

# THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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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.2.

## NOTES OF THE WEEK

### De Valera and the Pope

The London daily Press, including the *Daily Herald*, is making a great to-do about De Valera's telegram to the Pope, and prophesying from it the collapse of the Irish negotiations. While we are being tormented with scare headlines, it is as well to remember that all the telegram really said was that the Irish Republic still existed and had not been compromised by any of the negotiations. This, as had been amply shown by the incidents that occurred when Lloyd George was up at Gairloch, was a mere statement of fact. The Republic is not compromised—yet. And the telegram was only published because Mr. De Valera is feeling uncomfortable at the pressure of his own Left wing and found it necessary to compromise with them, and perhaps with his own conscience, by this declaration. For whatever he may say, it is quite clear that the Republic will be compromised by the negotiations.

That Mr. Lloyd George will break off the negotiations over this letter to the Pope is most improbable. It is the attitude of America and the Colonies which has made it desirable for him to compromise with De Valera, and he is too well aware of the uneasy situation of the British Empire internationally to yield to the clamour of his less intelligent followers.

### Respectable Revolution

The Portuguese revolution is at the moment of writing a pretty puzzle. The "Revolution" was engineered from outside. So much is clear. It is also clear that no social transformation is as yet involved and that it is merely a case of one set of capitalist hangers-on expelling another. But who put them up to it? Who paid the piper? England or America?

The previous Portuguese Government had been for many years practically a British dependant. It had been used by the British to gain the lion's share not only of the lucrative trade with the Portuguese provinces in Africa, but also in Brazil, whose trade is very largely controlled by Lisbon still. This virtual monopoly America had been very anxious to smash, in particular the trade with Brazil, for the U.S.A. has for a long while regarded any European trade with South America as an invasion of its undisputed rights.

At first sight, therefore, one would say that the new Government probably consisted of American agents. On the other hand, it is the fact that recently British Chambers of Commerce protested against the financial policy of the Portuguese Government in Africa, and in various minor ways it appeared that the Government was becoming slightly less subservient. Now, it would be the easiest thing in the world for the British Government to arrange a Portuguese "palace revolution" of the present kind, if it thought it worth while.

So until the new Government shows its hand, therefore, it is uncertain whose agent it is. Only one thing is certain, that the Portuguese people and working-class have nothing to do with it.

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### Parliament Meets

Parliament has met, and for some long period the newspapers will be practically unreadable. It was with real distress that one opened last Friday's *Daily Herald* to find five whole columns devoted to a re-hash of bad speeches, special prominence being given by the unfortunate "Parliamentary correspondent" to three of the worst gassers in the Labour movement—Spoor, Sexton, and the godly Morgan Jones.

Nothing really matters that occurs in Parliament, and the speeches least of all. Sometimes, however, the House of Commons is used by the bosses for handing out some of the worst insults and most contemptuous attacks that they have decided shall be made on the workers. For example, the incredibly impudent proposal that the workers—under-employed and with wages heavily cut—shall be taxed 2d. "for the unemployed," while the employer shall be taxed another 2d. to make it "fair." Twopence from his profits—how generous, and how impartial our Premier is.

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### Poplar—the Fruits

This is, in some measure, the result of the Poplar incident. We said at the time that the virtue of the Poplar Council's revolt lay in the revolt, not in its results, which would be a more or less unsatisfactory compromise. The Poplar Council landed the L.C.C. an unexpected blow and started a valuable precedent in disorganising bourgeois local government. It crowned this achievement by extricating itself from prison by a gross and scarcely veiled insult to the Court, which was forced to pretend this was an apology.

After this there is not so much to be proud about. A fishy scheme of rate-equalisation in which rotten boroughs will have many fingers, and this insolent unemployment bill of the Government. A move has been made by Poplar, which surprised the adversary, and a slight advantage of position gained. But it is not checkmate or even check, merely a bishop's move. And the unemployed are practically where they were, and the winter is bitter.

Meanwhile that silly ass, Mayor Gentry of Fulham, provides a suitable epilogue by complaining in the *Herald* that George Lansbury said the Fulham Council deserved whatever it got. Lansbury replied that he didn't say exactly that, but he omitted to add that it was true, and he certainly meant it if he didn't say it.

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### A Knowing Emir

The Emir of Katsina, as you may have observed if you have been reading the papers, has been taken round to see the sights and lavishly fêted by the British Government (for pure love of him, of course, and without a thought of the acquisition of his territory in Nigeria and his half million subjects). The Emir, being a prudent man, has come to the conclusion that he personally finds British rule an admirable thing. In fact, there was only one inconvenience he had to complain of, and that was the pressure

over the little question of the abolition of slavery. And even there he discovered that civilisation has its resources. "As against this," he declares, "I have found that instead of slaves one possesses money." Exactly.

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### The Fourth International

We have been asked to say something about the proposed Fourth International. We should have preferred to leave the movers of this project to speak for themselves, as nothing is to be gained by spending much time and space upon it. The project has arisen from the Communist Labour Party of Germany, a small party of the "Infantile Left" in Germany which has always had an erratic history and was in its early days mixed up with the "National Bolshevism" or patriotic bolshevism of Laufenburg. Its later differences with the Third International have concerned the use of the parliamentary platform for propaganda, and work within the existing trade unions. In both of these questions the Party takes the "Simon-Pure" revolutionary attitude. The last Congress of the Third International called on the party to accept the decisions of the International and unite with the mass Communist Movement in Germany or else to pass outside the Third. The party thereon decided to pass outside and to call on any kindred elements in other countries to form a Fourth International.

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### The Real Issue

It is quite possible to disagree with particular rulings of the International on special questions, such as parliamentary action, etc. We believe that such disagreement is mistaken and based on a failure to realise the character of Communist work; but an individual may honestly hold such a view and hope that the International may reverse its decision, which he accepts in the meantime. But if as soon as any subordinate disagreement arises he chooses to break away, that is an end of the International. This is the real issue raised by the movers of the Fourth. The questions of trade union policy and the use of parliament are minor questions, dependent on circumstances; the decisions on them can be changed; they concern only the translation of revolutionary outlook. But the real issue is the issue of the International, and that is fundamental. We will have no repetition of the old International. The discipline of the International is essential to victory; the workers know it and will not let it be broken. By their attack on the Third the Communist Labour Party and their friends have placed themselves, however little they may have attempted it, on the side of the counter-revolution. And already their papers may be observed to be beginning to produce the very attacks and calumnies on Soviet Russia that are to be found in abundance in the right wing of the Socialist press of the *Freiheit-Populaire* type. That sign alone is sufficient to reveal their real character to the working class.

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### Famine Relief: A Suggestion

We have received the following suggestion, which we gladly pass on to our readers:—

Every branch of the Communist Party throughout the country should call a meeting in their respective localities inviting thereto delegates from

(Continued on page 2)

## ORGANIZERS NOTES AND ANSWERS

The laxity of branch secretaries to send in the Returns in the Monthly Report is a source of constant worry to this office, and should receive closer attention. There is no reason why these returns could not be made out and sent in *within seven days* of their receipt. When filling them up, even though it entails some repetition work, it is better for our purposes to repeat than to write "same as before." Special attention should also be given to the financial details and the particulars given, otherwise it involves unnecessary correspondence.

\* \* \*

A number of branches have not yet sent in replies to our questionnaire as to the possibilities in their constituency for the forthcoming general election. The information asked for should not by any means be minimised. Even if your branch is small and the prospects rather doubtful in face of strong reaction, that is no reason why you should think it of no consequence to answer our queries. The Communist Party is a *political party* and not a Labour College or social club, and if it is to become *the* leader of the working masses, it must participate in *all* forms of proletarian activity. It is our intention to shake up the bourgeois forces in every constituency in the country at the next election. Therefore, whether your branch is small or large, whether a candidate can be run or not, it is the duty of all Communists to be alive to the political situation and possibilities in their respective constituencies so that we may be able to give them the requisite attention either by literature distribution, oppositional meetings, or direct Communist meetings. *See that all the requisite information is sent on here.*

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The acute situation arising from unemployment is hitting the Communist Party in the pocket just as it is hitting other political parties. If anything, the Communists are worse off than others because of the nature of our propaganda. It is true that to "tak the breeks off a heilanman" is a difficult job, but Communists surely recognise central machinery is impossible without finance. We urgently need funds at Headquarters to maintain, extend, and develop our work. We have no unlimited resources like the British Empire Union. Unlike these people Communists have to pay for their politics. That is the least part of the many sacrifices we have to make. But it is a very important one nevertheless, and never more important than the present. If every member who reads this just takes a look at his contribution card and sees right away that it is paid up to date, a good service will be done for the Party. Do it Now!

### W. L. H. Worcester :

Thanks for information. To be secretary of four such bodies is a big task but stick it if at all possible. Communists should retain contact with all proletarian movements.

### E. W. Forest Hill :

The "Gentleman" you refer to will duly receive their reward. The suggestions you make are interesting, though it must be understood that organisation on the lines you suggest is difficult to carry out.

### H. H., Crayford :

Excellent report sheet. Never mind the difficulties in recruiting members. To be a mass party does not mean we must open the ranks to all and sundry or run about looking for numbers. If, as you say, the labourists are losing their hold on the workers and that the C.P. members command the situation, then you are on right lines. To have the confidence of the mass in your Communist leadership and the ability to exercise the leadership is the important thing.

### Barry, Merthyr :

Note you have stopped "Dreadnought." While you should shout with increasing voice for "work or full maintenance" it is not enough to shout. Communists must lead the struggle and formulate the concrete demands of the workers, always putting the responsibility on the capitalists for the present chaos. Resolution is all right.

### M. B., Hammersmith

Margaret Clements is expelled as undesirable. All branches are requested to note.

## NOTES—(Continued)

all forms of labour expression, such as : the I.L.P., the Co-op., the local branches of the various Trade Unions, etc., with a view to discussing ways and means of collecting the largest possible sum in the shortest possible time. If such meetings were held they could be very fruitful in organising workshop appeals, house-to-house collections, street collections (that is, adults and children by the score perambulating every street with collecting boxes). They could do all this and a lot more if imagination were used. In the event of all other bodies refusing to respond because the invitation came from the Communist Party, then I think the Communist Party can still proceed with such a scheme by calling in the aid of their sympathisers. If the Party, at their various meetings, made a strong appeal to their sympathisers to help in collecting money in the matter described, such an appeal would not be in vain. Dr. Nansen's effort seems to be the best so far. This is because he is working with tremendous passion to rescue the famine-stricken. If the Communist Party of Great Britain can do anything to emulate this passion, then they will be doing a great thing for humanity, for the Soviet Government, and for the mind of the masses in this and other countries.

