

THE Communist

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TWOPENCE

The Editor welcomes contributions from any member of the Party, or from sympathisers, on any industrial or other subject of interest to the Party. The return of these cannot be guaranteed unless they are accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. They should be sent to 16, King Street, London, W.C. 1.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Minnie
Lansbury

A comrade of THE COMMUNIST has interviewed Comrade Minnie Lansbury in Holloway Prison, where she has been sent for refusing to levy rates from the Poplar unemployed to alleviate the burdens on the pockets of the oppressed ratepayers of Mayfair and the Royal Borough of Kensington. She made several very pertinent comments on the way in which the supporters of the Poplar Councilors had let them go to gaol—and then done nothing.

"The unemployed," she said, "were not always so docile, and not always so ready to abandon their defenders. In 1886 a crisis similar to this one, if less in intensity, was answered by a march from the East End up to Pall Mall, where the unemployed replied to jeers from the clubmen by smashing the windows. They marched on up St. James' Street through Oxford Street, wrecking as they went. Then the Lord Mayor's Fund for the Unemployed, which had been vegetating at a wretchedly low figure, shot up twenty to thirty thousand pounds in one day, as a result of this exhibition of the unemployed's temper.

"I'm not saying that this should be done again to-day. I don't expect to dictate from prison. But I do say that something should be done and done at once. No demonstration has ever been held outside Shortt's house. The unemployed have not even marched to Whitehall to protest.

"We in gaol want to say right out that we don't care twopence for Morrison's trips to Scotland to talk to the Premier. There is only one way in which the official Labour movement can help us, and that is the way Bethnal Green has chosen. It is—going to gaol in the same manner. Even Morrison knows that, at the bottom of his little heart."

* * *

Immoral
Victory

She concluded, "We don't, in any case, rely particularly on the official Labour movement. We rely upon the workers of Poplar, the unemployed, and even the small ratepayers. If the Poplar Publicity Committee has done nothing then they must just go ahead without it. Anyway—action."

Our comrade's advice, which we endorse, is a clear sign of the difficulties of the London Labour movement. George Lansbury and Susan Lawrence and the majority went to gaol for the unemployed, they hoped that the consequent disorganisation and the moral effect of their action would beat the Government. Now they realise that the Government laughs at "moral victories." Even George Lansbury has indignantly demanded that something be done outside. But what can be done? Only that the unemployed "make themselves nasty."

In other words, the moral is just that which so scandalised the *Herald* leader writers (and "G.L." himself) when the Communists drew it before. Whether the workers gain anything from this struggle depends exclusively upon the power, the force, behind them.

* * *

The Famine If it is true that the effort on behalf of the starving in the Russian drought area is slackening, it is really disastrous. Just because it is no longer "copy," because the newspapers find Fatty Arbuckle's catastrophic intrigues more exciting, millions of people are being forgotten and left to die.

There is common humanity, in the first place, that should make you give. Well, "humanity" is no longer much of feeling. Our sensibilities were blunted by the war. Then to every working man we say this: There is one country and one only in which your class is in power. That country is menaced by a dreadful national disaster. If it falls, you will feel the effect yourself, sooner or later.

To any I.L.P.er, to any Socialist, or Labour man, or social reformer, or Utopian, we say: There is just one country in which "Socialism is being tried." You mayn't like the way it came, but that is past history. Do you care sufficiently for the things you talk of to send real help?

* * *

**The coming
winter in
Germany**

In Germany, more than in any other country, the coming winter may be expected to give a sharp turn to the long drawn crisis of the revolution. Already the signs have been abundant that the present unstable condition cannot continue. Keynes in his recent articles has given warning of an approaching breakdown of the reparations payments under the London scheme. The mark has fallen to three-fifths of a penny. The French Foreign Office organ, the *Temps*, is busy calculating on a new reparations crisis. The fierce internal controversy over taxation reveals the economic problem in front of the German Government. It is this economic crisis which has let loose the new political storm. The present German Government has so far existed as the bailiffs of the Entente. But they are now finding themselves at the end of their resources, and the old militarist class has taken the opportunity to raise its head again. Driven from Berlin, when the failure of the Kapp coup showed their inability to get a hold, the Prussian militarists have now made Bavaria their centre, and from there issued virtual defiance to the Berlin Government. The time has come when the alternatives of dictatorship from the right or dictatorship from the left are sharply set. The last vestige of a rôle for the Majority Socialists as "moderates" and "progressives" is gone; and so they enter on their final degradation, when at their conference at Görtitz they now propose a coalition with the Stinnes Capitalist Party. The stage is cleared for the Communist Party to stand out as the sole champion of the working classes and the revolution in Germany.

* * *

**The Jena
Congress**

The German Communist Party has thus its severest testing time before it. It has passed through very difficult times during the past months. Robbed of its leaders at the outset, it has been faced

with the necessity of playing a major revolutionary rôle before it has had time to build up its new leadership. The result has meant inevitably mistakes in policy and tactics; but those very mistakes are the basis of future strength so long as the Party is able to maintain its unity and organisation. That is the significance of the Jena Congress at the beginning of this month. The old controversies associated with Levi and the March action are now a thing of the past. The unity of the Party in the positive revolutionary work of the future has been established on the basis of the Moscow decisions, and the resolution on tactics was passed with only seven dissentients. The Party, with its 350,000 members, is still the second strongest Communist Party in the world; and its position in Germany, the centre of European unrest, gives it a pivotal rôle in the immediate battle of the future.

* * *

You are Requested . . . If the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, to which

most of our big Unions belong, is to be judged by its own publications, it is not a Trade Union body at all, but simply an anti-Russian propaganda organisation—a sort of Press Agency for Wrangel. As we write we have before us their circulars, numbers 26—28. What are these documents, of such value to the Trade Union officials of the world that they are circulated to all Labour papers?

No. 26 is merely an extract from comments in an English journal on the Red T.U. Congress, which are twisted in an effort to prove that this was a "dud" Congress. No. 27 looks for a moment like a real T.U. document: it refers to the International Printers' Congress. But when we look down the page we find the actual Congress is passed over in some 15 lines in order to get to the real point—that the All Russia Printer's Union was excluded, "because no Union may belong to two Internationals simultaneously." A plain hint to all Unions to exclude Red groups—as, say, the M.F.G.B. might exclude the Fife miners.

No. 28 is a long and clumsy attempt to prove that Soviet officials are attempting to stop relief being sent to Russia. Of all silly and heartless stories to put about! 29 is a brief paragraph to prove that the Amsterdamation is the real organisation aiding Russia—the central Labour organisation in Berlin having published an article complain of its dilatory methods.

Enough. All this mass of impudent nonsense, which has nothing whatever to do with Trade Union activities, was sent to us with the calm note:

"You are requested to publish the following articles."

Well, I'm damned!

* * *

**Sermons
Free**

Denmark till recently had no vagrants sleeping out in the streets of its cities. Now the wave of unemployment has reached Copenhagen and the numbers of utterly destitute are as numerous there as elsewhere.

WEST LONDON JOINT COUNCIL.—Result of the Draw postponed until Saturday, November 26th.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

By John Ball

Cramp's Two-Handed Offer—Engineers and the Lockout Threats—Work for General Council Now—Miners as Blacklegs—A Convivial Party.

"I do not think there is any ground to suppose that decontrol will involve a strike. . . . An efficient working of the railways would enable a reduction to take place in fares and rates without any need for a reduction in railwaymen's wages."—J. H. Thomas, M.P., at Ipswich, Aug. 14th, 1921.

SCOTTISH railway workers are to be congratulated on their vigorous reply to their employers' demands for wage reductions and the increase of working hours.

C. T. Cramp went North at the weekend from an executive that is thoroughly alarmed by the development of the attack, and in one hand he held the executive's scared permission for the men to decide their own policy and in the other he held a proposal for compromise.

The awful thing, said Cramp in effect, was the attack on the eight-hour day. I will fight that: oh, how I will fight it! But if you will agree to abandon the advances in base rates awarded you in June, 1920, the companies will not press the other demands.

I am not blaming Cramp: he was doing his duty. But the setting of the compromise was subtly deceiving. If the Scotsmen agreed to forego the award (which gave men up to 7s. a week increase) they would not be long before the attack was renewed. The rail bosses had set their minds on "restoring pre-war conditions." They will chip here and chip there on wage rates, introduce new conditions quietly at this centre and at that, and the railwaymen will (if they are quiet now) wake up next Spring to find that the companies have succeeded in their designs.

The danger of the Scottish situation still is that the union leaders will, despite the "free hand" promise, bring about some sort of arbitration such as was arranged in Ireland, with disastrous results to the men.

The leaders will find that the speeches of J. H. Thomas and others on the eve of decontrol has had the effect of increasing the indignation that would in any case have been felt by the rank and file.

The men on the English and Welsh railways are watching the Scottish position closely, for they see that the employers' move will not be confined to Ireland and Scotland.

There should be some really hard work being done in the unofficial movement now. I see no sign of it.

I am asked by a Cardiff railwayman what has become of the South Wales N.U.R. unofficial movement. I pass on the query.

It will be remembered that, arising from Black Friday, a Port Talbot branch of the N.U.R. called a conference, which was held on May 4th, in Cardiff. A programme and rules was drafted and sent to the N.U.R. branches, and a further conference fixed for June 19th, at Cardiff.

That conference was postponed until July by announcement in the *Daily Herald*, and in July it was again postponed "owing to abnormal conditions. What about it?"

This is not the way to organise the unofficial movement. Following the May conference, groups were started in several South Wales branches that I know of: if the control body goes to sleep this work will be in vain.

It is difficult to form a definite view as to what will happen in the engineering and shipbuilding struggle. At the moment, the position is that the lock-out begins on October 12. The employers are anxious for the lock-out. Apart from the wage cuts demanded, they are anxious to deliver a smashing blow at trade union organisation, and hope that the lock-out would give them a chance to repeat the "lesson" of the six months engineering strike.

On the other hand, the Government will have something to say about a threat which would increase the unemployment problem

with which (and a decayed tooth) Lloyd George has been wrestling at Gairloch. There is going to be trouble enough this winter for our hefty statesmen without having nearly three million engineering and shipyard workers thrown idle, with its effect on all other industry.

Intervention by the Minister of Labour (aided by secret influences) may get the cut postponed if the workers show that they are determined not to accept. For this reason it is to be hoped that the ballot will be taken at once, and that the result will show an overwhelming majority for rejection.

A firm stand by the engineers now would greatly help the railwaymen. It would also help the miners, who are up against one of the worst periods in their recent history. Indeed, it would have reactions throughout the labour world.

But why, in the name of all that is sensible, does not the labour world get together and act unitedly?

I suggest that the industrial situation is such that the new General Council of the Trades Union Congress ought to meet to deal with it at once.

There should be consultations with the railway, mining, engineering, transport and soap and candle trades this week-end, as a preliminary to wider consultations.

I mention transport because in this industry attacks are developing which will soon undermine all semblance that now exists of national agreements. In London, Newcastle and other places road transport men are being threatened, and at the ports the Shand award is being whittled away by small breaches and variations.

A scandalous state of affairs exists at Bishop Auckland in connection with the co-operative movement. Some three months ago, 140 employees of the Bishop Auckland Co-operative Society struck work. They were members of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. Some returned as the result of intrigue, family ties, and so on; and the places of those still on strike have been filled by blacklegs, and the society refuses to recognise the union.

The blacklegs are in most cases unemployed miners. There are miners on the society's board of management—Chapman is on the executive of the Durham Miners' Association. Another member of the board is Robinson, agent for Ben Spoor, M.P.

This state of affairs must surely be condemned by all real trade unionists. The miners of Durham must at once put their house in order: get the blacklegs out of the stores and deal faithfully with leaders who connive at scabbing.

