

THE Communist

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TWOPENCE

BEWARE MARCH 7th

A NEW crisis is upon us. The audacity of the engineers in refusing the overtime agreement has enraged the employers and made the union leaders squirm. Confident of his power, Sir Allan Smith smashes into the arena with the "lock-out."

"The issue at stake," says Sir Allan, "is whether industry in this country shall be carried on, on a Soviet basis or on the basis of private enterprise. The issue is not confined to the engineering trades. It affects all industry. The principle involved affects the basis of the whole national life of this country and all other countries."

This issue is fundamental. It challenges the whole working class movement at a time when all are in retreat. The engineering workers have suffered a 16s. per week reduction in wages during the last twelve months. The shipbuilding workers are balloting on a reduction of 26s. 6d. per week. Tramwaymen, transport workers, civil servants, farm workers, building workers—each in turn is attacked. Two million unemployed are threatened with reductions in relief. Numbers of organisations are appealing to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to organise a general resistance to the attacks.

We have reached a most critical hour. The employers smashed into the miners to destroy the idea of national control. They have selected the engineers to destroy every vestige of control of factory conditions.

Now is the time for the United Front. Let every worker, employed or unemployed get into the fight, and let every worker BEWARE! BEWARE MARCH 7th!

On March the 7th, four days before the "lock-out" notices expire, the Executive Council of the A.E.U. meets the Engineering Employers' Federation. This Executive has a record which should not be forgotten. Its members are men who were responsible for tying the unions to the Government during the war, and gulling the members with Government promises of the restoration of pre-war conditions. When they were not recruiting sergeants they were screamers for "increased production." Their record since the war has been one of almost continual retreat. On the present issue they have used all their influence to get the members to accept the overtime agreement—with the employers' interpretation. Without the strongest possible pressure from below the issue is lost. The situation is serious in the extreme. The slightest quibble and the struggles and the sacrifices of a generation go by the board. Lest there be any doubt about this fact let us examine the situation closely.

On September 30th, 1920, an overtime agreement was arrived at which contained the following clause:—

(i) "No union workman shall be required to work more than 39 hours overtime in any four weeks after full shop hours have been worked...."

This applies to production work and not to breakdown jobs, etc. It does not say that the thirty hours shall be worked without reference to the union. But the employers claim that it shall be without reference to the union and any complaint shall be made after the event. The union claimed until the leaders rattled on their original attitude, that an agreement entered into mutually should be carried out mutually and overtime should be first proved necessary before it was brought into operation, as both sides had "deprecated systematic overtime as a method of production." Further, this method of consultation with the union first had been and is being successfully practised in many firms.

On December 7 (1921), a special letter was sent out by the Executive Committee of the A.E.U. to all their officials, emphasising this point of view. By November 18 (1920), they completely surrendered at the York Conference, and advised the workers to accept the following terms:—

1. The Trade Union shall not interfere with the right of the employer to exercise managerial functions in their establishments and the Federation shall not interfere with the proper function of the Trade Union.

2. In the exercise of these functions, the parties shall have regard to the Provisions for avoiding Disputes of 17th April, 1914, which are amplified

by the Shop Stewards and Works Committee Agreement of 20th May, 1919, and to the terms of other National and Local Agreements between the parties.

3. Instructions of the management shall be observed pending any question in connection therewith being discussed in accordance with the provisions referred to.

It is agreed that in the terms of the overtime and night shift agreement of the 29th and 30th of September, 1920, the employers have the right to decide when overtime is necessary, the work people or their representatives being entitled to bring forward under the provisions referred to any cases of overtime they desire discussed. Meanwhile the overtime shall be proceeded with.

To capitulate to the employers' demands would have been the most deadly treachery. It makes the Shop Stewards agreement an utter farce, and places the workers completely at the disposal of the employers. There is not a single worker in industry who does not know that once an innovation is made, either in the manning of a machine or the working of overtime, or any other factory condition, it is infinitely more difficult to rescind than it would have been to prevent. Have we to permit 30 hours per month overtime without question to-day, with two millions unemployed?