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### In Morrison's Land

The Hackney Trades Council and Labour Party have received from their National E.C. the letter telling them to exclude the Communist Party from their ranks. At the meeting, for which the Labour Mayor Morrison's followers whipped up a strong force, the secretary, immediately after reading the letter, moved that the National E.C.'s instruction be carried out, despite the fact that the executive of the local party had recommended to the full Council that the Communist Party's affiliation be continued. This is the third attempt to exclude the Communist Party. This time the matter is being referred to the constituent bodies for decision. All efforts are being made, under the influence of Morrison, to secure support for our exclusion. The local Branch has countered them by sending a letter to the trade union branches explaining our case and position in the working class movement. In connection with the work on the Borough Council, our members, through the unemployed organisation, forced a resolution to refuse to levy the precepts for the Central Governing bodies, which resolution was taken up by the Communists on the Borough Council, but defeated. Morrison inspired his tame "labour" supporters to go into division along with the opponents of labour.

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### Russian Famine Fund

Application has been made to the Commissioners for permission to take street collections in the whole of the Metropolitan area on a day to be arranged. London branches of the Communist Party are asked *not* to make separate applications for local collecting days.

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### Sacco-Vanzetti

If proof were needed to denounce the Sacco-Vanzetti case as one of victimisation, the recent action of the management of the Slates and Merrill Shoe Factory, Braintree, Massachusetts, provides it. It was outside this factory that Sacco is alleged to have committed the crime, and Louis D. Wade, a workman at the firm, professed to having seen him in the act. Later, he began to reconsider the position in the light of the fact that many Italians look rather like Sacco, his hairdresser most of all; this discovery determined him to refuse to identify Sacco when called as a witness. His employers resented this action, and now Wade has been dismissed after a term of seventeen years employment at the Slates and Merrill factory, no reason having been given. Reports of dismissals of other workers who gave favourable evidence at the court are numerous.

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### Italian Socialists Mark Time

The Milan Congress has left the Italian Socialist Party where it was—with one foot in either camp. The logical consequence of passing out of the Third International was pressed by Turati and the reformists: namely to enter into coalition with the bourgeois Government. But Serrati and the majority of the party were not yet ready to do this. They received 47,628 votes for their policy of

abstention from coalition against 19,916 for Turati. But Turati has the majority in the Parliamentary Group. And Serrati still refuses to break with Turati and the reformists. So the Party is left paralysed in face of violent reaction in Italy. A small group of 3,765 who did not go over to the Communist Party last January voted for the Third International and will presumably join the Communists.

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### Aldred

We appealed recently in these columns for more aid for Guy Aldred, who is working out a vilely unjust sentence in Glasgow. If anyone has anything to send to help, it should be sent to J. MacGovan, 844 Shettleston Road, Shettleston, Glasgow.

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# WHAT THEY COULD DO By T. A. Jackson

**W**HO are they? The people who rule us and those who constitute the official alternative to them—"His Majesty's Opposition."

They are each anxious to do something for the Unemployed. The Government because they are afraid of what may happen if they don't—the Opposition because of what may happen if *they* do. Each of them has its set of more or less nebulous proposals. Each is afraid to be too plain lest the other steal their notion and "go one better."

Both work within a sharp limitation. Neither conceives it possible to end unemployment as a social phenomenon; both are busy devising plans for "reviving trade" on a Capitalist basis.

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For instance. In addition to initiating extensive public works of utility—roads, land drainage, afforestation—work which will benefit immediately only those skilled in digging, etc. The Prime Minister proposes to subsidise (or should it be "underwrite") foreign trade to the extent of guaranteeing 100 per cent. on condition that some 57 per cent. is recoverable ultimately, from the assisted exporter. This will enable, it is hoped, trade to be reopened. Specifically mentioned were Central Europe and the Dominions. Carefully unmentioned in this connection was Russia.

It must be clear to the meanest intelligence that this scheme will involve the inflation of the possessions of the subsidised manufacturer and exporter to a far greater extent than it will bring relief and benefit to the unemployed. In the case of textile goods, for instance, the exporters have their warehouses full—the sale of their contents will enable their owners to re-start their mills; but if the owner takes a timid view of future prospects they will re-start upon a very subdued scale and *tempo*. If the owner gambles and recommences in full blast how long will it be before the market is glutted and another unemployed problem created?

Capitalism has caught itself between the jaws of its own vice. It constantly increases the production of the means of more rapid production, and simultaneously decreases progressively the consuming power of the mass of the population. Then it wags its stupid head in wonderment because "trade is dislocated"—never seeing, because it is too fat to see, that the Capitalist class are too few to consume this vast surplus as individuals and that any other sort of consumption—whether the public waste of war or the private expansion of productive enterprises—only aggravates the evil by expanding the accredited wealth and consuming power of the ruling capitalist class at the expense of that of the working mass.

*The cure is to make it possible for the working mass to consume, individually or collectively, all that is produced.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Example again. There are millions of people in Britain who need boots. Cannot the Government "guarantee" the "risk" of supplying this lack? Others need food, others clothes; others houses—even wooden huts would alleviate the horrible evils of over-crowding now prevailing! Cannot the Government "underwrite" the supply of these things? Cannot they authorise the supply of them to all those in need of them?

Ah! but where is the money to come from? Where will it come from if they "subsidise" trade to Germany or the Dominions? It will all at long last come from production—from the work products of the working mass. Facilitate the satisfaction of their needs and you increase at once the productivity of the country, since fit and fed men produce better than men enfeebled by lack of nourishment.

To supply the needs of the British people alone would strain all the productive possibilities now existing in Britain. Not in Foreign but in Home consumption lies the remedy.

But we need for Home satisfaction Foreign products—foodstuffs, raw materials, appliances—and these we can only get in exchange for home products.

True enough. But the point is we *can* get them, and things *can* be produced here which will be accepted readily in exchange for products elsewhere.

If you cut away all this *gallimurphy* of "credits," "exchange-rates," "mint-par," and "bourse-quotations," you get down to the elementary truth that the things which matter, when life and not property is in question, are usable products which can be obtained whenever the men and the materials can be brought together. Look at Russia for the great example. There, through no fault of their own, are millions hungering to death.

If Russia had had for the last month some of the hundreds of motors, lorries, cycles and so forth which are rotting in their dumps at Slough, or some of the hundreds of tanks which assault the eyes and disfigure the souls of everybody in most provincial towns, many of these could be saved. For there is corn to spare in some parts of Russia, but—thanks to Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and other pets of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill—no transport available to carry it where there is death from lack of it. If they had had even the old boots, old uniforms, old blankets, and *old nails* which lie rusting and rotting in their dumps, the corn could have been collected quicker from the fortunate peasants and the lives of the unfortunate saved.

There is corn in Canada and in the U.S.A.—rotting for want of purchasers. There is maize in the Argentine *being burnt as fuel*. There are ships and men idle in Britain.

Cannot the Government buy this corn and charter these ships to take it to Russia—receiving in return timber, metals, flax, oil, and corn from the future harvests of Russia? Cannot they from their resources draw motor-transport, ploughs, and agricultural machinery?—the making of all of which would "find work" for the thousands of idle engineers?

And seeing the urgency of the thing—for millions will die of hunger unless we act at once—cannot they "commandeer" every motor vehicle available in depôt, showroom, and manufactory and get them away at once?

They could do this. They could do it before these lines appear; and the doing of it would ease the situation for the unemployed at home as well as save the lives of the hungry in Russia.

*They could do it—but they won't!*

They want the hunger of the Russians to drive the Soviet Republic into promising to "pay the debts of the Tsar!"

They care more for a gang of fat money-lenders in Paris than for the starving millions of Russia, and the suffering unemployed of Britain all put together.

They care everything for Property and its Profits and nothing at all for the lives of the common people when these can only be saved at the expense of that.

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In the face of these things what is the Labour Party doing?

Is it trying to force the Government to do either of these things? And if the Government will not be forced, is it trying to bring down the Government, so that taking its place, it can do them itself?

\* \* \* \* \*

We shall, I suppose, be forced to "wait and see." And while we wait in Russia they will die: in England they will get nearer death.





ESPOIR

For the "relief of unemployment" Mr. Lloyd George has promised that £300,000 shall be found to export ex-servicemen to the Colonies



## WHY HAS THE RUSSIAN POLICY CHANGED?

IN the spring of this year the Soviet Government found that the organisation of industry, which had been adopted during the counter-revolutionary wars, was not working efficiently. It therefore determined that a change of system was necessary, and after the fullest deliberation and consultation with the Trade Union organisations, a new scheme was adopted which is known as "the new economic policy." The first results of the change were soon seen in agriculture, and it is safe to say that but for the changed method of obtaining grain from the peasants, little, if any, of the famine relief work actually carried out would have been possible. In the sphere of industry, too, the results so far recorded are favourable; the total output is increasing, and it is possible to raise the general standard of living for the town workers. These however are, in one sense, purely material considerations; the question of whether the change was necessary, or was worth while, from the general revolutionary standpoint, requires careful examination. There is no doubt that the changes involved in the new policy have produced a certain uneasiness, even dissatisfaction, among certain of the revolutionary sections of Western Europe. These consider that the changes involve a complete abandonment of the revolutionary position, or at least are so dangerous to its future development that no temporary advantages could justify them.

The question may seem an open one to the looker-on in Western Europe; and in proportion as he misunderstood the previous history of the revolution, so it is probable that he misunderstands the situation which has led to the adoption of the new economic policy. The first and most fundamental point to be grasped is that the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 did not, and could not have been expected to, produce a full-fledged Communist system in Russia. What it did produce was the transference of all power, *i.e.*, all the State machinery, military and political, to the Soviets and the Government supported by them. The Soviet Government had then the twofold task of bringing about a system of Communism, while at the same time maintaining the revolution against internal and external attack. Naturally, its first action was to consolidate its own position by taking over those sections of industry which were of prime importance. As the counter-revolutionary activities developed it became necessary to assume the control of wider sections of industry, and this was done through the machinery of the Supreme Economic Council.