How eloquent sometimes are lists of names! I have just been reading a report of a week-end conference in connection with the Industrial League and Council at Sir Samuel Waring's country house in Kent.

We are told that "the delegates"—note, delegates (from whom and what?) "arrived at Sidcup Station early on the Saturday afternoon, and were conveyed by car to Foots Cray, where they were received by Sir Samuel. Various entertainments were indulged in until the early evening, when the first session of the conference was held."

Who were these delegates? Here is the list officially supplied. I hope trade unionists will investigate:—

The Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, M.P., presided, and there were present Messrs. A. Bellamy, C.B.E. (Nat Union of Railwaymen); E. J. P. Benn, C.B.E. (Messrs. Benn Bros.); D. Carmichael (Secretary, London Trades Council); A. Dalglish (Workers' Union); R. Dumas (British Thomson-Houston Co., Ltd.); H. H. Elvin (General Secretary, Nat. Union of Clerks); E. J. Garmeson (Bank Manager); S. E. Jackson (Nat. Union of Railwaymen); J. W. H. Juddery (Messrs. Juddery and Co.); Lieut.-Col. E. Lawson, D.S.O., M.C.; E. H. Runnacles (The Crittall Manfg. Co.); R. Sim (Nat. Foremen's Association); E. Wharton, (Assis. General Manager, London & North Western Railway); H. G. Williams

(Machine Tool Trades Association); Councillor J. H. Worrall, F.C.I.S. (Secretary National Whitley Centre); H. T. Young (Messrs. Troughton & Young), and John Ames (General Secretary, Industrial League and Council).

They discussed foreign exchanges and their effect on industry. Dinner on Sunday night is officially described as a happy and convivial function.

Dwell on the beauty and pungency of that phrase for a moment. No doubt Elvin was quite right when he said that "we had some extraordinary revelations of character."

Another of the pernicious organisations to gull the gullible is the Industrial Welfare League, which issued a precious manifesto last week advocating co-operation between the workers and their exploiters. The manifesto pleads for dealing with industrial problems in "a new spirit, or rather the remembrance of an old-world spirit of comradeship and humanity, which in an age of material progress"—ay, progress!—"had almost been forgotten."

I am not surprised to find this rubbish signed by W. A. Appleton, F. S. Button (who is still described as A.E.U.), W. J. Davis (still Brassmakers), John Hodge, G. A. Isaacs (Printers), and Robert Young.

Nor should one be amazed to see the names of J. R. Clynes (chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party) and Robert Tothill.

But what do the South Wales miners think of their secretary, Tom Richards, signing this?

Visitor: Well, my little man, what would you like to be when you grow up?

Little Man (who has been reading the newspapers since Black Friday): A Labour leader.

Visitor: Oh, why? They work hard and are often criticised.

Little Man: Hm! I've read about "watching your leaders," but the watching seems to cause admiration.

PORTS CONTROVERSY

JIM Breslow bases his criticism of my article on a misquotation of what I wrote. He quotes me as having written:—

"The seamen need not worry their heads about an Industrial Union," etc.

A reference to my article will show that what I actually did write was:—

"The seamen need not YET worry their heads about an Industrial Union."

The little word "yet" makes all the difference in the world. Like Breslow, I advocate an industrial union, but my point was that a preliminary to this end is the fusion of the various seafarers' organisations. This, as I said, is the "immediate task" of the seafarers, and by carrying it out they would further the ideal of one union for all shipping workers afloat and ashore. A start of such a union has been made by the formation of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and if the members of that body are unable properly to control it and its officials—as Breslow implies—I fail to see what guarantee there is that the seamen, and others associated with them in the industry, will be able to control any new organisation that should be founded. The task, surely, will be as difficult in the one case as in the other, unless it be contended that the present officials are the black sheep of the proletarian flock. We must not overlook the fact that it is from the same flock that new leaders will have to be drawn.

Doubtless, the constitution of the Transport and General Workers is open to criticism, but before it was adopted it was referred to the branches of the unions concerned and subsequently endorsed by a delegate conference. How by starting a fresh hare a better result is to be obtained, when in each case there are only the same human resources with which to work, is anything but clear. Whether the present officials hold office or Breslow and those who think like him, rank and file control will be a fact only when the members' active interest in union affairs is far greater than it is now, and when the general level of intelligence has been raised.

There is really no principle of difference between Breslow and myself. He has created the appearance of such by attributing to me a statement I never made. I am, of course, willing to believe that this was an accident on his part.

HUNGER IN RUSSIA

By E. T. Whitehead

THE bourgeoisie were always humbugs; any never meaner, or more treacherous, humbugs than when pretending to humanitarian motives.

The few weeks that separate the famine victims from the rigours of the Russian winter are passing all too swiftly. What is to be done for the alleviation of the suffering must be done quickly to be any use at all. The bourgeois press is noisy; enquiries grow thick and fast; conferences multiply—but of actual effort, on the part of bourgeois agencies, to bring relief there is little or no evidence.

Outside the ranks of the workers little is being done to cope with the appalling calamity. Little, we mean, by comparison with the greatness of the need.

Must we suppose that this implies a cold-blooded and deliberate effort to delay succour until the coming of winter has made the evil incurable?

The craftiness, cunning, unscrupulousness and callousness manifested by the bourgeoisie the world over at this epoch of history surpasses all villainy known or guessed at. True it may be that the Society of Friends and the Red Cross have humanitarian ideals, but equally true is it that capitalism is cunning enough and crafty enough to know how to place this individual here and that individual there to spike the guns and prevent the generosity of humanitarians from culminating in actual useful deeds.

France

The French Government had the audacity to appoint the notorious Noulens to the organisation of French help for starving Russia—the same Noulens who plotted in the first years of the revolution to blow up the bridges, one of the most fiendish and callous plots ever laid by man.

In every land the bourgeoisie, hand in glove with their friends the Russian Emigres, are watching like assassins to seek to utilise the Famine by any and every means to bring about the overthrow of the Workers' Republic in Russia and reseat the aristocrats and big land owners on the backs of their people.

British workers must watch their leaders of the Second and Amsterdam International. Time and again has it been proved that these same social democrats are the allies of the bourgeoisie in keeping the workers in subjection, that they are the tools by which the capitalists throw dust into the eyes of the credulous. The Schiedemanns and Noskes of Germany, the Pilisudskis of Poland, the Briands and Millerands of France—all have at one time posed as thoroughgoing Socialists. The capitalists remain in power in Central Europe to-day solely by the aid of the "Labour Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class."

Call to Action

There is no time to lose. Whilst the capitalists prevaricate, delay and "investigate," a gigantic International Workers' Famine Relief Organisation has sprung into being. With sections in every country, centralised through Berlin, the workers of all Europe are pouring Food and Medicines into starving Russia.

This International Workers Famine Relief Action has already achieved considerable results. The following sums have already passed through its hands and are on the way to bring Aid to the Famine stricken areas.

France.—Trade Union Confederation, 101,282 francs. French Communist Party, 210,000 francs. Through "Humanite" newspaper, 90,000 francs.
Italy.—Socialists and Communists United Fund, 200,000 lire. Italian Seamen's Union, 1,000,000 lire. Turin Workers Effort, 100,000 lire.

Belgium.—Communist Party 15,000 francs.

Austria.—Combined funds of Austrian Workers, 1,607,221 Kronen.

Portugal.—Lisbon Workers have forwarded 218 pounds sterling to the Famine Relief Action.

Germany.—Berlin City Council 100,000 marks. Cologne City Council 100,000 marks. Nuremberg City Council 50,000 marks, etc., etc.

And what can we do? The workers of Britain, who forced British Imperialism to withdraw its troops from Archangel and Murmansk, who helped to burst the infamous blockade through which the Churchills were endeavouring to strangle Soviet Russia, are also capable of taking effective action against the Famine.

Russian workers have no illusions on the matter. They know that for three long years they have poured out their blood defending the world citadel of Workers' Rule against these same "Humanitarian Bourgeois," who through Czarist Generals, with supplies, stores, uniforms, aeroplanes, and War Material of all kinds, have done their damndest to crush the Soviet Republic. They know that it was only the united power of the world proletariat that forced the bursting of the blockade. And they know that only by united proletarian action, independent of all Red Crosses and all Imperial Philanthropy, will the Hunger Battle be won.

Let Labour act quickly, and act independently. Let Labour make its own independent collections and prevent the International Bourgeoisie from making use of the Famine Crisis for its own ends. Let us send the proletarian help quickly, independent of all Imperial and Red Cross action. Let us unite with Continental Workers to give One Day's Pay at once to the Fund to defeat the Famine, and show that the International Solidarity of the World's Workers, successful on so many fronts, can once again be manifested in the new Fight against the Famine.

RUSSIAN FAMINE FUND

Acknowledgments.

Amount previously acknowledged	£	s.	d.
Harland & Woolf Section III., per F. A.	1001	12	1
Webster	1	10	0
Aberdare C.P.G.B.	2	0	0
Dora G. Dunn	0	5	0
Newcastle C.P.G.B.	3	0	0
J. Exley	1	0	0
W. Steward	0	5	0
F. Finikin	0	5	0
T. Noble	0	2	6
Boldon Colliery C.P. Collection	0	7	2
Edmonton C.P.G.B.	2	0	0
W. Higgins "Food not Shells"	2	0	0
Chipwell N.U.X.	0	15	0
D. J. Lewes	0	2	0
Greenwich C.P.G.B.	1	6	0
Walthamstow C.P. Trades Hall Collect'n	0	17	0
A. Green and friend	0	3	8
East Ham C.P.G.B.	1	0	0
E. Williamson	0	15	0
J. F. W.	0	2	6
Bow Branch C.P.G.B. Levy	0	11	6
Partick C.P.G.B.	1	0	0
Renfrew C.P. per A. B. Keir	0	10	0
Bristol Branch C.P.G.B.	5	5	0
Liverpool Branch E.T.U.	0	10	0
Rosyth No. 1 Branch Workers Union	2	0	0
Mexboro' Rus. Fam. Cte.	10	0	0
Mansfield C.P.G.B.	7	1	7
Wigan C.P.G.B.	7	0	0
Gwaun-cae-gurwen C.P.G.B. Levy	1	10	0
Anonymous G.C.G.	1	0	0
Fennedale C.P.G.B.	6	0	0
T. F. Dennis	1	0	0
Bethnal Green C.P. per Glenville Glass Wks	2	15	6
Sheet 18 per J. E. Lancaster	0	8	0
Camberwell C.P. List Profits per E.E.S.	0	7	0
Grant from Pendlebury Branch (Good Intent Lodge) of Lan. & Ches. Miners Fed.	1	0	0
Collection at above Executive Branch Mtg.	1	10	0
C. W. Webster	0	2	6
Pendleton Miners Relief Fund	3	12	6
T. S. C.	0	1	0
J. Lea	0	2	0
Patrick Prenderly	0	5	0
Well Wisher	0	10	0
R.	1	0	0
Chelsea Comrade	0	1	0
F. Newnorth	0	5	0
J. R. W.	0	10	0
F. Dickman	0	5	0
W. W. D.	0	1	6
A. Greek	2	0	0
Southend C.P. Dance Proceeds	13	2	4
Southend C.P.G.B. Collection	5	0	0
William Gee	1	0	0
N.W.C. (Mipers) Cresswell Branch	0	13	0