Leaders who agree to such terms without an attempt to marshal the workers to resist are arrant cowards. Make no mistake about it, if this agreement is manoeuvred through as a result of the March Conference, every vestige of control over the conditions in the factories passes entirely out of the hands of the workers.

Sir Allan Smith has thrown down the gauntlet for battle. He and his herd are out to crush us. Here is a man who believes in power and can only be answered by power.

Watch March 7th! Your leaders do not want to resist. They want you to retreat.

Think a moment, brothers in the engineering trade! Eighteen months ago we demanded a 44 hours week. During last year a joint committee spent its time in enquiring into the working of the 47 hours week and died of inertia. Eighteen months ago we demanded 6d. per hour increase in wages. We received 6s. per week, and within twelve months have lost 16s. per week. The Executive Committee has continuously led the retreat through every decrease in wages of the working class.

There is no excuse for retreat. It is absolute nonsense to blame the unemployed and hold them up as bogeymen ready to snatch our jobs. The unemployed workers have shown throughout spirit and determination to defend all that has been gained in the long years of working-class struggle. We know that the unemployed workers are willing to join in the fight through their local and national organisations. Indeed, the unemployed are compelled on the issue raised to come forward and insist that overtime shall not be worked.

Neither is there the slightest justification for refusal to fight because of depleted funds. Fights are not won on funds. Either we fight to-day with the funds we have or we shall be compelled to fight later with no funds at all. Get into the fight and make the leaders toe the line. Demand of the District Committees and the Trades Councils that they draw all the forces of Labour together for a common struggle. Demand a special Trades Union Congress to organise common resistance to the universal onslaught. Sir Allan Smith challenges the whole working class movement. Therefore, marshal the whole working class for resistance.

Capitalism can never offer us better times. It cannot use the machinery we have created. The ships we have built are idle in the docks. The marvellous mechanism of modern industry which is the work of our hands is in ruin. Capitalism can no longer use it. Capitalism stands in the way of food for the hungry. It starves the creators of all the useful things of life. It turns the machinery of the world into scrap iron. It has brought civilisation to ruin. Away with it! To Hell with overtime! Engineers! Lead the way! With your Executives if they will fight. Without them if they won't fight. And—

BEWARE MARCH 7th

Ruhr - Univ
Abt. IV. Hist. B.

S7E43

SOME LETTERS AND THE FAMINE

THE spirit animating those comrades in all parts of the country who are doing what they can for the Fund is so excellent that our Famine Note for this week may well consist of extracts from letters they have sent in. From a great number we take the following:—

Nottingham Branch C.P.

Herewith the sum of £10 10/- for the Russian Famine Fund the result of a special effort week. Our branch is a very small one and more than half of the members are unemployed, so that I think you will agree that the branch as a whole has done well. One comrade who has done no work for six months handed in half-a-crown with the remark: "I'm bad off, Christ knows, but I'm a Rothschild compared to them." The whole amount with the exception of one or two minor sums has been given by members.—Yours fraternally, R. MEE.

DEAR SIR—Mummy has told me how the children in Russia are suffering for want of food, so I am sending a shilling out of my money box to help them. Mummy is also sending half-a-crown. Yours faithfully, GEOFFREY DIBBENS.

SIR—I enclose £1 for above fund to save one life in cherished memory of our dear Audrey whose life we could not save.—Sincerely yours, M.F.C.

This week we reach £4,700. Within six days we have received £297, which suggests that there is no slackening off in the work. On the contrary, we think that our effort is broadening out. Trade Unions all over the country are being visited by comrades who give short addresses on the need for helping the Fund, and Flag Days are now being organised more easily than was the case some months ago.

The Bazaar arrangements are well in hand and goods should be sent along as soon as ready.

W. McCL.

Acknowledgments

Cheques, Money Orders and Postal Orders, should be crossed thus & Co. 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 acknowledgment in "The Communist."