The work of the Supreme Economic Council fell into two main divisions—the centralisation of statistics of output and requirements, and the centralisation of management. The first—the centralisation of statistics—was absolutely essential to any co-ordinated economic plan, such as is vital to a Communist Society. The second was not, in fact, even attempted at the outset; but the management of the factories by the workers themselves did not produce good results, and it became necessary to assume more and more central supervision in order to meet urgent needs. Thus the system of "Trusts" grew up, large groups of factories in particular industries being joined together for administrative purposes under a Board, which itself was part of the Supreme Economic Council. This system of centralised management worked better than management by the workers in the factory, and difficulties only arose when the end of the civil war made it possible to proceed with the general plan of economic reorganisation. Then it was found that production, which had been increasing under the urgent stress of the civil war, was beginning to decline, and the general situation, which had been slowly improving up to the end of 1920, got definitely worse in the early part of 1921.

Why was this? Partly, no doubt, because everyone and everything was wearing out under the strain, and no relief could be obtained by the import of vital goods from abroad. But the decline was also due to the fact that the centralised control of all industry had proved too difficult a task; numbers of the most reliable workers had been killed in the wars; and bureaucratic methods had crept in to the whole system. The Soviet Government could not satisfy itself that the centralised control would produce, during the coming year or two, enough to meet the vital needs of the people.

At the same time, the wider plans of industrial development—the exploitation of hitherto untouched resources, the electrification of agriculture and of the country generally, the improvement of agricultural methods, etc., all depended on the existence of a surplus of production—or, on getting other agents, such as foreign capitalists, to undertake the work. There were, however, two essential conditions without which no revision of policy could have been accepted. The first was, that in any new policy, and in any new methods of increasing production, the policy and the methods should be fully considered and approved by the Russian people. The second was, that to whatever bodies—whether of Russian workers, Russian Co-operatives, or foreign capitalists—the actual work of production was delegated, the conditions should be laid

down by the Soviet Government, and each arrangement should form part of a concrete plan for the whole of Russia; that is, the centralisation of statistics was to continue, for indeed it is only through such centralisation that the industrial plan could be brought into harmony with the needs of the revolution.

The actual basis of the new policy, which was ratified in April and May of this year, can be summed up as under:—

- (1) Important industries to be retained by the State.
- (2) Smaller concerns to be leased to workers' *artels*, co-operatives or individuals.
- (3) Concessions to foreign capitalists to be proceeded with, subject to satisfactory conditions as to labour, etc.

(2) and (3) are the sections about which questions have been raised. With regard to (2), it is perhaps not generally realised that a considerable number of smaller concerns were never in fact brought under the management of the Supreme Economic Council, simply because they were working satisfactorily or because it was too difficult to take them over. The recognition of this fact in the new economic policy is similar to the earlier acceptance of the "free markets." The attempt to abolish all free markets would have been successful had the Soviet Government been able to supply all the needs of the people through its own organisations. It could not do this; therefore it tolerated and in practice acknowledged the principle of the free market. In the case of the small factories, experience proved that central management did not improve the economic position, and therefore the attempt was abandoned, and the next best method introduced. As far as possible, such concerns are being leased to co-operatives or workers' "artels"; but where this is not possible, they are leased to individuals, when the authorities are satisfied that good results will follow. In most cases the leases run for only one or two years; in all cases the Soviet authorities, central or local, require satisfactory conditions of labour and output. In all cases, the production of the factory takes its place in the single economic plan for the whole of Russia, so that the really essential point for the development of Communism—unification of plan—is preserved, although the unification of management—which is far from essential to Communism—is abandoned.

In the case of concessions to foreign capitalists, the same principles apply. Each concession will be made because of its effect on the total production and economic development of Russia; each concession will take its place in the single economic plan; and in each concession vital conditions with regard to labour and output will be insisted upon. In short, unless the foreign capitalist is willing to help Russia towards Communism no concession will be granted. It is true that the Russian people will have, in a sense, to pay for such service, just as they will have to pay for the services of the groups or individuals who take factories on lease. But the buying of goods abroad is exactly the same. When Russia buys coal from a British merchant, the Russian people have to pay for it in gold or otherwise. But there is no vital principle at stake. If the coal is more urgently required than the gold or furs which are paid for it, then the exchange is desirable, and no one could question it. In the same way, if output is essential, it is worth while to increase it even if the method involves the giving of profits, which is in fact a payment from the Russian people as a whole to an individual or group. Naturally, a Communist Government will insist that profits are only possible when real service is rendered, and on conditions which make it possible to end the lease if the actual working does not prove satisfactory.

But even if no question of principle is involved, it may yet be asked whether the change to the new economic policy was expedient, in view of its psychological effect on wide masses of the Russian people. It may be suggested that the psychological effect of the revolution, of the sweeping away of capitalism, in its old form, will be lost by the re-introduction of capitalism, even though in a new form and under the most rigorous control.

As a matter of fact, this question would probably never have been raised but for the headlines of the western capitalist press when it reported the change to the new economic policy. "The Return to Capitalism" is a useful headline; but in fact it is nothing more. All the essentials for the development of Communism remain. The Communist Government is still in power; it has kept the vital industries under its own control; and it is allowing other influences to begin to work in so far as their work is important to the general plan. As for the psychological effects of allowing these other influences to work, what matters is the effect on the Russian workers and peasants. The effect on Leslie Urquhart of allowing him to make profits out of Russia does not matter, nor does the effect on the capitalist journalist.

(Continued on page 6)

# £2,100

**T**HE Famine Fund of the Communist Party has now reached a total of £2,100. Poor workers all over the country have denied themselves something they felt they could do without, and have sent the results of their self-sacrifice to the Fund. While the Governments and the bourgeoisie generally haggle and bargain about the debts contracted by a regime gone for ever, and hope to use the horrors of famine, disease and death as bailiffs to secure these debts—while all this happens, the workers, with true humanity and comradeship, send their aid.

But, in the list of those who are keeping Soviet Russia in this, its greatest crisis, Britain stands *seventh*. True, the British worker is now fighting with his back to the wall against wage reductions and unemployment, but, bad as is his lot, that of the Austrian and German workers is worse. Yet Austria, or rather the Austrian workers, has collected 20,000,000 kronen. They receive only 9,000 kronen weekly, equal to about nine shillings, and the population of the country is but 6,000,000. Almost every worker gives one hour's pay per week.

In Germany, workers in the N.G.R. motor factory have purchased a motor lorry from the firm where they are employed, and it has gone to Russia. Bremen workers are making a locomotive free, at Heichenbrande. 30 knitting machines have been made. Children are helping also by knitting and sewing and collecting goods. A transport laden with food and medicines has left Stettin Harbour, accompanied by ten German trade unionists, and will, by now, have arrived at Petrograd.

Even in far away Azarbyan help is being organised. The oil workers of Baku work overtime for the relief aid, and the peasants give part of their bread.

European workers, since August 25th, have given (reports incomplete) to the value of 3,131,320 gold roubles in money.

Why is it that all over the world the workers rally to the aid of their Russian comrades? It is because they know that the world of Capital waits, vulture-like, hoping to be able to pick the bones of the dead, to feed its own filthy carcass upon the bodies of the proletariat—first of Russia, and then of all countries. Aid sent to Russia now, is aid for the workers of the world.

Let us have more help. The workers and peasants of Red Russia have given their all for the cause of the proletariat. Let us give what we can.

The anniversary of the Communist Revolution will be celebrated in this country on Sunday, November 6th. On that date the Communist Party will hold meetings and demonstrations all over the country. The week, November 3rd to 10th, will be a great work of proletarian thanksgiving all over the world. Every worker in Britain is asked during that week to give one day's pay to the Fund.

The Falkirk Branch has received permission to organise a Flag Day in the

district, and is making arrangements accordingly. Sheffield comrades are organising street and railway station collections with excellent results. London has applied for a permit to hold a special Famine Day over the whole of the metropolitan area.

Branches are asked to make application to the local police authorities and railway superintendents for special Famine Day collections to be allowed, and to notify us of the results of their applications. Trade Union Branches, Co-operative Societies, local Labour Parties, etc., should be asked to co-operate. The Communist Party is not out to organise the fund for the purpose of showing how active it can be. It is concerned *only* with securing as much aid as possible—from anywhere—provided that no political or other conditions are imposed upon the use to be made of the assistance.

Our collection of jewellery has begun. We have to acknowledge to receipt of a wedding ring, a gold chain, and a silver watch. When valuables are sent to us, an estimate of their value should be included, so that when selling them we may have the estimates in mind.

W.M.

## RUSSIAN FAMINE FUND

*As we go to Press our Fund totals £2,1000 Acknowledgments are being printed as rapidly as possible.*

Cheques, Money Orders and Postal Orders, should be crossed thus /&/ and made payable to J. F. Hodgson, Russian Famine Fund. Treasury Notes should be registered. Address all letters: Russian Famine Fund, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2. Unless otherwise desired, a receipt is sent by post, in addition to the acknowledgement in THE COMMUNIST.