West Central London C.P.G.B.	1	11	0
Newcastle Colliery	1	3	0
Gorebridge Co op. Employees	0	17	0
per J. Hagan	0	2	6
Derby C.P. Coll. Market Place	1	17	2
Mr. W. Vernon, Derby	0	10	0
Comrade Mrs. Robinson, Derby	1	0	0
Manchester Central C.P.G.B.	0	16	10
Rawtenstall C.P.G.B.	1	0	0
Sheet 631 per W. Miles	1	1	0
Crayford C.P.G.B. Sheet 28	0	11	0
Sheet 185 per A. Franks	0	15	6
Dunfermline C.P.G.B.	2	6	9
Southwark C.P.G.B.	5	8	0
Central London C.P.G.B. (3rd)	4	0	0
Freddy	0	1	0
G. Rushberg	0	5	0
Sheet 168 per Tooting C.P.	1	10	0
Works Cte., Leslie, Roehampton	1	4	4
Tredegar C.P.G.B.	2	0	0
Chiswick C.P.G.B.	0	6	0
Glasgow S.S. C.P.G.B.	3	0	0
Sheet 19 per B. Lever, Croydon	0	9	0
" 47 per Autocarriers Thames Ditton	0	10	0
" 48 "	1	1	0
Eden and Cedar Paul	2	0	0
Mr. and Mrs. G. B.	1	0	0
Wishaw C.P.G.B. Sheet 377	1	7	0
Stepney C.P.G.B.	2	12	8
Comrade Mofshovitz	1	0	0
" Kurtz	0	15	0
" C. Greenberg	0	7	6
" Felbroke	0	4	0
Sheet 57 per Stepney Branch	0	5	0
Sime Seruya	20	0	0
per Miss G. Ballam	0	12	6
Pontypool C.P.G.B.	0	7	6
Walton and Margery Newbould	3	3	0
Gwaun-cae-gurwen C.P. Concert	6	0	0
G Cae-Gurwen Spiritualist Society	4	0	0
Wolverhampton C.P.	0	6	0
Cardiff C.P. Workmates per J. Green	0	13	3
" Mr. P.	0	5	0
" Collected by Mr. Pugh	0	7	0
" Coronet Picture House	0	6	9
" "Don"—Roath Park Friend	2	0	0
Jute and Flax Workers per Dundee R.T.U.	25	0	0
Brighouse C.P.	1	0	0
per Mr. Martindale	0	10	0
Central Islington C.P.G.B.	1	0	0
Harry Lauder (3rd Sub.)	0	6	0
Young Workers League (Cen. Br.)	0	9	0
Walsall C.P.G.B.	1	0	0
Ammanford C.P. per No. 1 Colliery (A. Davis)	2	7	0

Total £1,209 17 7½

The Communist Review

No. 5

Sept. 1921

Review of the Month

Deals with Caerphilly, the Centre of World Reaction, and Britain's connection with "white" insurrectionary movements.

Guns, Bombs and Benzine

By NORMAN MATSON

A brilliant description quoted from the famous *Liberator*, of New York, of the operations of the Italian "Fascisti."

Revelations Regarding the Origin of the 1914 War

By RENE MARCHAND

An astonishing article that fully justifies its title of "Revelations."

Progress of the Revolutionary Movement in South America

By DAVID RAMSAY

A first-hand record by a capable witness.

Revolutionary Socialism in Action

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

An inspiring speech by "Red Rosa" on the conditions of the Proletarian Revolution in Germany.

Allies Attempt to Crush Russia

A detailed exposure of a sordid plot.

Initiative in the Class Struggle

By UMBERTO TERRACINI

More light on the "Fascisti."

International Capitalism and the 3rd Congress

By PROF. VARGA

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PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

By THOMAS BELL

THIS is the second of a series of articles explaining the decisions taken by the Communist Congress in Moscow, which I attended as a representative of the Party. A further article will follow. This article deals with propaganda and agitation.

Communist propaganda and agitation should take root in the common interest, aspirations and struggles of the proletariat, and not be conducted in a formal manner, by means of casual speeches without special care for the concrete revolutionary substance of such speeches or writings. Special attention must be given to the Communist watchwords and attitude towards concrete questions. To achieve this, propagandists, agitators, and party members must be carefully instructed.

The principal forms of propaganda are (a) individual verbal propaganda; (b) participation in the industrial and political labour movement; (c) propaganda through the Party press and distribution of literature.

Every member must participate regularly in one or other of these forms of propaganda.

Systematic house-to-house canvasses, specially organised outdoor poster campaigns and distribution of leaflets. A regular personal agitation in the workshops, accompanied by distribution of literature will give satisfactory results. The Communist agitators must be constantly on the lookout for new forms of propaganda to meet the backward workers half-way, and facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. At the same time, the limited and confused demands of the masses should be regarded as revolutionary germs and a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of Communist propaganda. For our Communist organisation to be recognised by the masses as the courageous, intelligent, and faithful leadership of their own labour movement, we must take part in all the elementary struggles and movements of the workers and defend their cause in all conflicts with the capitalists on the concrete questions of the day, e.g., hours, wages, conditions of labour, etc. The Communist must help to formulate the demands of the workers in a practical and concise form, and awaken the consciousness of community of interests among the workers as a class. Only through such elementary duties and participation in the daily struggles of the proletariat can the Communist Party develop into a real Communist Party, as distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so-called Pure Socialist propaganda, which invariably consists of recruiting new members and talking about reforms or the use of parliamentary possibilities or impossibilities. Conscious participation in the daily struggles of the working class is essential for carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is by leading the masses in the petty warfare against capitalism that the Communist Party will acquire the capacity for leadership in the ultimate struggle for supremacy. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participants in their struggles, and however small or modest the demands may be, the Communists must never make that an excuse for non-participation in the struggle.

Trade Union Activities

In the Trade Union movement it is easy, but not fruitful, to keep preaching the general principles of Communism and then take up a negative attitude of commonplace syndicalism against the concrete questions of the day. Such practices only play into the hands of the Yellow Amsterdam International.

Instead of resisting theoretically and on principle all kinds of agreements, we must rather take the lead in the struggle over the specific nature of these, as recommended by the leaders. Since, of course, it is the aim of the capitalists and their henchmen to tie up the workers' hands, it behoves the Communists to open the eyes of the workers to these aims and advocate, say, in the case of a wages arrangement, such a system as would not hamper the proletariat in their preparations for the revolutionary struggle. In connection with unemployment, sickness, strike-pay, and other benefit funds of trade union organisation, opposition against these on mere principle is ill-advised. The Communist should point out that the manner of collecting these funds and their use as advocated by the leaders is against all the interests of the working-class. If we are to win over the workers from their small bourgeois conceptions, it would not do for us to oppose those trade union members who are still anxious to secure sick benefits, etc., by simply prohibiting such payments, since we may not be understood by them. But we should insist on the abolition of the contributory system and all binding conditions upon voluntary funds. In this connection an intensive personal propaganda is essential.

Unmasking The Yellow Leaders

In the task of unmasking the yellow trade union leaders and the leaders of the various labour

parties, it is not enough to call them "yellow," nor can we hope for much by means of persuasion. Our method is to deprive them of their following by continual and practical illustrations of their true character and their treacherous conduct, whether in the union activities, Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, capitalist administrations, written messages to the Press, speeches in conferences or parliament, and, above all, their vacillating and hesitating attitude in all the struggles of the workers, even for a modest rise in wages. All these offer constant opportunities for exposing the reactionary leaders. Participation by the Communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organisations, or in connection with workers' meetings, election meetings, demonstrations, etc., of hostile organisations, all these should be carefully prepared. For instance, proposals should be elaborated beforehand by the Communist fractions, lecturers selected, and capable, experienced, energetic comrades put forward as candidates.

Where the Communists convene their own workers' meetings, they should have groups distributed amongst the audience and every effort made to secure the most satisfactory propaganda results. The Communists must learn to draw the unorganised and backward workers permanently into the ranks of the Party. We must not only induce the workers to join the trade unions and read our Party organs, but educational boards, study circles, sports' clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumers' associations, War Victims' associations, etc.—all these may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers.

Everywhere the Communists must endeavour to combat the petty bourgeois ideology and hostile organisations of capitalism, and win the confidence of the workers for Communism. Valuable work can be done in villages, farmsteads, and isolated dwellings in the local districts by house-to-house canvass.

Communist Anti-Militarism

The Party rejects on principle, and combats with its utmost energy the military institutions of capitalism. Our agitation, however, is directed not against the military training as such of the youth and the workers, but against the bourgeois militarist régime and the domination of the officers. Army, rifle clubs, citizen guard organisations, are useful institutions for giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come, while the social composition and conduct of the troops and officers should be unmasked before the entire population. *The Communist rejects the anti-militarist agitation of the pacifists as extremely detrimental and of assistance to the bourgeoisie in its efforts to disarm the proletariat.* And, while the methods of propaganda are to be adaptable to the peculiar conditions in each country, the class antagonisms revealed in the bad treatment and social insecurity of the common soldiers must be made very clear to the latter. The agitation must bring home to the rank and file that its future is inextricably bound up with the exploited class.

The Organisation of Political Struggles

No matter how weak a Party may be, every exciting political event or strike affecting the economic system affords an opportunity for organised political activity. Mass meetings in the centres of political importance, or strike areas, should be energetically pushed forward by the Party's nuclei or workers' groups. Special commissions should prepare such meetings thoroughly, and, where a party meeting cannot be arranged on its own, then suitable comrades should be selected to address the meetings organised by the strikers or any other section of the struggling proletariat. Our demands should be formulated and argued in motions or resolutions which should be put before other sections of the workers in different localities for adoption. In this way we shall extend our moral influence and have our leadership recognised. After all such meetings the participating Communists must hold conferences and draw the conclusions from their experiences.

The practical demands of the workers should be made public by means of posters, handbills, leaflets, etc., proving how the Communist policy agrees with concrete needs of the situation. Suitable spots for posters should be selected, while halls, stations, works, market-places, dwelling-houses—everywhere that the masses can be reached ought to be flooded with our leaflets, handbills, or papers. Parallel activity must go on in the trade union or factory meetings, where suitable Communist speakers and debaters must utilise every opportunity for serving the general purposes of our movement and the particular situation prevailing.

Demonstrations require very mobile and self-sacrificing leadership, and ability to discern the possibilities in every gathering. If the issue is of real importance, no matter how small it may be, it is bound to become of ever greater interest for

the large masses. The backbone of a well-organised demonstration is to be found in the instructed and experienced group of diligent officials mingling among the masses from the departure from the factories, which is the best basis for a demonstration, until its dispersal. Responsible party workers must be systematically distributed among the masses to enable the officials to keep in contact and active service, and maintain the requisite political instructions.

Not the least important task of the Party is the overcoming of the influence exerted over the mass by the treacherous so-called Socialist leaders. The experience in Germany has been fruitful, where the Communist Party addressed itself to other mass organisations of the proletariat at a moment of desolation, demanding from them whether, with their alleged powerful organisations, they were prepared to co-operate with the Communist Party in the struggle against the destitution of the proletariat. This method of the "Open Letter" puts the treacherous leaders to the test before the eyes of the masses. Discussion of the Party's demands must be brought before the workers by our factory groups and trade union officials. Our press should elucidate the problems to be faced for the moment and by means of short simple articles treat the various phases of the questions from every possible point of view.

The parliamentary and municipal groups or representatives of the Party must work systematically for the promotion of such struggles, bring the movement into discussion by the requisite motions and resolutions and must consider themselves besides responsible officials and party representatives as conscious members of the struggling masses.

Concentration by the active groups of organised workers, under the Communist leadership, gives power to the Party, therefore, wherever a number of local organisations such as industrial committees, etc., have been influenced to support action of immediate advantage to the proletariat, general conferences should be called, and our delegates put before them favourable resolutions for adoption. Since the main task of the Communists is to unify and consolidate all the struggles and movements arising out of the situation, the closest ties of organisation must be maintained between the various nuclei and factions. Whenever movements break out, the leadership should be assumed through the district committees and central committees. It may be better in many cases to forgo any specific demands and rather appeal to the members of the Socialist Parties and the trade unions pointing out how distress and oppression have driven them into the unavoidable fights with the employers, despite the attempts of the bureaucratic leaders to evade a decisive struggle.