Shop Collecting Box, 4s. 1½d.; J.T., £1; J. Macauley, £3; Few Matelots, 11th week, 7s.; G. Moran, 10s.; Rochdale C.P., Collected, £1 2s. 6d.; D. Smith, S.W. Ham, 1s. 7d.; D. J. Lewis, 2s.; W. Hayward, 2s.; C.H., 3s.; A.H.K. and Friends, Brixton, 8s.; 5 M's and 2 F's, 7s.; Two Lovers of Children, Portsmouth, 5s. 6d.; E. A. Burrell, 5s.; J. Timothy and J. Payne, Coventry, 4s.; J.B., Aberdeen, £3.

Lilian Thomas, 2s. 6d.; Guildsmen at Higham Hill, per P.W.B., 2nd list, 12s.; R.I.L.U. London Committee, £5; Thomas Davies and Mrs. Davies, 10s.; Robert Cargill, Arbroath, £1; Ethel and Jack Coventry, 10s.; J.L. and L.M., £1; Chiswick C.P., 15s.; E. A. Morris, 5s.; Hounslow N.U.R., 4th sub., 15s.; J. H. Barber and Friends, 13s. 6d.; R. A. Airdrie, £1; Employees of Trollope & Colls, Newcastle, 16s. 6d.; Bunts, 6s. 6d.; L. T. Ball, 5s.; J. Lord, 2s.; E. D. Francis, 1s.; The Pope Family, 15s.; S. Voudsen, 2s.; Per W. Muir, Darvel C.P., Sheet 1055, £2 1s.; Liverpool Y.C.L., 8s.; A.E.U., Fleet Street, 7s. 6d.; A.E.U., Kings Cross No. 1, 8s. 6d.; A Miner, 10s.; T. Philips, 15s.; Porth C.P., Collecting Sheets, £1 1s. 9d.; S. F. Stephens, 6s.; Communist Anti-Waste, £10.

Shirley Lazirmick, 17s. 6d.; Marylebone C.P., per F.V., £1; Shaw Gorden, 4s.; George and Ethel Heath, Lincoln, 5s.; C. C. Caldwell, 5s.; Mrs. H. S. Graham, £1; Jessie Williams, 3s.; A. Moys, 5s.; J. A. Donovan, 5s.; A.E.U., Shepherds Bush, £1; Fred Preece, Birmingham, 2nd "Altogether," 2s. 6d.; W. R. Palmer, 10s.; Misses Eldridge, £1; Mrs. M. Polishuk, £1 10s.; W. Lagsding and Family, £1 5s.; Per Bradford Central C.P., Laura Overton, 2s. 6d.; Per Bradford Central C.P., Mrs. Overton, 2s. 6d.; B. Fallowfield, 5s.; W. Shaw, Wheelton, £2; W. R. Price & Co., Guen-C.G., £1; Tom Edmunds and Pal, Guen-C.G., 10s.; Kentish Town Relief Committee, £15 13s. 7½d.; J. Freshwater, 10s.; N.A.F.T.A. East London United Branch 15, £7 6s.; G.B., Crayford, 5s.; Govan C.P., £3 5s.; John Burton, per D. Gillies, £2.

Badges—G.C.G. C.P., £1 5s.; Sheffield C.P., £1 10s.; Ilford C.P., £1 5s.; Hackney C.P., 17s. 6d.; Bradford C.P., 6s. 3d.; Highgate C.P., 14s. 6d.; Tottenham C.P., 3s. 1d.; Motherwell C.P., 9s. 6d.; Walthamstow C.P., 7s. 6d.; Oldham C.P., 9s. 9d.; Levenshulme C.P., 6s.

Twickenham and Teddington Women's Co-op. Guild, £1; Per Comrade X.Y.Z., Beeston, 18s.; Gorbals Y.C.L., 6th con., 8s. 9d.; W. E. King, 5s.; W. Parker, £1; Griff and Glyn, 4s.; N.U.R., Edmonton, 2s. 6d.; A. Green and Friend, 7s.; "Chock," 2nd fortnightly, 15s.; G. A. Gaskell, 15s.; E. Sharrocks, 3s.; Two Crosby Rebels, 7s. 6d.; Noble Family, 10s.; Lerwick Economics Class, 2nd, £1 5s. 6d.; A Paddy from Cork, 2s.; Openshaw C.P., £1; H. Carter, 5s.; J. Vent Laughland,

Pembrok Chapel, Liverpool, £1 15s.; S. Farrant, Barry Dock, Sheet 1731, £2 2s.; D. Evans, Co-op. Society, Tonypandy, 5s.; Mrs. Burns, Darvel, Collected, £3 1s.; A.P., 2s.; G. Fletcher, 2s.; Few Matelots, 12th week, 10s. 6d.; S. Norwood C.P., per F. Marlin, 15s.; Paul's Meeting, Ogmore Vale, Feb. 5th, £3 10s.; H. D. Hood, £1; S.W.M.F., Cwmdu Lodge, £5; H. Owen, 10s.