Brought Forward	...	1,927	9	5
per L'pool D.C., Edgehill C.P., 3rd Coll.	...	0	17	0
" " " Edgehill C.P.	...	0	7	6
" " " Wallasey C.P.	...	0	10	0
Tooting "Altogether" Builder's Labs.	...	2	0	0
Edgar Lansbury	...	10	0	0
Ossie M/C	...	0	5	0
Airdrie C.P., per G.S.F.	...	2	11	0
R. Williams	...	0	10	0
W. Robinson (Coll.)	...	0	10	0
"Kymro"	...	1	0	0
Mansfield C.P., Collected	...	1	17	0
W. Sutcliffe, Derby	...	0	5	0
F. Weiss	...	0	5	0
T. Westbury	...	0	10	0
G. Cox	...	0	15	0
Peckham C.P.	...	3	14	6
Programme Sale, R.T.U.I. Conference	...	6	10	0
Wishaw C.P.	...	0	4	0
F.E.A. Sheet 647	...	0	18	0
Mrs. L. F. K. Hatton	...	1	0	0
F. Bates, Coventry	...	0	10	0
Rawtenstall C.P.	...	2	0	1
Six Children, per G. Holden, Rawtenstall	...	2	4	0
Mrs. E. Tozer	...	1	0	0
Stepney Y.C.L.	...	0	10	0
Anon.	...	0	5	0
A. M. Green & Friend	...	0	7	0
R. Drummond	...	0	8	6
W. Lagsding & Family	...	2	0	0
South Salford C.P.	...	6	9	1

Yozsi	...	0	5	0
Barnsley C.P.	...	1	7	0
Mr. W. Thomas, Barry, per Anne Chappell	...	0	2	0
Mr. Farrant, Barry, per Annie Chappell	...	0	3	0
Mr. Jack, S. Cardiff	...	0	5	0
H. W. White	...	1	0	0
Elie Tselek	...	0	5	0
Mrs. Spicer	...	0	10	0
Barrow C.P.	...	5	0	0
W. Smith, Jr.	...	0	1	0
E. Smith	...	0	5	0
F. D. Bedwas	...	0	10	0
Dundee C.P.	...	30	0	0
J. & F.P.	...	1	0	0
John Dunn	...	0	2	6
Carmel Cong'l Chapel, Gwaen-cae-Gurwen	...	6	2	0
Calfease Baptist Chapel, Garnant	...	1	0	0
T. Williams, Barmboro' Main Coll'y Branch, per Mexboro' Fam. Rell Comm.	...	10	0	0
A.E.U. Shop Stewards, 2nd Cont., per Plymouth C.P.	...	2	4	0
Pioneer Glee Party, per G. H. Perry	...	3	10	0
R. W. (Norwich) 2nd Sub.	...	0	5	0
Thos. Caren	...	0	10	0
C.D.B. (Sheffield)	...	0	5	0
W. Middlemiss	...	0	5	0
F. Thompson, per H. Pollitt	...	0	10	0
Marylebone C.P., per O'Sullivan	...	0	5	0
" " per Com. Knight	...	0	10	9
Tranent C.P.	...	0	14	3
Charles Gray, Un. Soc. Fed.	...	0	10	0
Farsley Worker's Union, per Farsley C.P.	...	1	0	0
Collected by C. Beardsell	...	0	8	0
Member's Levy	...	1	17	0
N. Waugh, Gateshead	...	0	10	0
Coms. Exler & Cleary	...	0	5	0
Greenwich C.P. per W. J. Bull	...	1	4	6
C. Murray	...	0	10	0
Glasgow 3rd A.E.U.	...	0	9	3
Ealing C.P.	...	0	8	0
Southall Shop Assistants, per Ealing C.P.	...	0	3	6
A. T. Stevens	...	0	2	6
Anon, Uxbridge	...	0	10	0
Anon, London, W.C. 2	...	0	10	0
Leyton C.P. Collected	...	1	4	0
M. Fry	...	0	5	0
R. E. Mortimer	...	0	14	5
3 Comrades, Stockton-on-Tees	...	0	7	0
F. Faulks	...	0	5	0
E. W., per E. B.	...	0	10	0
E. B.	...	0	5	0
H. Q.	...	0	1	0
Mr. and Mrs. L. Parkin	...	0	10	0
S. H. Bennett	...	0	6	0
T. Dickenson	...	0	3	0
H. Fipkin	...	0	1	0
A.C.	...	0	10	0
Ritchie	...	0	4	6
W.G.	...	0	10	0
Mrs. L. Wright	...	1	0	0
C.W. & F.I. Beckett	...	1	0	0
J.S.C.	...	0	3	0
J.R.W.	...	0	2	6
W. O. Priest	...	0	10	0
W. J. Gwynne	...	0	10	0
"Insvinnis"	...	1	0	0
G. French	...	0	2	6
Central London C.P., 5th Cont'n.	...	4	0	0
A.E.U., North London 2nd 4th Cont'n.	...	0	17	6
Southwark C.P.	...	1	10	0
Nannie Stewart	...	0	2	0
Edmonton C.P.	...	0	10	0
H.J.T.	...	0	2	0
Tax Clerk	...	5	0	0
Mrs. M. A. Taylor	...	0	10	0
R.H.B.	...	2	0	0
W. Travers (Unemployed)	...	0	1	0
Carpenters & Joiners (Derby 1st)	...	3	0	0
Mexboro' Central Relief Committee	...	16	14	2
Reformer's Bookshop Manchester 3rd Collection	...	1	12	0

£2098 8 11

(Continued from page 5)

The effect on the Russian workers is seen in the greater output, and in the interest taken by co-operatives and groups in securing the lease of factories. They see in the new policy the chance of improving the general economic position—and their own at the same time. But they equally see that the change has not meant any weakening of their own political power, or of the Labour Code. They see in fact that, while the positive gains of the revolution are retained, the losses involved in the long struggle—disorganisation and privation—are being made good. They welcome the changes, and they are looking forward to an improvement in their general conditions.

As for the peasants, the change to the tax in kind, as opposed to the former method of requisition, has been more than welcome. And what has the revolution lost through this change? Nothing. The method of requisition is not Communism; it was only justified by the urgent needs of the revolutionary wars. The Soviet Government did not expect the requisitions to turn the peasants into Communists; what

was of importance for this purpose was the collective farming encouraged by the Government. This still continues, and the improved economic position will not only make it possible to extend the farms, but will also enable agricultural machinery to be introduced generally in such a way that the advantages of large-scale collective farming will be clear. And the improved relations with the peasants will be a most important factor in encouraging this development.

The fact is that, in the new economic policy as in many other Russian developments, an easy analogy with the capitalist States often misleads the press and even Western Communists. With a Communist Government in power, with the whole fabric of the capitalist State overthrown, no reversion to Capitalism is possible. Certain factors may remain the same as in Capitalist days, but these are only tolerated in so far as they serve the ultimate end. And there can be little doubt, on all the evidence before us, that the economic situation in Russia was the most dangerous threat to the revolution, and that the new economic policy is in practice being effective in improving the position.



# A LESSON FROM LLOYD GEORGE

“WE are confronted with the worst period of unemployment that the country has seen probably for a hundred years.”

So says Lloyd George when confronting his own class with proposals to get round such a state of things.

Comparisons with the post Napoleonic war period prompt further instructive remarks from his tongue. What he calls the neglect during that period “created disorder, riots, civil tumult throughout the land. There was a general sense of neglect. It fermented revolutionary sentiments.”

Continuing he remarks:—

“Even if it were possible to leave such a situation to the working of economic causes—even if it were possible to do it then, it cannot be done now. Conditions are different. Apart from the question of humanity (*sic*) I cannot imagine any more unwise course.”

These are the remarks he makes in order to introduce his great scheme of palliatives to prevent the present crisis from developing. These palliatives include export credits, home credits, doles, and all the other paraphernalia of politics—politics which merely serve to observe the refusal of capitalism to come off the backs of its slaves.

The capitalist press has been full of so-called remedies to deal with the situation. First, we are told, that inflation of the currency is the cause, then that de-flation would spell disaster. One says, that we should cancel our debt to our Allies: another, that this would merely result in a political gain, bringing no real economic improvement. We are told, that the Government must increase the National Debt by borrowing what they have already repaid. Others, again, say, that the National Debt must be funded. Some, like Mr. Gordon Selfridge, believe in—just waiting.

The Labour Party have joined in this chorus. They suggest that the export of new capital should be prohibited. They are met with the affirmation that export of capital will mean development in other countries, and a consequent demand for our goods.

This chorus of the wolves of capitalism is truly significant of the approach of a winter with but a starving mass of unemployed to feed on. But these wolves will have your last ounce of flesh before they turn to tear and rend each other once more.

See how it is done:—

For Lloyd George puts the crisis down to the fundamental fact of the high cost of production and gives his fellow wolves the welcome lead to co-operate further to demand the means of subsistence of you their victims.

Here, Lord Weir most opportunely joins in. He takes up this wolf cry, expands it, and demands longer hours and the abolition of output restrictions. The financial press screams in unison for “More goods, more material, more foodstuffs.” Yet, we read, that they are burning maize as fuel for the railways of the Argentine. They are restricting and have restricted the acreage under cotton in Egypt by a third: they have already reduced that of American cotton so much as to bring a welcome rise in the price of cotton. They are curtailing oil production with a corresponding uplift in the price; they have restricted rubber production so as completely to rehabilitate the market and in some quarters to give rise to the hope of “even a shortage next year.” Finally, both their politicians and their servants have co-operated to hold up the stock of raw wool in order (as they say) to “stabilise the price” which, indeed, has been most effectually done.

\* \* \* \* \*

But all these actions of the capitalists whether they be taken by themselves to save their particular industry, by their politicians to save their faces, or by both to save themselves from you the exploited, may be rendered void by the exploited themselves.

For these palliatives, these remedies—these restrictive remedies—all go to prove that capitalism is entering on another period of crisis in its history: a crisis ever made more acute by the efforts it makes to save itself from bankruptcy.

The collapse in the European exchanges provide the all-important clue to this crisis. The rapid decline in the value

of the German mark is carrying with it the destruction in the value of the French, the Spanish, the Italian, the Polish, the Austrian, and all the other exchanges of Europe. The cause of this is the destruction in the credit of these countries due in its turn to the inability of these countries to balance their income with their expenditure. The result of this collapse to England means an inability to buy from England: for England to export her goods. The vital importance to England of the European market is proved by the fact that in 1913 of a total of £600 millions worth of goods exported, roughly 200 millions went to Europe, or a third of the total export of her goods. In 1920 this was increased to about 40 per cent. consequent seemingly on the competition of America and other countries in the other markets of the world. Thus the importance of the European market is paramount to English trade. The collapse of the European exchanges which has since intervened has yet more disastrous consequences. For we find that the percentage of exports of manufactured articles which stood at 81 per cent. of the 1913 total in the third quarter of 1920 has in the third quarter of 1921 declined to 46 per cent. of 1913. Our capitalists and their satellites may well scream for credits and more credits.

Yet credits cannot suffice. No European country has yet been able to balance its expenditure by its income. It has created paper money and yet more paper money; it has begged borrowed and stolen and still its balance sheets show larger and larger deficits. Yet we find our capitalists calling on these countries to adopt “sounder methods of finance.” These “sounder methods” can only be adopted by widening the issue of the class struggle by taxing the proletariat by removing restrictions on prices, and thus by intensifying the revolutionary situation.

Lloyd George at home is crying economy in Government expenditure. He has not only cried economy; he has affected its practice. He has abolished minimum wages in agriculture. He threatens to refuse to ratify the eight hour day of the Washington Convention. All these “remedies” merely deepen the chasm—merely render the revolutionary situation more clear.