All political demonstrations and economic mass movements, as well as local actions, provide valuable experiences which should be discussed at broad conferences of the leading officials and responsible party workers.

The ties of mutual confidence between the leading officials and responsible party workers with the shop delegates are the best guarantee that there will be no premature political mass action, out of proportion to the circumstances, and the actual strength of the Party.

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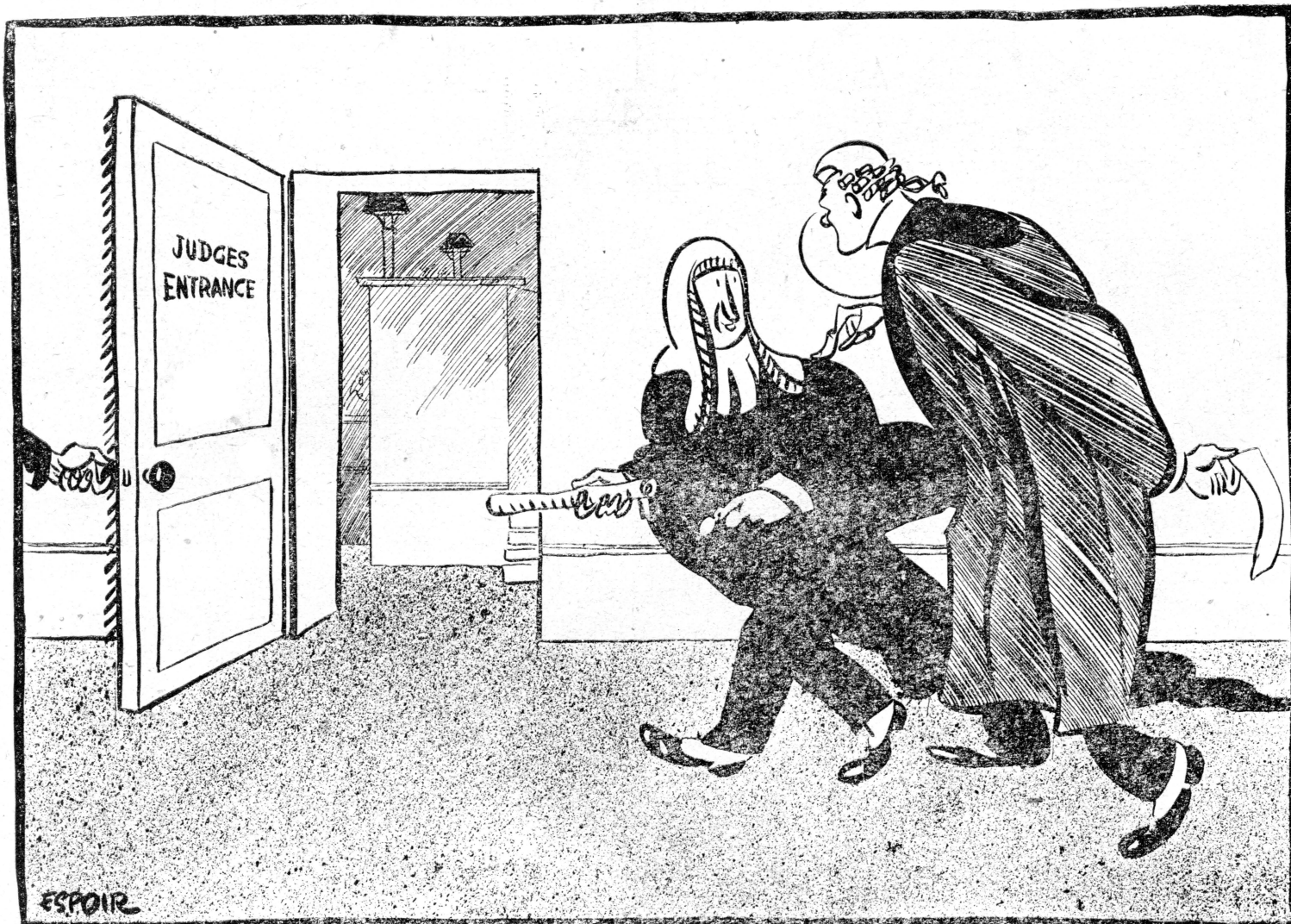
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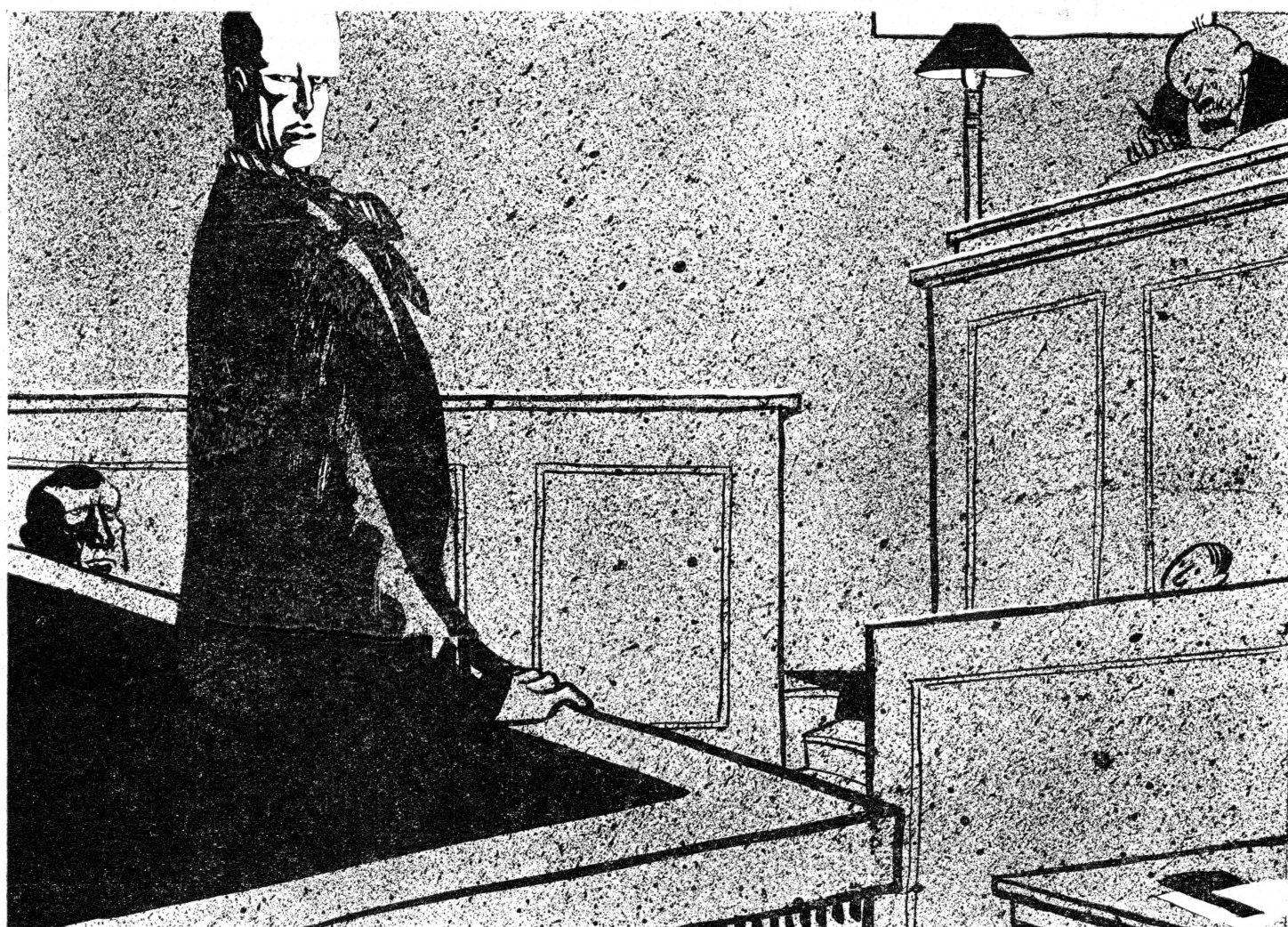
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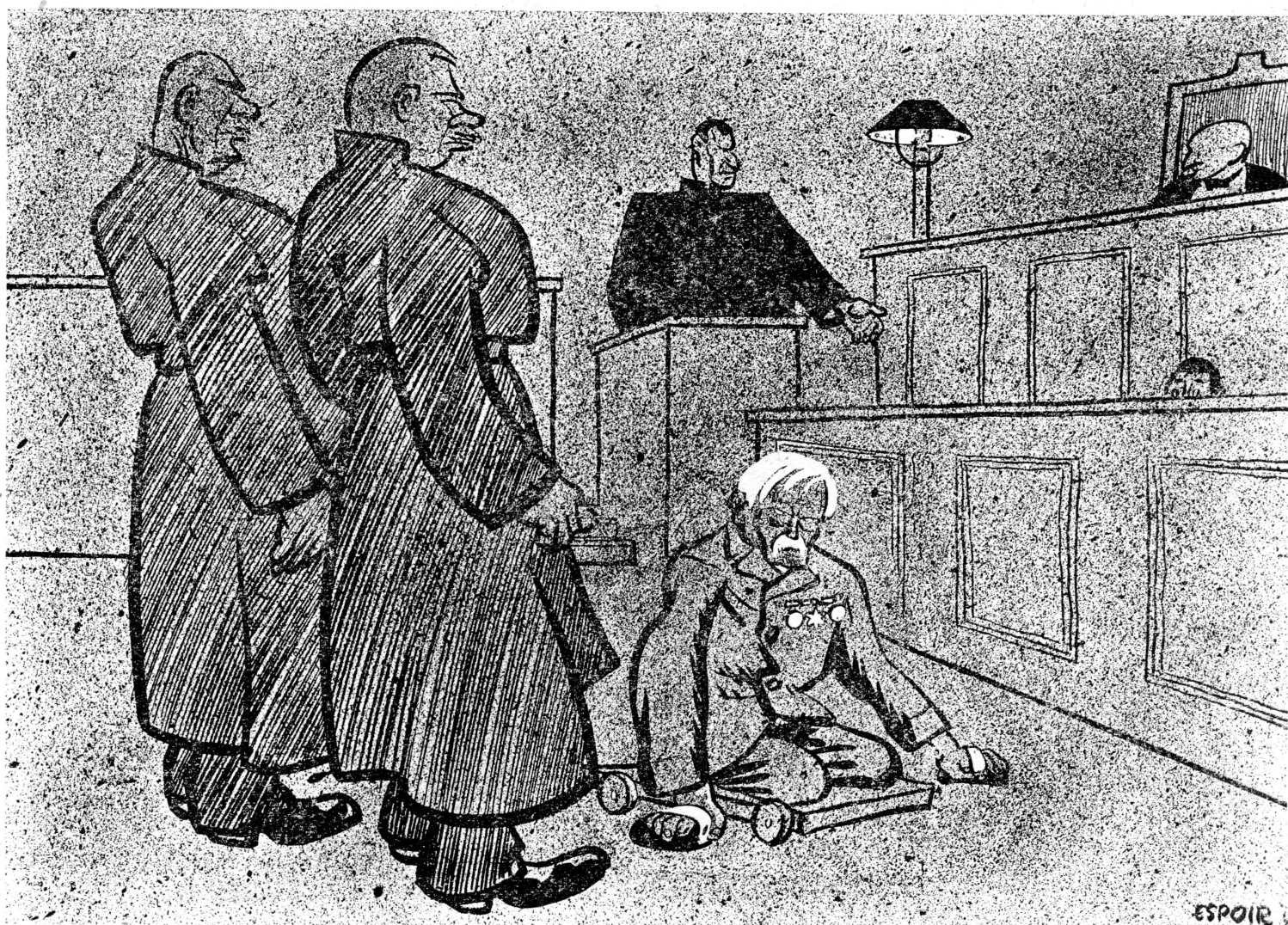


Sir — — —, K.C., (to the judge): "Your Honour, Shortt says he thinks you'd better sentence this Kiley fellow pretty heavily. He says it'll make a good impression, and he'll see himself that everything's made all right for the boy afterwards."

