the Communist Party re-

cognises that there should be complete equality between men and women. If the women are unorganised and take no active part in the class struggle, they lessen the chances of success in that struggle. Their labour at the present time, being cheaper, is used very largely, and they are exploited even more than the men. The work of the women's section is to organise working women in the same party as the men, and to help them to understand the position, and take an active part in the workers' struggle.

**4. What is the difference between the I.L.P. and the Communist Party.**

The Communist Party is essentially a working class organisation with a programme based on actual facts—a scientific programme. The I.L.P. on the other hand is largely dominated by middle class utopian socialists who will not admit the necessity of revolution before the capitalist system can be smashed, but rely on parliamentary and constitutional means alone.