Still, the deficit in our home budget which balanced on paper in March, has now mounted to £60 millions. To balance this deficit more drastic methods must be taken to exploit the already savagely exploited. Whether it be the destruction of the Trade Boards, the abolition of the Miners’ Seven Hour Day, it all implies the same crisis—a crisis which cannot be dissolved by palliatives.

\* \* \* \* \*

It should be clear by now to the meanest intelligence that there is no hope for the world unless it alters its ways and enters upon a thorough root and branch reformation. So long as Capitalism could say that it had made, or caused, two blades of grass to grow where but one sprouted before—or what comes to the same thing, caused two pairs of boots or loaves of bread, or their like, to appear in half or a quarter of the time previously required—so long as the economist or the apologist could claim that capitalism multiplied the stock of consumables available for the world’s enjoyment beyond anything accomplished by any previous system it had, at any rate on the face of it, a plausible justification. But now . . . !

Just now, when, as never before, the whole human race suffers a positive dearth of these elementary necessities, capitalism, to save itself, *restricts production*, in order to gain by the intensive exploitation of a few favoured markets, all that it previously gained by trafficking in the extensive markets of those whose credit and purchasing power has been destroyed.

The world needs goods. Capitalism entangled in the technicalities of its own plunder system cannot deliver these goods.

Human Needs versus Property’s Rights. Once again History has reproduced, in up-to-date form the old dilemma. And as before the answer will be that which the human beings concerned *must* give.

Capitalism would squander Life to save its system: the Human Race will smash Capitalism to save its Life.

# ARE WE REALISTS?

By WM. PAUL

*"To be a Communist signifies to combine fearless resolution and unqualified fidelity towards the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the utmost flexibility and adaptability; with the qualities that are necessary for the adoption of all means that will lead to the desired end; with the faculty for yielding in one place and fighting through in another; for making compromises here while resisting to the uttermost there; with the readiness to yield to circumstances in one place, while in another, even when all seems lost, to be able to keep our heads and stand our ground." (Dr. Victor Stern, in "Die Internationale.")*

## I.

### The International Situation

THE inner essence of Communist revolutionary strategy rests upon its realism. In the past we often based our policy upon our like and dislike of movements, and sometimes even of persons. We generally consulted our feelings and unknowingly our actions were frequently dictated by prejudices. The curse of every political organisation is that it develops a particular party prejudice and, unless we are very careful, this tends to crystallise and renders us hopelessly incapable of seeing issues, problems and solutions. We are apt to view these from the standpoint of our prejudices and not as a result of coldly examining the urgent needs of the moment. The full force of these observations is going to be emphasised by an all important problem which is rapidly coming to the front and which is going to severely test whether the Communist Party is capable of far-seeing revolutionary strategy or whether its members will be content to grope about in the doctrinaire rut of blind sectarianism.

The economic collapse of capitalism is already manifesting itself in a thousand ways. Millions are starving, unemployment is almost universal, and 58 per cent. of the population is in receipt of some sort of relief or other. The industrial crisis must be rapidly followed by one in the political field. The only escape from such a political upheaval is for the financiers to get a further lease of life by rushing a General Election upon an unwary electorate, by stampeding the voters, and by returning in triumph to power. The British Federation of Industries have made their plans and Lloyd George drafted his electoral campaign during his sojourn at Gairloch. They intend, if need be, to force an election. They don't want to, but conditions may compel them to take that step. No one needs to possess a nose for mysteries to smell what's coming.

As revolutionary realists we must utilise the election to advance our power at home and to consolidate the revolution abroad. The most important factor in the international situation at the present moment is the Allies contemplated attempt to try and crush Russia during the forthcoming winter. The British plans are all ready to repudiate the Russian Trading Agreement when the hour arrives for the imperialist assassins to strike. This will give Churchill, Curzon, Leslie Urquhart, etc., a free hand to back up France and her subsidised Border States, in their savage onslaught upon the wearied Soviet Republic at present staggering with its famine burden. Let there be no mistake about it, the projected French offensive will be a much more serious thing than any of the attacks led by Koltchak, Denikin, or Wrangel. So far as this country is concerned, one thing alone can save Russia, and intimidate France, and that is for us to ruthlessly stamp out the present government at the forthcoming election. We need not waste a moment considering the chances of the feeble and already discredited Asquith-Cecil-Grey coalition—it is every whit as bad as the Lloyd George clique and has not the power to defeat the influential Lloyd George-Churchill-Curzon combination. A humiliating defeat of the Lloyd George gang and all the vile things it represents, at the hands of the Labour movement, would strike terror into

the very heart of the rapacious French jingoes and would shatter their efforts against Russia. We can only stop the murderous plot against Russia by hurling the corpse of the present government in the face of Briand, Clemenceau and Co. To do this let us unflinchingly face the price we must pay. It means that the Communist Party must seriously consider the urgent need of forming a bloc with the Labour Party. It means that however serious are the sacrifices we must make in order to drive the present hypocritical charlatans from office these are as nothing to the bloody sacrifices we will compel Russia to face because of our shortsightedness. We must fight in the forthcoming elections as our comrades fought in Sweden; we must see that any action of ours does not aid, directly or indirectly, the chances of the Lloyd George candidates. Our tactics in attacking Labour Party candidates at recent bye-elections were correct. But the issues involved in the forthcoming General Election are altogether different and call for new methods.

There is another Republic that will be grateful if the Communists in Britain help to destroy the Lloyd George murder gang, and that is Ireland. Likewise, our international pledge to assist the Indians, Egyptians, etc., in their fight against British imperialism demands that we do everything humanly possible to uproot the political organ of modern imperialism—the government of Curzon and Churchill.

## II.

### Accelerating the Revolution at Home

One of the things that has led the masses to turn with bitter revulsion against the Lloyd George government is its seeming helplessness and incapacity in dealing with many immediate and vital problems. Most of the difficulties confronting modern society can neither be solved under capitalism nor can they even be adequately tackled by any government elected upon a parliamentary basis. A great part of the work of the Communist Party is to show the masses by *concrete demonstrations* the need for destroying capitalism and its parliamentary system. So far, events in the form of hunger, unemployment, and policemen clubs, are showing the workers the sheer hopelessness of expecting anything from the present government. The Labour Party, on the other hand, contend that once in control of parliament they could solve all the problems at present oppressing the masses. Here we come to a second point which we must fearlessly face. We must realise, as revolutionary strategists, that the success of the Communist Party can only come when the Labour Party has been as utterly discredited as the coalition government is to-day. Just as the trade union bureaucracy is being exposed every time it is forced into action, so the complete bankruptcy of the Labour Party cannot be fully realised while it is a mere opposition political group in parliament. To enable it to finally expose itself it must prove to the masses that it, too, cannot use the parliamentary machine to solve the problems which capitalism, in its breakdown, has created. It is our duty to see that the Labour Party, which alone stands between us and the masses, is put into power at the earliest possible moment in order to speed the day when the masses will turn against it as readily as they have now turned against Lloyd George's government. Four years ago Lloyd George swept the masses off their feet; they are now in the mood to sweep him to oblivion. Get the Labour Party into power and with the growing tempo of economic dislocation it may not take four years before it stands, stripped of all its pretentious quackery, before an indignant proletarian mass headed by the Communists.

By making a bloc with the Labour Party to help to return it to power we will not only help Russia, but we will also demonstrate that the Henderson's, Thomas's and MacDonald's are all that we have said they are. The moment they are returned to power the Communist Party must immediately pass over to the opposition and

by its criticism force the Labourists to prove to the whole world that parliament cannot solve the manifold problems confronting it and that it is impossible to reform capitalism. The virulence of the Communist agitation against the Labour Government will compel the Snowdens to expose their pacifism by using the State to suppress us precisely as Curzon, Churchill, and Sir Basil Thomson have used it. Until the Labour Party becomes a government we cannot destroy it. When Clynes, Thomas, Henderson, etc., are forced to club down their own unions during industrial unrest, they will drive their own members under the leadership of the Red Trade Union International.

Let us be courageous. Let us be worthy disciples of Lenin and his revolutionary strategy. Let us accelerate the development of events that will provide these concrete experiences which educate the masses and which throw them ever more and more in our direction. Let us form a bloc with the Labour Party, and if that is impossible, let us raise it to power in order to facilitate its final destruction.

**WANTED**—Furnished rooms for two in London for a month from November 1st. With comrades for preference. Write, R. W. POSTGATE, 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2.



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**Rebels** wishing to form a Communist Party branch in North Kensington, write to J. Morgan, 4, De Vere Mews, W. 8



# SCRAP THE NATIONAL DEBT

By W. McLaine

**W**HEN Mr. Herbert Morrison returned from the Premier hunting expedition to Gairloch, he very gravely informed a press reporter that "the British Prime Minister reminded us with force of the enormous debt the country has now to face." If it was only Mr. Morrison that was impressed by the "force" of this excuse that the country is so heavily burdened with debt that nothing of importance can be done for the starving unemployed, it would not matter so much. But we have come into contact with many workers, employed and unemployed, who appear to think that there must be something in this and similar statements. For this reason it is necessary to examine the whole question in the light of all the facts.

When the war began in 1914, the British National Debt was £711,000,000. It is now £7,788,000,000—more than ten times as much. The interest on this colossal sum is round about £400,000,000 per year. If £400,000,000 only is paid each year the debt will remain as it is. The debt has been greatly increased by the fact that many of the War Bond issues were at 95, 96, and 97—in other words, £100 of stock was issued for £95, £96, or £97. In addition, the conversion of National War Bonds into conversion Loan, gave to the holders of the bonds, a matter of £102,000,000 as a small bonus for their kindness of heart in making the transfer.

\* \* \* \* \*

There are in the United Kingdom—according to the recent census—ten million families. These families have to provide between them £400,000,000 per year for War Loan interest. This works out at £40 per year, or 15s. 4d. PER WEEK, per family. Now this is not and cannot be paid in actual money, and for that matter the bondholders do not want money as such, but the goods that money will buy. The idle class does not produce any goods, and therefore the workers who do, must be paying in goods much more than the 15s. 4d. per week I have mentioned.