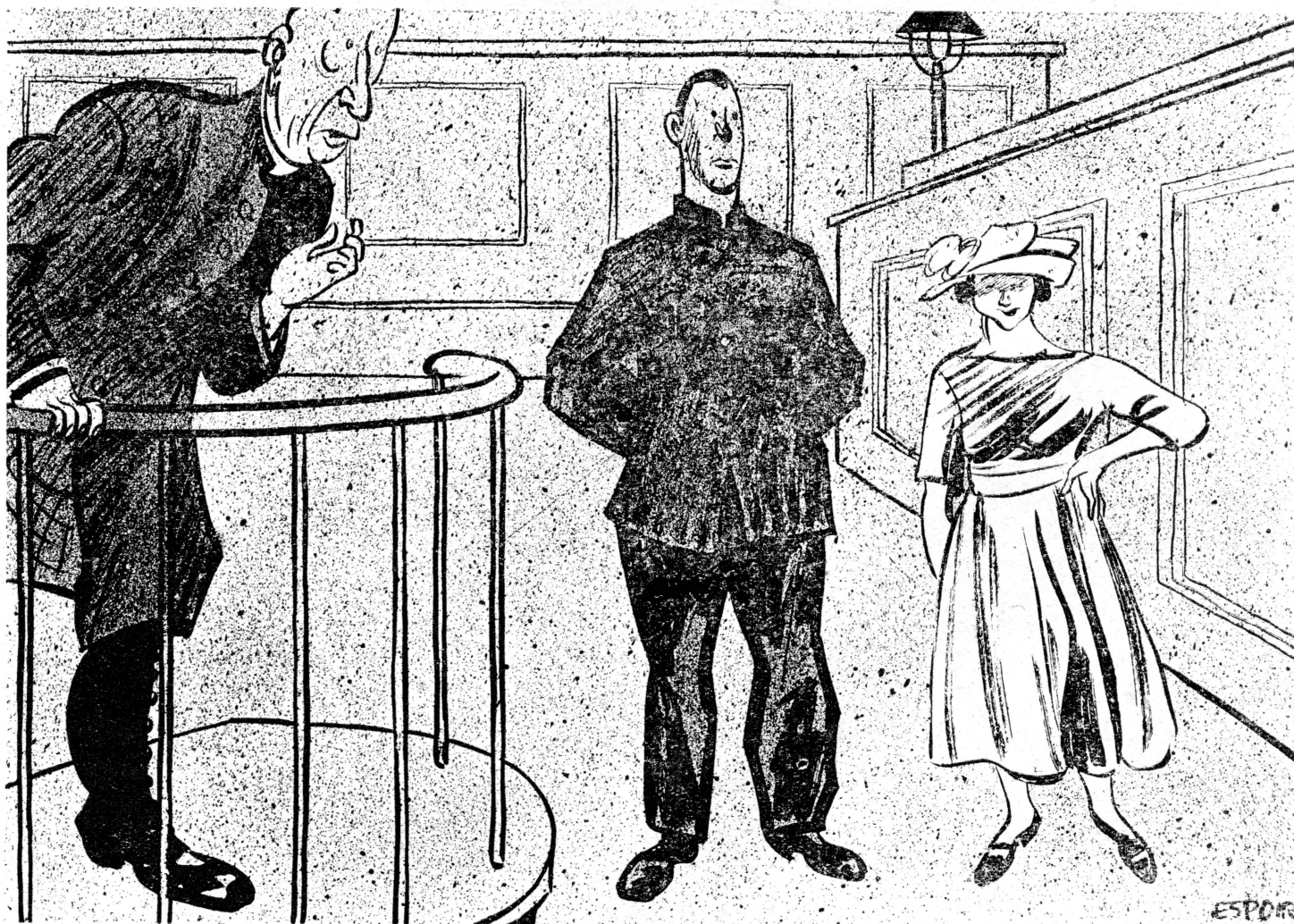
[Kiley, the son of an M.P. and company director, was sentenced to a heavy term of imprisonment for frauds on unemployed ex-soldiers, and then allowed to escape by Shortt's connivance.]



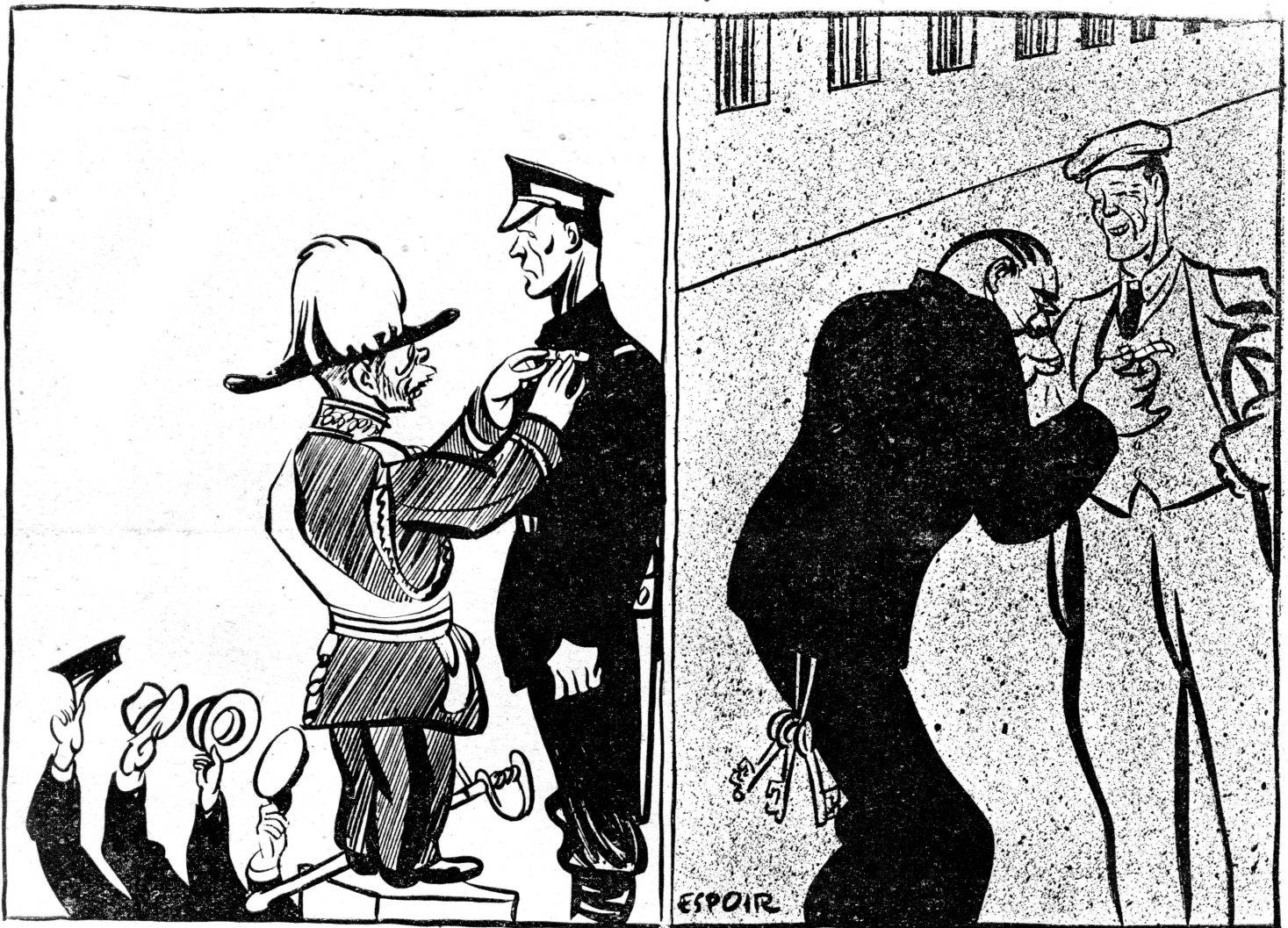
At Marlborough Street Police Court on August 30th, an unemployed miner was charged with stealing a pint of milk from a doorway. He had tramped to London from Scotland seeking work, and had been without food for two days. He was sentenced to one month's hard labour.



THE COPPER: "Prisoner, Your Honour, who is suspected of being a Communist, Your Worship, made an unprovoked and violent assault on the line of police, who were clearing the street with great self-restraint. He fetched me one on the conk, Your Worship. . . ."

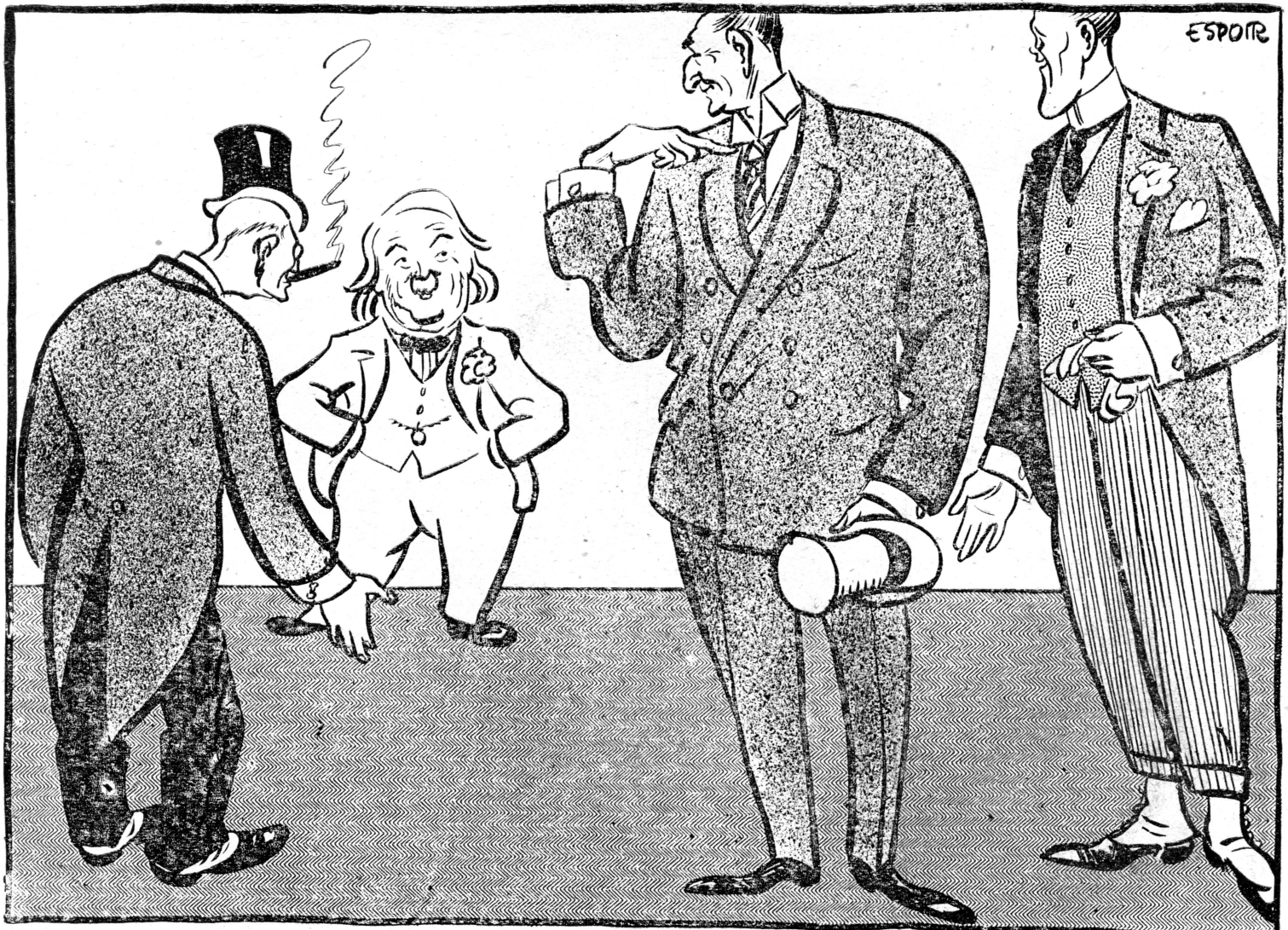


ALMOST ANY ARCHDEACON: Violent and unprovoked as was this young stranger's assault on my virginity, I am so touched with—ah—her need of salvation, that at the end of her term of imprisonment, I am ready to receive the erring lamb into my household, there to be under my protection