"But who are the bondholders?" is constantly being asked. The answer usually given by the politicians is "America," and pathetic appeals are addressed to the workers of this country to produce more goods in order that the debts to America may be paid and the Exchanges put right. The debt to America is round about £1,000,000,000, or approximately *one-eighth of the whole debt*. Against this must be set the fact that at the time this amount was borrowed from America (in the form of goods, of course), more than £1,000,000,000 was lent to France, Italy, etc., by this country. On balance, therefore, the amount owed to and the amount owed by this country cancel each other out.

## Those Poor Bondholders!

Who, then, ARE the bondholders? The politician cuts in once more. With the air of a player throwing down his trump card, he declaims about the enormous body of working class investors who, in the hour of their country's need, trooped along with their hard earned savings, and handed them over with a "this is my all" gesture. All of which is very nice—on the platform. Facts, however, are "stubborn things." The War Saving Certificates, the only form of War Loan investment open to the working class, accounts for only £286,000,000, or ONE TWENTY-SEVENTH of the whole. Thus TWENTY-SIX TWENTY-SEVENTHS are in the hands of those who were able to purchase bonds of a large denomination. David Lloyd George, with the vivid imagination for which he is notorious, declared in November, 1919, when speaking at the Guildhall, "The debt is in the family." Mr. Morrison might have remembered that, when he was so much impressed by the more recent statement of our chameleon Premier. The debt IS in the family—that is if one can liken the British nation to a family—but it is owed under compulsion by one section of the family—the workers—to the other section—the bondholders.

When the workers were invited to put in their fifteen-and-sixpences, for the purpose of "saving the state," etc., a clever piece of work was performed by the Government. A great campaign was inaugurated, lecturers toured the country, and appealing posters were to be seen at every corner. The results in so far as they brought in money were poor, but the chief result aimed at was secured. The campaign was intended to enrol a large body of small investors who would be prepared to fight like hell to safeguard their tiny holdings, and while doing so would be fighting on behalf of those who had great amounts of stock. This was achieved, and we now have a million or two of people each with a tiny amount, which they are afraid to lose. The plutocrat with a large holding rests content with the knowledge that he need make no great protest against interfering with the loan, because it will be done for him by the poor dupes.

\* \* \* \* \*

It will not have escaped the notice of readers of THE COMMUNIST, that amid all the loudly voiced demands that wages must come down, there is no demand that *interest on the War Loans shall be reduced*. Those who are using, if not helping to organise, the present slump are in many cases War Loan holders who will profit by reduced wages. If the wages of the worker are reduced, and the cost of living is reduced in the same proportion, the worker is in precisely the same position. He receives just about enough to keep him alive—if he has a job that is. But if wages and prices are reduced,

it means that, War Loan interest remaining the same, those who draw that interest are able to purchase more with their money. Their income from War Loan investment goes up. Most of the people who own War Bonds bought them when the £1 was worth about eight shillings. The £1 is now worth (compared with 1914) a little less than ten shillings. If prices go down greatly the £1 may approximate to its pre-war value, and then, of course, the eight-shilling pounds of the investors will be worth twenty shillings. That is one of the most important reasons animating the lower wages propagandists. If bread goes down from 1s. to ninepence, and then sixpence, fur coats, motor cars, champagne suppers, etc., also come down—to the great advantage of the people who can purchase these things.

## The Villainy of the War Debt

During the war frantic appeals were issued to the people to fight the war with war bonds. This was all very well as a phrase, but obviously fighting is not done with the aid of pieces of paper. What was required was goods of all kinds and these could only be produced by the workers. The workers at home produced food, clothing, weapons, etc., etc. They produced all the requirement for the war, *while the war was on*. There were no great stocks of material in hand in 1914, and wars cannot be carried on by means of future production. During the war all the goods were handed over by the workers to the bosses, who in turn handed them over to the government, receiving in return credits for far more in money than the workers who had produced the goods received in wages. The difference was the profit of the bosses, and so much profit was made during the war that the employers could not get rid of it all. Part of it went to the War Loan. Armament firms and War contractors handed goods to the Government, and instead of receiving money for them, received War Bonds. THE WAR LOANS, FOR THE MOST PART, REPRESENT PROFIT MADE BY THE BOSSES DURING THE WAR, AND THE WORKERS ARE TO BE ASKED TO PAY INTEREST FROM NOW UNTIL THE CRACK OF DOOM ON THE VALUE OF THE GOODS FLEECE FROM THEM DURING THE WAR. Some of the loans represent the filthy wealth wrung from the wives and families of soldiers who served in the Army on the days when prices were rising by leaps and bounds and separation allowances were a mere few shillings a week.

In every sense of the word, the War Debts are a fraud, and REPUDIATE THE NATIONAL DEBT must be the slogan. To those who would say "What about my fifteen and sixpence" the reply is: "On your fifteen and sixpence you receive interest each year amounting to SIXPENCE. To get that your family must produce for nothing, goods to the value of 15s. 4d. EVERY WEEK. The repudiation of the debt will benefit you infinitely more than will the possession of one or two War Savings Certificates. It is to your own personal interest, quite apart from your class interest, to cry DOWN WITH THE WAR LOANS. NO PAYMENT OF INTEREST OR PRINCIPAL.

\* \* \* \* \*

A word should be said about how war loans have grown in the past, and how, though paid off, they have still remained, and even increased. The table below is taken from the "People's Year Book"—with the exception of the last column, which is worked out by taking the annual interest as given above and calculating it to the next period given. It will be correct to within a small amount, and the value of it is that it shows that on a debt that was never greater than £846,000,000, interest has been paid amounting to £2,968,335,457. On the most moderate estimate the debt has been paid back over three and a half times. In 1914 it was still nearly as great as ever.

Debt.			Annual Interest.	Estimated Total Interest Paid for each Period.
End of William III., 1701	...	12,552,486	...	1,219,147
" of Anne, 1714	...	36,175,460	...	3,063,135
" of George I., 1727	...	52,523,923	...	2,360,984
George II., 1760	...	102,014,018	...	3,576,275
George III., 1776	...	131,237,283	...	4,870,534
" " 1793	...	247,874,434	...	9,711,238
" " 1801	...	517,511,871	...	19,819,839
" " 1816	...	845,963,483	...	32,055,350
End of George III., 1820	...	834,900,960	...	31,354,749
" IV., 1830	...	784,803,997	...	28,325,936
William IV., 1837	...	787,529,114	...	29,537,333
Victoria, 1856-7	...	808,108,722	...	28,550,000
" 1875-6	...	768,573,664	...	28,000,000
" 1888-9	...	697,042,756	...	26,000,000
" 1898-9	...	628,021,572	...	23,000,000
Edward VII., 1902-3	...	770,778,762	...	27,000,000
George V., 1913-14	...	649,770,091	...	23,500,000
				£2,968,335,457

The workers of this country have got to face this question. If the Labour Party, when it comes to power, is prepared to continue to recognise the debt, it will be abetting a fraud so colossal that it will deserve to be driven from power at the earliest possible moment. The class-conscious worker will and must demand:

*Scrap the National Debt.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

## A MOST EXCELLENT BOOK

By R. W. POSTGATE

*Proletcult.* By Eden and Cedar Paul. 4s. 6d. Leonard Parsons. "New Era Series."

LEONARD PARSONS, a new publisher, has apparently set out to capture the "Labour Market." His well bound and (in this case) badly printed books are beginning to obtrude themselves on every Labour bookstall. Most of the books in the series are not particularly exciting—books by Robert M. Dell, by Snowden, by Emil Davies. But there are three (Lansbury's *What I saw in Russia*, William Mellor's *Direct Action* and Brailsford's *After the Peace*) which are well worth reading and keeping. Here is a third—in its way even better.

Without question, this book is one to be bought and kept. The title must not drive one off. It is bad enough, God knows. It happened that I wrote recently in *THE COMMUNIST* lamenting the absence of a text book on workers' self-education, and the Pauls sent me a cutting from a picture paper mentioning the forthcoming publication of the *Proletcult*. Now, the cutting said:—

We understand that *Proletcult* is the name of a new revolutionary education which is to set the world afire. As a name for a tinned food or even a hair-restorer, it might be good enough, but until subversive education selects another name we shall sleep in our beds comfortably.

The Pauls took no notice of this profoundly true comment—nor could they be expected to, for do not they in this book claim proudly the infamy of having invented the word "ergatocratic" in spite of the chorus of justified rage what that word produced?

Hence we must explain here that "proletcult" is a Russian word meaning education of the workers in the interest of the workers—class-conscious education. It is applied in Russia to an institution which (being post-revolutionary) differs profoundly from the workers' education over here. The word will not and must not become naturalized here, as the Pauls want, for three excellent reasons:—

(1) It is an ugly, and to those who know none but English, a very foreign word. In some languages it may be all right, but it would be years before *Proletcult* lost, to the man in the English street, its alien quality. It would be a millstone round the movement's neck.

(2) It doesn't mean what it should. Its connexion with "culture" is not (as the Pauls, who know too much German, think) an advantage. Culture, since the days of Arnold, is a word used only by snobs. To the rest of us, it just means a Haw-Haw accent. And I ask you . . . !

(3) The proper root for such a name (if one must be invented) is before us. It must be some compound of the word *Pleb*, which we have learnt to know and like as an old friend. And I take this opportunity of repudiating Horabin's well-meant alternative suggestion—"Independent W.-C. education." He explains that the initials mean "working-class," but the name is still not a good one.

\* \* \*

To turn to the book itself. (And I feel it a sign of its excellence that it stimulates me to digress violently on various questions raised in it). The statement of the case for the class-education of the workers is well done, although it suffers from necessary compression. No doubt as a result of this compression, I feel slightly uneasy at such statements as that quoted from a Mr. Bogdanoff on page 96 (that "economics is [are] typical" of other sciences). Economics are not typical. Such sciences as algebra and geometry are actually impartial. It is only economics, history and perhaps a few others which are poisoned by a deep infusion of bourgeois mis-statement and propaganda. And only one who knows them fairly well can realise how deeply they are poisoned. I know that the Pauls realise (and on page 15 state) this difference, I only suggest that it might be more stressed.

The body of the book is excellent and most satisfying. Not that one does not wish there was more, much more. It is

a description of the origin and present extent of workers' education, and it is good. It is a thing which is very rare—a piece of fine scholarship. The Pauls have read a lot and collected and digested a vast mass of material. One does not bother to correct errors in ordinary books (there are too many) but, in the case of so valuable a book as this I venture to point out two slips. One (on page 35) that to describe a paper of the year 1832 as "Chartist" is a howler. (I know Max Beer does too, but he is wrong). Two, that the *Plebs* pamphlets have been left out of the bibliography.