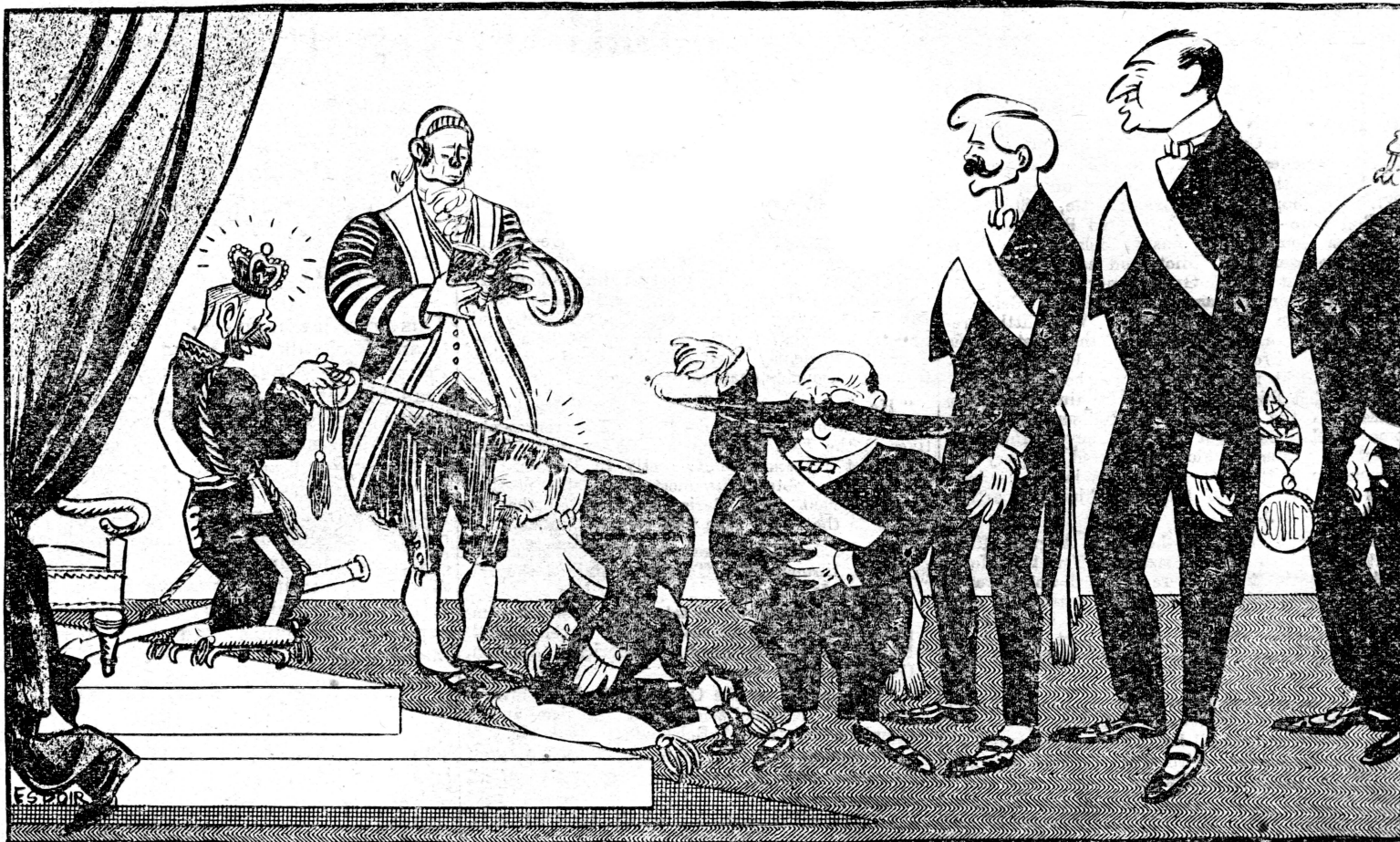
THE LORD GAVE AND THE LORD HATH TAKEN AWAY

[C. E. Williams, one of the thirty Poplar Councillors gaoled for refusing to leave the unemployed to starve, was stripped of his war decorations in Brixton Gaol.]

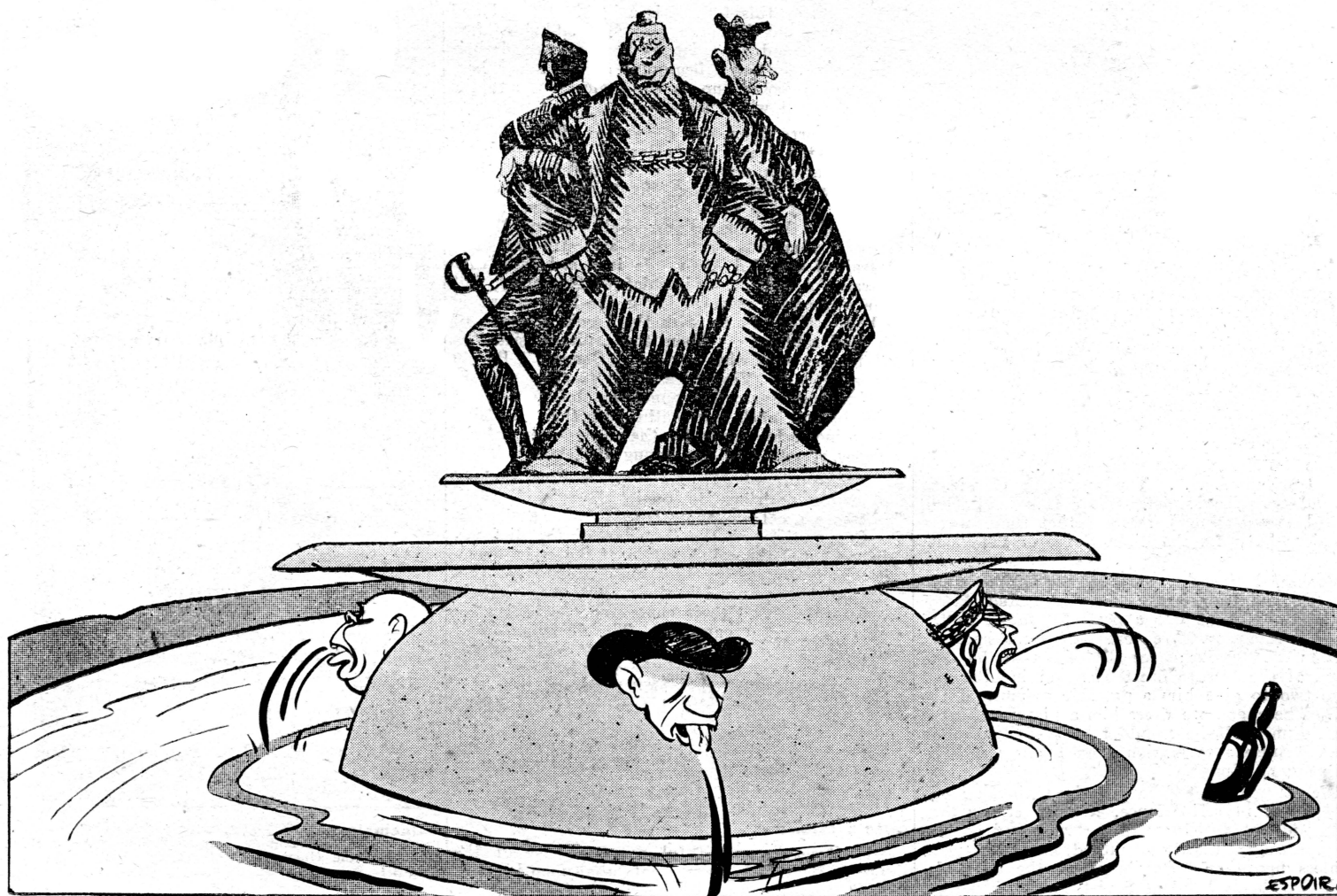


READING: I gave you the Marconi tip . . .
 BIRKENHEAD: I was a good little rebel in Ulster . . .
 JUSTICE LAWRENCE: I let the fellow down lightly
 who ice-picked that Communist . . .

[All together]: Do remember 'ME
 if there's any extra law pensions
 going.



THE CLERK: "May it please your Majesty. To be knighted:—The Right Honourable James Henry Thomas, P.C., M.P., D.C.L., J.P., for services too numerous, and too intimate, to be enumerated. To receive his fifth O.B.E.:—The Right Honourable William Brace, for Virtue. To receive the Garter:—James Ramsay MacDonald, for services rendered against the Communists. To be the first recipient of the Order of Black Friday, entitling the holder to sign the letters B.F. after his name on all occasions:—Robert Williams. To become Lord Twister and Twicer, Sir David Shackleton"



"There are in nature certain fountains of justice whence all civil laws are derived but as streams." Lord Bacon.

A TALE OF TREACHERY

By a member of the Hungarian Communist Party

CAPTAIN T. T. C. Gregory, a former Food Commissioner for Central Europe, makes some very interesting statements in the "World's Work" of September, 1921. He adopts the sensational title, "Stemming the Red Tide—Overthrowing a Red Régime.—How a Hoover Commissioner ousted Béla Kun." It is obvious to everybody—idiots and hero worshippers excepted—that neither Gregory nor his omnipotent master, Hoover, nor any other individual defeated the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Very little credence, therefore, will be given to the boast of this modern hero of food-distribution, or better—"food-usury," that it is he who has crushed the "dangerous" Red Régime. But while aiming to place himself as the saviour of capitalism, he makes some revelations about a conspiracy against the Soviet Government which he wanted to carry out in company with some well-known labour leaders. It is for this reason that we think his article worth reviewing.

The *Daily Herald* of the 22nd August, 1921, pointed out with great amazement that the efforts of Mr. Hoover & Co. were directed not towards feeding the starving people, but towards the consummation of Allied policy. But we search in vain for any remarks on the treacherous part played by "influential labour leaders" in this infamous conspiracy.

We are not at all surprised to see Gregory's self-adulation. We have always known and declared that—as on every other occasion—all bourgeois governments, all bourgeois institutions with their Social-democratic and similar hirelings and allies worked with every possible means against the Hungarian Workers' Government. These last-mentioned Judases of the working-class have always denied their counter-revolutionary activities. On the contrary, they have the impudence to pose as martyrs of the workers' cause. This testimony, of one of their accomplices, who—an anti-Bolshevik bourgeois gentleman and not a shabby Communist—declares quite openly that Boehm, Haubricht and Agoston, all well-known labour leaders, have secretly worked together with him in overthrowing the Soviet régime, is vitally important.

Let us hear the noble witness:—

"Labour joined the forces of the [Hungarian] Reds in small, but increasing numbers. Secretly, plans were made for the disruption of the Karolyi Government, and on the evening of March 21st [1919], with the republican army going over to Bolshevism by battalions, Karolyi's grip relaxed and his administration fell. The Reds, who had been hard at work with money and propaganda, at once leaped into the saddle. . .

"It was apparent to all in touch with the situation, that the salvation of Central Europe depended on the immediate ousting of Béla Kun from his position as Bolshevik dictator of Hungary. Bauer, Premier in Austria, was holding his people together by sheer force of personality and will power. Bolshevik money was advancing the propaganda of Communism through Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia; Italy was by no means safe; and in Germany anything might happen. Bolshevism in Hungary was a running sore, likely to spread infection throughout the whole emaciated political body of the Continent. . .

"The obvious method was to employ force to catch Béla Kun and his growing Red Army in great pincers formed by movements from the west and south and crush him. Marshal Foch was summoned for conference; he said that it would take an army of 250,000 men, completely equipped and prepared for a vigorous campaign. This programme staggered Paris, breathing a little more freely after the war, and now busily engaged in apportioning the spoils. . .

"The prospect was gloomy. . . Then an incident occurred. . . The man sent to Vienna as new Hungarian Minister was a General Boehm. When I saw Boehm I realised that there was a method at hand for the discomfiture of Béla Kun. . .

"Boehm, I thought, was the key to the situation. He had trained the Hungarian Red Army, and because of that was a powerful factor in the affairs of Hungary. We tested him for egotism, ambition and nerve; we decided that he had enough of the first to fire the second in him, and of the two to give him a passable amount of the third. Thereupon we drew him a picture of what it would mean if he should take the situation in hand, organise a revolution, and throw the Bolsheviks out of Hungary.

"We pointed out to him that the nations outside would do it in self-defence, if some strong man within did not anticipate them; we urged on him the opportunity that was offered him to make a deathless figure on history's pages—the hero who struck the bloody hand of Soviet-Communism from the throat of an exhausted nation! . . . In short, we offered him the enticing plum of glory, fame, honour and power, and a logical scheme for plucking it.

"Boehm was no fool. His first question was whether the Supreme Council would stand behind him; his second whether he could have assistance in gathering together the men he would need to move with him. On the first point, I could only say, that Paris would undoubtedly recognise and support any government, representative of all classes, on which the whole people of Hungary could agree; on the second that he undoubtedly knew of men who wielded really powerful influences in Hungary and who would undoubtedly fall in with any plan for the unhorsing of Béla Kun, were it sufficiently well conceived and organised to have reasonable chances of success.

"He instantly named Agoston and Haubricht, two of the most powerful of the labour representatives in the Kun Government. We agreed. They were sent for and came secretly to Vienna. We undertook to obtain the most favourable possible pronouncement from Paris; he declared that he would do the rest! The first step was taken. . .

"The declaration almost immediately suggested to Paris, through Mr. Hoover, contained the following points:—

(1) Assumption of dictatorship in which complete powers of government were to be vested. Names to be discussed. Haubricht, Agoston, Garami and Boehm.

(2) Dismissal of the Communistic Kun Government with a repudiation of Bolshevism and a complete cessation of Bolshevik propaganda.

(3) Dictatorship to bridge over period until formation of a government representative of all classes.

(4) Immediate cessation of all terrorist acts, confiscations, and seizures.

(5) Raising of blockade and immediate steps to be taken by Entente to supply Hungary with food and coal, and to assist in opening up the Danube.

(6) Immediate calling of an Entente advisory body.

(7) No political prosecutions.

(8) Ultimate determination respecting socialisation of permanent government. . .

"The Supreme Council, emphatic in the statement that this programme for Hungary was a general, rather than a specific, one, signed and issued it. Boehm and his associates, already in touch with influential friends and supporters in Hungary and now assured of the moral support of the Allies if they kept faith, began to crystallise their plans."

What after this follows is a little confused and incomplete, but it is an already well-known fact how Boehm and his company have continued their conspiracy—the secret beginning of which was here so clearly exposed—up to the logical end: to the unprecedented white terror.

Some corrections are necessary which do not affect in the least the value of the testimony. Otto Bauer was not Premier in Austria by name, but he was the leading figure of the Renner Cabinet, just the same as he is to-day the leading spirit of the Second-and-a-half International. Willy Boehm was no general and still less had he trained the Red Army. It is a sad fact, that he was the commander-in-chief of this army, but if he was partly responsible for the high command he had nothing to do with the heroic struggle of the Red soldiers. When the military situation had become somewhat serious, "General" Boehm fled at once to Vienna in order to take part in training and organising counter-revolutionaries, for which he had much more enthusiasm than for doing everything in his power for the improvement of the military situation of the young Proletarian State.

How was it possible for such traitors to hold responsible positions in Soviet Hungary? Well, this was a great mistake. It was committed when the Communists, on the first day of the dictatorship, accepted the collaboration of the social-democratic leaders, trusting to their confession of previous great errors, and in their promise to work in the future with all their energy on the basis of a pure Communist programme. The Communists of Hungary could not believe anything so devilish as that the great majority of these leaders had come into the Bolshevik Government simply to retain their waning influence and to ruining the Soviet system from inside.

Later, when all this had become obvious, the war, the blockade, and the counter-revolution did not allow a breathing time for settling with these infamous fratricides, and so the great mistake became a fatal one.

Mr. Gregory, a faithful representative of the parasitic class, is to be congratulated upon his contribution to the secret history of this infamous treachery. The workers of all countries should learn also from this tragical episode by what type of "leaders" are they misled, betrayed and massacred.

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THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC Notes from Ireland

AFTER examining reports from all Ireland on the present situation in industry, we are most struck by the steady and persistent attempts on the part of the employers to reduce wages, and the increasingly unsuccessful resistance on the part of the workers. Ireland is passing through the wage reduction stage that Britain experienced some six months previously. In isolated cases there are determined fights that have compelled the "bosses" to modify their demands, but on the whole the workers are getting the worst.

The most obvious reason for this is that the Trades Union Congress made a brave show of words about the coming fight, and then did nothing to back them up. They boasted that they were going to profit by the example of the English movement, from which they had "nothing to learn." One even boasted that we were so revolutionary that we could "teach the Russians how to revolute." They warned all that the country was about to witness the greatest upheaval in history, if the employers persisted in their demands. They solemnly assured each other that they would resist to the end any and every reduction. Then, a good week's "spouting" done, they troubled no more.

* * *

So, when the railmen were attacked, they made no efforts to get the dockers to line up with them; made no efforts to widen the strike, but insisting that the railmen were opposed to assistance, calmly left them alone. The employers, wiser men, had postponed the question of all other reductions until the railmen were defeated. Then they set about the dockers. After forcing the dockers to

retreat, they wiped up all the smaller sections: the carters, the chemical workers, the coal miners, the general labourers in many industries, even the agricultural labourers.

The workers are defeated in so many large spheres already that there is little resistance left in them for the coming winter. The rail shopmen, who amid varied and obscure disputes between the officials of their unions have come out, will evidently return quite shortly. The Dáil is about to arbitrate, through its Minister of Economics. It is probable that the result will follow the lines suggested by the unions in the first instance. They agreed to resume work on the old wages, that arbitration take place on the matter, and the award to give effect to the reduction (if any) from the date of resumption, if the arbitrator should so decide. The Companies refused this, requiring the reductions to be accepted first and arbitration to take place afterwards. The Dáil will suggest that the reductions will date from the serving of the demand by the employers, which is in no way inconsistent with the weak-kneed basis of arbitration that the unions put forward.

* * *

Meanwhile, there are some 9,000 workers unemployed in Dublin, and already there have been one or two small demonstrations. No organisation has been formed, for the people who initiated the meetings are few in numbers, and not in any way associated with any Socialist or other revolutionary group. This is lamentable. The occasion obviously is heaven-sent for the revival of the Irish Citizens' Army. The Irish "bosses" will not yield to any other persuasive power. The

I.C.A. will soon be needed to supplement and even persuade the I.R.A.

What action has the "Workers' Council" taken to meet the starvation of the 40,000, at a modest estimate, who are suffering directly through the unemployment? It discussed a boycott of the butchers for a month by the workers, so as to compel them to reduce prices. In short, become a vegetarian. The unemployed will find it easy to "boycott" the butchers with the miserable dole a few of them get.

* * *

There are several signs of the activities of the Socialist Party of Ireland being renewed on a much larger scale than formerly. The Party has issued the second number of its official bulletin (the "Workers' Republic"), the first organ of the Party since 1898, when James Connolly first published the well known "Workers' Republic," which after a lapse was revived in 1913 to continue till "Easter Week."

From Belfast comes the news that the local branches of the I.L.P., which are on a much higher revolutionary plane than their name indicates, are receiving spontaneous applications to form branches from workers in the country. This shows that despite the Orange Terror, the class consciousness of the Ulster workers is developing. The circulation of the COMMUNIST is six times as high in Belfast as in Dublin. All the same, the Belfast revolutionaries should beware of dividing up forces unnecessarily. Nuclei of the Socialist Party of Ireland already exist in Dublin, Cork, Mallow, Limerick, etc. Why do not the Belfast people link up with the Dublin secretariat and go straight to the formation of a united Irish Party?

WITH THE RED FLAG

Rules for the Constitution and Organisation of Communist Groups in Italy

The Trade Union Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Italy has issued the following set of rules re the formation of Communist groups.

1. In every locality the Communist section must endeavour to unite the members of the Party who work in the same establishment, office, or factory, into a Communist Group, which must consist of at least three members.

Sympathizers, who are not members of the C.P. may join, but a separate list must be kept of such who are given the designation of sympathetic members (soci simpatizzanti). Communist groups should also be formed in Trade Unions, Trade Leagues or Alliances, and in Co-operative Societies. The procedure should be the same as indicated above.

The members of Communist groups must belong to the Red Trade Union International. The subscription should be small and the funds devoted exclusively to the expenses of internal organisation and to propaganda.

2. The Communist groups should direct their efforts mainly to propaganda among the workers—organised and unorganised—they should endeavour to become a link between the Party and the workers, explaining to the latter the main decisions and activities, whether political or industrial, of the C.P., so that the proletariat may be induced to support our Party in whatever action may be from time to time decided upon. In a word, the Communist groups must be the long arm of the Party in factory, workshop, club, etc.

The Communist groups have special functions to perform in the Trade Unions. Where our members are in a minority they should work constantly to become the majority, either by inducing the unorganised to enter the organisation, or by continually reaffirming our principles in meetings and assemblies, and by having a list of candidates for election to the various offices always ready. These candidates should be either Communists or trusted sympathisers, possibly members of a Communist group. Where our members have already captured the administrative posts the Communist groups should endeavour to help these comrades in acquiring and maintaining the confidence of the masses by persuading and assisting the latter to follow a steady course according to the spirit and policy of the Organisation.

3. Every group should elect a Committee of three or five (according to the number of members) who should be chosen exclusively from members of the C.P. This Group Committee would then appoint one of its members to the local "Comitato Sindacale Comunista," which is composed entirely of members elected by the different Communist groups in the district. Each "Comitato Sindacale Comunista" elects its own Committee to which one member is appointed directly by the Executive Committee of the Communist section. The function

of the "Comitato Sindacale" is to keep in touch with the groups and to see that discipline is kept and to help them to develop.

They must keep a list of the constituent groups and of the number of members in each; must inform the Central Committee from time to time of the local situation and of the needs and difficulties of each group.

The Central Committee will also form National Committees among the Communist groups of the same trade and belonging to the same National Federation. These Committees will control nationally the Communist minority. All the weekly organs of the Italian C.P. have been requested to publish this communication, which is signed by the Comitato Executive Sindacale.