I wish to emphasize again the valuable character of the book—its importance to every reader of *THE COMMUNIST*, and its general excellence. I do this because I must in the next paragraph make a violent attack on one chapter of the book, and I do not wish anyone to take this as a general attack on the book, or to use it as a pretext for not buying it.

\* \* \*

That this chapter was coming was to be feared as early as page 14, where the Pauls write "We offer a general apologia for tendency in science. We echo Bergson and say 'we do not aim generally at knowledge for the sake of knowledge . . .,' etc. We echo George Robey and say 'Shurrup!'" This unnecessary mystification casts a faint trail, like a wisp of mist, over the whole book. Elsewhere, they "conveyed a message in a little volume." They mean they wrote a book. They never indeed reach the heights of a previous book, with the unforgettable, unforgettable phrase " . . . as Bergson calls it, but the present writer prefers to call it an *artifact*."

But suddenly, in chapter 10, all the —isms and cussedness which they have repressed up to then burst out in one loud clamour. There rush out in a stream the names of all the psychologists and psychoanalysts they can think of. Exactly the same effect as this chapter gives can be produced by throwing a stone suddenly into a populated duckpond, or more easily by just listening to rooks settling down for the night. You can hear them caw: "Freud! Freud! Jung! Baudouin! Trotter! MacDougall! Keatinge! Ferrer! Faria! Ferrière! Tansley! Trotter! Baudouin! Baudouin! New Psychology! New Pedagogy! Ego-Complex! Herd-Complex! Sex-Complex! We translated it! Caw! Caw!"

Really, this is no exaggeration. The whole chapter is just a hurried recapitulation of names and fag-ends of theories, hardly connected at all. At one point they get so far back to their subject as to identify arbitrarily class-consciousness with the herd instinct (p. 130) but at that moment (if I may continue my metaphor) one of the rooks found a worm (called Baudouin) and in the clamour necessitated by the discovery the beginning of understanding disappeared.

The object of the Pauls in writing this chapter is to attach the "New Psychology" and "New Pedagogy" in which they are interested, to the workers' educational movement. But in fact they are not vitally connected. The N.P. and N.P. (I cannot write them out in full each time) may be all true or all rubbish, or mixed, but the workers' educational movement would exist without them. I claim to be as good a *Pleb* (or *proletculturist* as they call it) as the Pauls, and I will NOT go about with this particular tin can attached to my tail. The N.P. and N.P. are matters for discussion: *Plebs* education is certainly right. We must not spoil a good case by dragging in doubtful elements.

Meanwhile, while Eden is settling down with his last sleepy croak, I repeat that the book as a whole is very good.

## LIFE IN ANCIENT BRITAIN

By R. W. POSTGATE

*Life in Ancient Britdn.* By Norman Ault. Longmans Green. Limp cloth, 5s.

BOOKS that are good are very difficult to review. One has either to reproduce, inefficiently and dully, a few of the arguments or statements made by the author, or merely to write down vague mutterings of praise. To

hand on to the reader of the review the feeling that he should be a reader of the book is very difficult. Picking holes is much easier and greater fun.

Mr. Ault's book is described on the title page as "A survey of the Social and Economic development of the People of England from the earliest times to the Roman Conquest." Observe every word of that. "Social and economic . . . the people of England." Here, if it fulfils the promise of its title, is a book for us. It should—maybe it has—cause something of a sensation in *Plebs* and Communist study circles. Certainly, it should be pressed as a text book on circles which are feeling a little fed up with Dietzgen.

It is astonishing, one feels after reading these 260 closely printed and well illustrated pages, that so much is known of the ancient Britons, from the Paleolithic age onwards. Mr. Ault shows us the regular daily life, and even a glimpse of the probable social organisation, of our predecessors for thousands of years. More information is wanted, of course, but the picture is remarkably full and vivid. When we think of the many histories of later England which chronicle little but the exploits of the Famous Duke of York and people like him, we seemed well served by Ault for these dark periods. Many, too, of our most cherished illusions have been destroyed, it appears. Even the blue paint or woad on our ancestors is only a story.

The writer, perhaps, has a tendency to praise his early men too much, and defend them too heatedly. Yet that is a good fault, for it enables him to enter imaginatively into their life, and his narrative suddenly becomes most vivid. In two places in his book he writes matter that fixes itself permanently in one's mind. The first, where he supposes an early Paleolithic man coming suddenly upon a late Paleolithic cave. The differences he observes, and his astonishment culminating in sheer terror—it is a clever piece of writing. The second is hardly imagination—the ghastly story of the fate of the Bronze Age family which lived in the Heathery Burn Cave.

Such stories may not be countenanced in the best circles, and professors may wag their long beards over them, but they make history good reading, and impress truths which twenty long words would not. One closes Ault's book with reluctance, regretting that he stopped at the Roman conquest. We must look up Haverfield's *Romanization of Roman Britain*. Ault's serial is too interesting for us to stop like that.

## A BAD PAMPHLET

*The Lesson of Black Friday.* By Gerald Gould. Labour Publishing Company. 1s.

THIS pamphlet is so badly written (or dictated?) that there is really very little to say about it. In all its forty pages there is matter for a *Daily Herald* leader—no more. Apparently the idea of the pamphlet is meant to convey that Black Friday was not due to individual treachery but to faults of trade union organisation. On this subject of organisation Mr. Gould imagines he has something to say, but this is not so.

R.W.P.

## A Better Pamphlet

*Trades Unionism.* W. McLaine. 3d. Assurance Agents' Press, 132, Gt. Ancoats Street, Manchester. On sale also at 16, King Street, W.C.2.

THIS little pamphlet is a reprint of a series of articles written by McLaine for that extremely go-ahead Trade Union Journal, *The Assurance Agents' Chronicle*. It describes the rise and development of the Trade Union movement in this country, and deals with some recent phases of capitalist development, emphasising the need for new tactics to meet those developments. For those who have not the time or the money to enable them to read through the large histories of the movement, we can say that a study of this little work will put them in possession of the general lines of Trade Union growth. It will be particularly useful to class students. It is certainly well worth the price asked for it.

I. X. N.



# INDUSTRIAL NOTES

## Blind Man's Buff at Eccleston Square—New Phase of the War—Guerilla Fighting—Shop Workers Hit—Seamen's Struggle

By John Ball

**I**N view of the new offensive which the employers are launching, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has decided—yes, what has it decided? It agrees that the Labour M.P.'s shall oppose the insurance levy of twopence per week, and it places its hopes on the Labour Party winning seats at the next General Election.

Little Clynes duly stamps hard on the Commons floor and says the occasion is historic, and the General Council returns to Eccleston Square to play Blind Man's Buff around the office chairs.

Our grandchildren—most of them probably the children of migrants and colonising Siberia or living on the plains of Canada or Australia—will look back at this period and marvel at the failure of our so-called leaders to visualise the situation.

They may well ask, with some excuse for the question, whether Labour leaders during the great Industrial War of 1920-1922 were in the pay of the enemy. Let us put it on record now that most of them are not; they are simply fools.

\* \* \*

The Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons last week showed that he knew all about the coming attack. Stripped of all the bunkum, his speech was simply a declaration that the workers must accept lower wages and worse conditions, and that the Government will not do anything effective to rob the employing class of its most valuable weapon—unemployment.

We are in a war as definite as, and more important than, the late respected European conflict. The attacks of last Autumn and Winter were as real as the invasion of Belgium. Black Friday was as decisive an event as the retreat from Mons (without any heroism). It compelled the mining front to withdraw to a precarious position where shell-fire still prevents any secure digging-in.

Minor engagements through the whole length of Labour's multiplicity of armies have resulted in a monotonous series of defeats. In engineering and shipbuilding we are now on the eve of a great surrender or a first-class battle.

And all the time our lines of communication have been damaged by unemployment, restricting our food supplies and our financial strength.

\* \* \*

The attack now before us will be directed especially at hours of labour. Hitherto the enemy has been concerned mainly with cutting wage rates. True, the building employers nibbled at the idea of slaughtering the 44-hour week, but they used it instead to bargain wage cuts. They are coming again.

The hours question is becoming more prominent in the still raging attack on the miners. When the clash comes early next month over the further drastic wage cuts that are certain to be demanded, the mine-owners will also require a reversion to the 8-hour day. Legislation, it is rumoured, is already contemplated to revise the law on that matter. There will be talk of modifying wage cuts in return for the increase of working hours.

In the textile manufacturing trade working hours are already in dispute. The employers want to apply to women and young persons the old 55½-hour week in place of the present 48-hour week, despite the fact that there is not enough work to go round.

The attack on hours will be specially keen in those industries where cost of living sliding scales have been fixed. Railwaymen, beware!

\* \* \*

I look around for any sign of new, or at any rate effective, methods of fighting; I see very little sign. Yet that is the direction in

which the revolutionary must look when he sees the trade union movement saddled with such a deadweight of inefficiency in organisation and leadership. There will not be time to remove the incubus before we are in the throes of the new offensive.

The only thing I see is that sections of the workers are using temporary guilds to fight strikes and lock outs. Such an effort is now in being at Glasgow, where a tailors' guild is being built up to fight wage cuts.

Much can be done in this way, but still only on a comparatively small scale, for, as I have before pointed out, there is no short cut from capitalism by way of guilds.

I would urge every worker who reads this to be thinking out means of effective guerilla warfare in his or her particular district. This must be the alternative to national co-ordinated action.

\* \* \*

The farm war has dragged out into a miserable rearguard action. In many counties now agreement has been reached, wages dropping from 4s. to 10s. per week, with promise of further reductions at the end of November in some cases.

In Norfolk and Northamptonshire the fight has so far been keenest. In the former, men are still locked out by some of the ultra-rebel farmers for refusing to accept 30s. a week. In the latter, the Minister of Agriculture has been forced to intervene to prevent a stand-up battle.

Unemployment has been increased far beyond what is, unfortunately, usual in the farming industry, and altogether the rural worker is in a terrible plight. His trade unions have proved too weak and too ill-led to give him real protection. He is suffering a bitter awakening. This will not be without effect if the general attack on the workers now developing reaches a crisis this winter.

\* \* \*

Shop assistants and allied workers are in for a big struggle. The North of England Wholesale Grocers' Association has sent out a circular to its members suggesting that they should reduce their employees' wages to the level of the proposed Grocery Trade Board rates as from the first pay-day in November. The Scottish Wholesale Grocers' Association wants to scrap the agreement it now has with the Shop Assistants' Union (the agreement ends on November 5th). Recognition of the union is to be withdrawn and Trade Board rates are to be enforced.

Similar action is contemplated throughout the grocery trade wherever wages are at present fixed by agreement with the unions.

The Shop Assistants' Union is in a very curious position. On one hand it is fighting strenuously to get the much delayed Trade Board rates enforced, and on the other its agitation for those rates is being used by the employers as an excuse to pull higher-paid sections down to the Trade Board level.

The employers have no shadow of excuse for their misuse of the Trade Boards. The people on whom the unions would wish to enforce Trade Board rates are mainly the back-street graders—often pot-bellied deacons or sidesmen—who are at present sweating their employees abominably.

But that fact will not protect the workers. The moral all the time is that solid trade union organisation is the only sound policy. Trade Boards are a two-edged weapon.

\* \* \*

The wholesale grocers' attack is not a new idea. For the past 25 weeks the women ropeworkers of Liverpool have carried on a magnificent fight against an attempt to smash trade union rates and enforce Trade Board wages. The women are members of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

I am glad to see that at long last a move has been made to get the transport workers to place a ban on material for the offending firms. It is a reflection on our present muddled trade union organisation that such a ban was not imposed on the first day of the stoppage.

\* \* \*

Havelock Wilson has had his conference of cooks and stewards, and matters are very much as they were. Very little progress is being made with the building up of new unions which are intended to fight and smash the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union. There is divided counsel and the effort may fizzle out.

A move is being made to arrange the consultation of the various anti-Wilson sections which I recently suggested; but it should be done quickly. And there should be a strenuous propaganda at the ports and enlighten the seafarers to the facts of the situation.

Make no mistake about it, the rich N.S.F.U. is not going to yield without a big fight with any old weapon; and the ship owners are likely to be on the side of that union as against new organisations designed for a more effective protection of the men who go down to the sea in ships.

## A Worker Looks at Clynes

By H. MCCARTHY

"Nemesis is no respecter of persons. If any worker shirked giving full value for his wages when trade was good he is as much to blame as the profiteer who took advantage of the general shortage of commodities which followed five years of war. Both are suffering to-day, though not to the same degree."

**T**HE above is part of a letter sent by Mr. J. R. Clynes to *The Times*, Friday, 30th September—Clynes, who is a prospective nominee for the headship of the Labour Party, when that Party gains control of the political machine!

In the first part of his statement he says, "Nemesis is no respecter of persons." Evidently Nemesis has not touched him. I have not heard of the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes standing for hours in a queue waiting for his dole of 15s. to keep his family in the necessities of life. Oh, no! The workers pay him to fight the man that makes profit out of their labour! Let us thoroughly digest this, "If any worker shirked to give full value for his wages." When did this degenerate, invertebrate trade union hypocrite ever know it possible for the worker to escape doing anything else but give value for his wages? The thing resolves itself into this: J. R. Clynes got himself into his present position through preaching that the system of worker and capitalist (in other words, robbed and robber) is wrong. Now he says that the worker who did not give value to the burglar who robbed him is as much to blame for the unemployed crisis as the robber. Suppose the worker, stripped to the waist, determined to give full value for his wages, would this fact avert unemployment? The direct opposite would result as soon as the workers had produced commodities in quantities which the markets could not absorb.

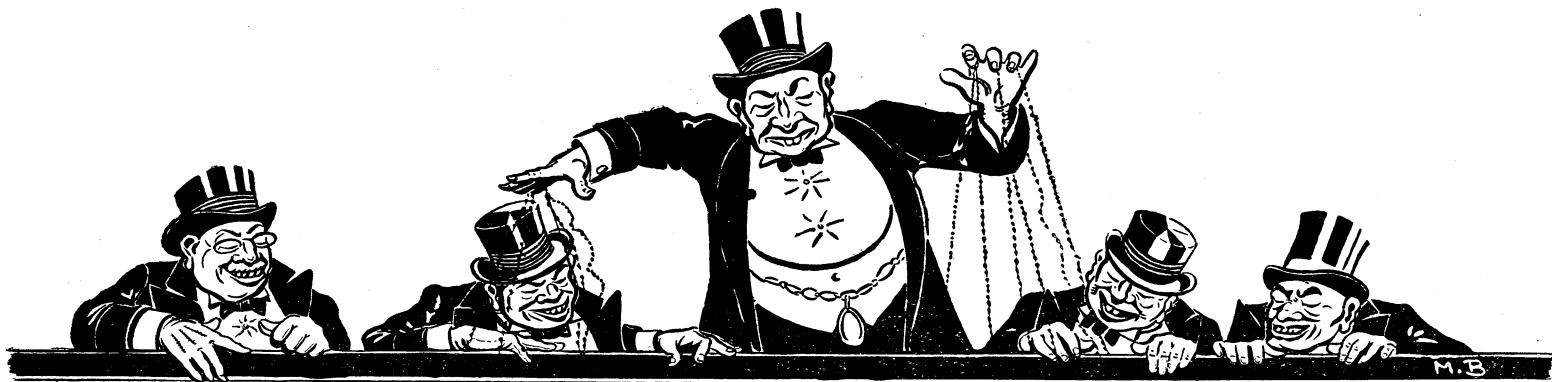
What does the capitalist do to his workers when he cannot sell his produce? No matter how hard they have worked for him, honest and "dishonest" alike, does he not sack them, throw them out on the streets?—to starve for all he cares! The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes says that the profiteer is also to blame (I like that word "profiteer") and that to-day he is suffering, but, of course, "not in the same degree." I want to know in what degree at all he is suffering. Is it a problem to the "profiteer" where his next meal will come from? Does he walk round the streets at night, without shelter or rest for his head, and no food in his inside? Is he demonstrating outside Board of Guardians' offices in order to get a bit to eat? Clynes knows the "profiteer" is suffering none of these things. He prates about "profiteers suffering," the hypocrite!

## "The Reds in Congress"

By J. T. MURPHY

being a report of the first World Congress of the R.T.U.I.

3d. each. Post free 4d. Quantities 2/3 per 13  
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## "WEIRIE" WEIR

By William Gallacher

**H**AVE you heard of Lord Weir? No? Well! well! that's strange!

Lord Weir is a mighty marvellous member of the new aristocracy, and he is going to do a whole lot of things and solve a whole lot of problems in a mighty marvellous manner. When he first obtruded his muddled economics on a long-suffering public he was known as plain "Willie." "Willie" Weir was one of the biggest jokes on the Clyde. He was an unfortunate young fellow whose father died and left him with the care of a considerable sized engineering business. This was obviously more than he was fit for; so he got a very capable superintendent who was not only keen on running the factory, but wished to run it on the most up-to-date American methods—with Tayloristic terrorising of the dumb-driven Plebs.

A smart man—no doubt about it! He got a committee going in the works and used it at his pleasure. Occasionally he had it up in the office of an evening and supplied it with "high tea." One member of the Committee at an Engineer's meeting when challenged with taking rotten fish from the management indignantly denied that it was rotten, and maintained against all comers that it was "Good Cod." "Good God," it was good "Cod." It was the best bit of "cod" that was ever played off on any body of workers.

Yes! he is a smart man. He not only set the men in motion but he started Weir himself on the run; and has kept him going ever since. When Weir "weiries" readers of the Press or gives a special performance on the platform, he is not the oracle by any means. He is but the humble instrument that records and faithfully transmits the epoch-making thoughts of the "scientific manager."

Part of the latter's plan for intensifying labour in the industry was payment by results. In order to get this system working the tame committee was called in. With very little difficulty it was persuaded to agree to it. But in defiance of everybody the moulders stood square-fronted and refused to have anything to do with it. Since the Armistice every kind of trick has been played, and every specious manœuvre tried, in the effort to get the moulders to give way, but all in vain. They simply won't have it, and so Taylorism is at a standstill. In these circumstances what is the poor "scientific manager" to do? Smash the Unions! That is obviously the only way out of it; but how?

Every effort made so far has ended in miserable failure and the end in view is further off than ever. There is only one course left. The Government must intervene, and so the

human gramophone, William, Lord Weir, is carefully oiled up and set agoing with the requisite number of records.

Here is how it works. "Lord Weir was the principal guest at a luncheon given at the Hotel Victoria on October 22nd by the British Engineers' Society. No "Cod" about this affair! While the moulders up in Cathcart were ramming up their boxes with lung-choking sand, Weir and his colleagues of this Bosses' Trade Union, were ramming themselves with all that privilege and power could afford. After which Weir got going on the same old story that is ever new. Costs! Orders going here, orders going there, orders going anywhere but to Cathcart. The whole trouble summed up in "Costs!" After a long and dismal recitation of all that "Costs" has cost us, the noble Lord gets to the point.

"I feel," he said, "that you must discharge your responsibility as employers by telling the P.M. what you honestly believe to be necessary." . . . "I profoundly believe that were they (the Government) to declare what they already know—that the power of Trade Unionism used by the men who now control it for purely political purposes has become a tyranny and a menace to the workers themselves, that it bids fair to ruin the industrial position, and with it the wellbeing of the people of this country, and that recognising this they have determined that the exercise of this power for evil should be curtailed and restricted—then I believe that they would rally to their support and assistance multitudes who are silently suffering at this moment and looking for a Banner under which to struggle for their freedom."

There you have it!—the Government must step in and put the Iron Heel firmly down on the neck of Trade Unionism. Costs must be reduced and the way to get reductions is by utilising cheap labour. The Workers' standard of living must go down. And this we are told by a swelled-headed plutocrat who has suddenly been pitch-forked into the midst of our rotten aristocracy.

Those of us who are conscious of what is happening must also consider "Costs." We must consider the cost of keeping an army of aristocratic unemployed living in luxury, and spitting out their venom at Victoria Hotel Luncheons while our Class suffers from semi-starvation. Having considered the cost we must prepare to apply the remedy. We, too, must close our ranks, and with a well-organised militant working class army march forward to the conquest of proletarian power, and the final liquidation of a system of Society that can produce such positive abortions as these newly manufactured "Noblemen" who openly and brazenly use other men's brains to make good the deficiency of nature.