The Red Trade Union International at Vienna.

The Press Bureau of the R.T.U.I. states that neither the Red metalworkers' nor the Red employees' delegations were allowed to participate in the international congresses at Vienna, and only Yusefovich, the R.T.U.I. representative in Germany, managed to get a hearing at the leatherworkers' congress. His speech of greeting, in which he outlined the whole industrial programme of the R.T.U.I., created a great sensation, in spite of the constant attempts of the reformist element to hinder him. When the revolutionary minority proposed him as candidate for the presidium, the chairman, Sassenbach, stated that this could not be permitted, as Yusefovich was a guest at the congress; and this fact was impressed repeatedly upon him during the debates.

No means—insults and attacks against the Russian revolution; personal slander, etc.—were spared in the effort to provoke our comrade to some action which would render him liable to expulsion from the congress; but to all these attacks he replied by arguments on principle, not on details.

The grand debate was on the question of Amsterdam or Moscow, in which Yusefovich, in spite of standing orders, was only given fifteen minutes. His opponent was Fimmen, the secretary of Amsterdam, and in this way the two international organisations crossed swords for the first time. Naturally, affiliation to Amsterdam was voted, against a minority of six (Russia, Bulgaria, Norway and Lithuania, as guests, were not allowed to participate in the voting). The appearance of a representative of the R.T.U.I., however, made a great impression.

Labour Conditions in Russia.

In connection with the new economic policy, the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions is working out standard labour conditions for workers and employees in privately-leased undertakings. Under the new conditions, particularly in those enterprises which have been granted as concessions, the decisive factor must be wages, which will be calculated on the basis of the minimum living wage.

All labour conditions will be determined by collective contract, disputes being referred to joint commissions.

If the concessionaire has more than 250 workers under him, he is obliged to import food and articles of primary necessity from abroad, disposing of them to the workers at cost price. On the same understanding, the A.R.C.T.U. imposes the duty medical aid to the workers upon their employer; but social welfare as a whole remains the prerogative of the State.

The factory committees of leased undertakings carry on trade union work and check the execution of the collective contract, but take no part in economic and administrative work. The fundamental principle of the A.R.C.T.U. in dealing with concessionaires and private individuals is to safeguard the class interests of the proletariat under the present economic circumstances, taking account of the interests of that part of industry which is controlled by the State. Foreign workers brought in by concessionaires must in time become members of the Russian unions.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has appointed Lunacharsky as its delegate to the congress of the Socialist Party of Italy, to put the point of view of the E.C.C.I. before the Italian workers; and has requested the E.C. of the Italian Socialist Party to do its utmost to see that the necessary visa is granted by the Italian Government.

The Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party has appealed to married women who are members of the Party to give up their wedding rings in aid of Volga Famine Relief Fund. Lists of such contributions are being published daily in "Pravda."

The Persian Government has granted 720,000 lbs. of rice and 440,000 lbs. of corn to the Volga Famine Relief Fund.

Seven hundred nuns have been turned out of the Stavropol Convent to provide premises for a children's colony for children from the famine provinces.

In the wrecking of a food train for the Donetz region in the early morning of September 7th, caused by Petluran agents working from within the Polish or Roumanian frontiers, there perished twenty or thirty workers, fifty trucks, and over 44,000 poods of grain.

The "Rote Fahne" has been suppressed by the German Government for three days for printing the text of a letter to the authorities from the Commissary for Public Safety, Weissman, proposing that branches of the secret police should be opened in Petrograd and Moscow.

T. A. JACKSON is in distress from lack of dwelling accommodation. Family four. Can any comrade oblige with flat or rooms. Address:—COMMUNIST Office.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND US

THAT our warning of civil war this winter was well based has been demonstrated by events. At Aberdeen, Dundee, Liverpool, Sheffield, Bristol, and in various parts of London there have been collisions between unemployed demonstrators and the police—"officially" fearful of an assault upon the persons of Borough Councillors and Guardians to whom application was being made. At various places—London, Liverpool, and Glasgow for example—unemployed leaders and speakers of Communist tendencies have been arrested. Once again "sedition" trials appear in the daily press. The whole situation grows ominous.

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We do not wish to give old news, and events happen so swiftly that were we to give full details of every happening we could fill a paper double the size of the COMMUNIST with the particulars of the various incidents. Suffice it to say that the unemployed are everywhere getting organised to press their demand for maintenance in such a way as to compel attention. Their local organisations must be and will be united into a national one. The evil cannot be dealt with even partially upon a local basis. Those responsible for unemployment must accept responsibility for its consequences.

The fate of Poplar is illustrative. The Council here had to choose between refusing relief except upon a scale too ignominious to do aught but accentuate the misery, and granting a scale of relief that would render the local authority bankrupt. They evaded the dilemma by refusing to raise their share of the demands of the London County Council. This is of greater significance than would appear on the surface. The London Boroughs were established in the Balfour regime for the express purpose of creating a counterpoise against the then "Progressive" County Council. Matters of Poor Law relief were left to the local bodies as a mere incidental parish question in the hope that the apathy of the general worker, and the demoralised hopelessness of the unemployed would leave the class-consciousness of the petty-middle class free to operate in "saving the rates" and stemming the rise of any working-class consciousness. The machinery thus created has entangled its authors. The prosperous middle-class now live mainly outside the Council Area. The Proletarian Boroughs are left as great dormitories with only a sprinkling of shop-keepers to hold aloft the flag of property and its rights. At the last election the various Labour Parties were triumphant in a number of London Boroughs with the result that the stigma of "Progressivism" has passed from the County Council to the Boroughs.

The Council has the legal authority to levy the Borough for Education, road upkeep, main drainage, and other public services within its province. The Borough in like manner have their public services—baths, wash-houses, sanitary inspection, libraries, etc.—the nature of which will vary as varies the nature of the population.

In certain of the London Boroughs, as for example the "City," Westminster, Holborn and Kensington, the demands for free libraries, baths and wash-houses will be relative to their potential income negligible. The revenue is raised directly by the Boroughs through a "rate"—a levy of so much in the pound upon the "rateable value" of each house. This "rateable value" is always a portion only of the full rental value—a fact which makes possible rates of 20/- and upwards in the pound. A district such as Poplar will have a large mass of small proletarian dwelling houses but very few buildings of large rentals. Its burdens from poor relief, housing, sanitation, etc., will be high; its sources of revenue few. In the Boroughs above-named large blocks of buildings with high rentals give a rateable value of enormous dimensions. The conveniences supplied by the County Council are of greater importance to the business, shopping and amusement centres in these boroughs than to Poplar, Bethnal Green, or Bermondsey. Hence the feeling that these districts when the distress is great are limited in their powers by an arrangement which frees the wealthy Boroughs from much of the expense of the public conveniences which they enjoy and saddles the cost upon the local authorities—charged with responsibility for the relief of destitution.

The action of the Poplar Borough Council has brought the matter to a head. Bethnal Green is following its example. Stepney and others are following. The gain from all this is that the suffering of the unemployed is forced on the attention of everybody as a matter that can be ignored no longer.

It must be remembered that this is not conclusive. Were the London County Council to be forced to equalise rates over the whole area it would, almost certainly, want to control the administration of relief to the unemployed and the destitute. In that case the unemployed would be forced to concentrate their demonstrations upon the County Council. The effect of this massing of all the unemployed in London can better be imagined than described. In such a case we might get a revolt of the County Council against the National Government. Anyway the question of the life conditions of the working-class is forced to the front over all other questions. This is just as it should be. While there exists a working-class it and its concerns are the paramount facts of existence. To make them so is the duty of every party professing concern for the workers.

We are not at all disturbed to discover that the *Times* roundly accuses the Communist Party of creating unrest among the unemployed. We cannot imagine anything more vile and contemptible than an unemployed man who would accept the boss's decree as final and sit down patiently to watch his children hunger under his eyes because the boss has bade him so. He who has called children into the world has incurred the duty of finding adequate maintenance for them. He has no right—no moral right—to accept with meekness any decree which will let them starve. The defenders of the existing system claim that it is adequate for all the purposes of life, liberty and happiness. It is therefore the plain duty of those who, through no fault of their own, are left without means of existence to go to the agents of this system and demand without fear or flinching that to which they are entitled.

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If it be true that the activities of the Communist Party have roused these otherwise abject derelicts of the capitalist system into an organised and manly demand for the essentials of bare existence, the Communist Party has done something of which to be proud.

It is the function of the Communist Party to aid the growth of working-class consciousness. To get, that is to say those who are of the working-class to become keenly alive to the circumstances which unite their interests and their hopes with those of their fellows, and those other circumstances which oppose their life interests to those of the property owning and ruling capitalist class. It is its function therefore to seize upon every grievance of the workers wherever and whenever it may arise, to give it expression, to be as occasion may require spokesman, champion, counsel, and defender of every section of workers threatened in life, liberty, or well-being whether by the general or special inroads of the prevailing plutocracy.

To cultivate a keen indignation at the outrages perpetrated by the capitalist system, to show not on paper or in words alone but in the actual facts of poverty, unemployment, strikes, lockouts, civil commotion and international slaughter, the moral and material enslavement of the working mass; to cultivate a righteous contempt for the humbug that conceals bourgeois class prejudice under the name of "morality," bourgeois group interests under the name "patriotism," and the safe guarding of bourgeois property and its institutions under the name of "justice—to do all that and so create a hatred of bourgeois sham and the shame which its continuance inflicts upon us of the Proletariat; to cultivate co-relatively to this hatred and contempt for the bourgeois system a respect for and confidence in the powers and possibilities of the great wage-working mass once they become aware of the actual situation before them—once they grasp the fact that the future is in their own hands—to cultivate by experience and by precept this class emotion and class will is the work before the Communist Party.

Whether the unemployed get much or little the result will be the same—a wide insight into the class nature of all politics; a keen sense of the isolation of the wage-workers when any question of Bourgeois property is involved; a growing determination to stand in solidarity with their fellow workers because all else is sophistry and illusion—these are the gains from the unemployed agitation. And they are not the only gains. When there is hunger there may well be anger; and the anger of the hungry may and normally would take the form of such sporadic outbreaks of looting as would give the ruling Bourgeoisie an excuse for mobilising their White Guards to supplement the physical force of the police and soldiery. It is in the highest degree important that whatever the unemployed do they do in a controlled and disciplined fashion. It is not the fear of a few smashed windows, or of a few provision stores looted that will bring the fear of the future into the heart of the bourgeoisie. The insurance companies will cheerfully pool this risk and make money out of it. The bourgeoisie will be delighted at the excuse a few riots will provide to put under arrest every prominent communist. In fact the great danger just now is that the *agents provocateurs* will succeed in fomenting a series of local explosions of violence, as a result of which the organisation of the unemployed will be broken and the unity dissipated.

What the bourgeoisie fears is the unity and solidarity of the working class as a whole. Solidarity between all sections of the unemployed and between those now in work and those now out of work. Solidarity all along the line to demand that the ruling class shall either give the means of a full and healthy existence or clear the way for those who will.—It is that feeling and the growth of that feeling that they fear because once it arises who can say it "Nay"?

We do not advocate indiscriminate violence. We do not of course propose to join the bourgeoisie in condemning those of their victims who may feel driven to this. When such things happen our first impulse will be to say "serve them right." But we do not *advocate* anything of the kind. If we are asked by the unemployed or by anybody else what cure we have to suggest for unemployment we answer—"The Rule of Work by the Workers in the interest of the Workers." And because we believe that to this belief all workers must come at long last we make it our endeavour here and now to earn the respect and confidence of all who suffer from the evils of capitalism so that they may be turned from victims of a plunder system into labourers for its overthrow under the Banner of Communism and its Party.