Guildsmen at Higham Hill, per P.W.B., 11s. 6d.; London, W.C., 14th con., £50; Anon., Greenock, 5s.; Employees of J. McInnes, Darvel, per R. Calderwood, £2 12s. 6d.; Four Bolshies from Southwark, 3s. 3d.; A.H.K., Brixton, and Friends, 8s.; Collected, R. F. Bowles and W. Hildrop, Clapham, £1; Mr. and Mrs. J. Murray, 5s.; Builders, New Offices, Ministry of Pensions, Acton Vale, 19s.; Geoffrey Dibbrens and Mummy, 3s. 6d.; Employees, Trollope and Colls, Newcastle, 16s. 6d.; J. J. Finnigan, £1; Collected at Home and at Cadbury Bros., J. Clifford, 11s.; E.F., 2s. 6d.; Collected, Dystford Glassworks, Greenwich, C. Adams, £1 12s. 6d.; W. Buckley, £1; Anon., Manchester, 4s.; E. C. Shell, 15s.; Society of Wood Cutting Machinists, Tooting, £2; E. Liverpool C.P., Members' Levy, £4 13s. 6d.; E. Liverpool C.P., Com. Williams 2s., Com. Stanley, 2s. 6d.; E. Liverpool C.P., Com. Ammon, 2s.; W. F. Challis, in memory of Audrey, £1; Bobbie and Sylvia Walker, 5s.; Jessie Leacock, £4; James and Lizzie Robertson, 10s.; Greenock C.P., Draw, 2nd con., £4.

Bolton C.P., Half Proceeds of Social in I.L.P. Rooms, £2 10s.; Bolton C.P., Concert at 16, Wood Street, £2 3s.; Bolton C.P., Sheet 2455, 6s. 2d.; Dowlais C.P., 10s. 6d.; A.F.P., Liverpool, 2s. 6d.; Birkenshaw C.P., £1 10s.; Brighton Socialist Centre, per R. Penniford, £1 10s.; G.

A Representative of the Queensland Government called in a few days ago to say that he had been instructed to purchase condensed milk to the value of £10,000 to the order of the International Workers Relief Committee of which our fund is the British Section. We are making arrangements for delivery as soon as possible

Watts, Coventry C.P., 5s.; Sympathiser, Motherwell, 2s. 6d.; Ida and Edna Place, Accrington, 5s.; I.L.P. Meeting, Tib Street, Manchester, £1; St. Helens C.P., 8s. 3d.; Conscience Money, 5s.; J. F. Swan, Works Collection, 8s.; Collected, Greenfield Socialist Institute, £1 12s.; John Burns, Darvel, Collected, £3; Per Mrs. Baker, Wood Green C.P., 14s. 6d.; John Dunn, 2s. 6d.; M.P., £24; Ajax, 2nd, 2s. 6d.; Yeovil I.L.P., 10s.; Reformers Book Shop, Manchester, £1 19s.; Com. Barnofsky, Manchester Central, 18s. 6d.; H. W. White, £1; H.J.T., 4s.; Collected, J. J. Reynolds, Stafford, 12s. 9d.; N.A.F.T.A. East London United Branch 15, £6 6s. 6d.; P. and J. Newall, £2.

R. Stewart's Meeting, Pontypool, February 11th, £2 14s.; Duncan Kilpatrick, per W. Gillies, £1; E.C.M., per H. Shafer, £3; Polmadie Loco. Men, per T. H. Reid, £14; per R. Stewart, Glasgow, £5 1s.; Nottingham C.P., £10 10s.; Paul's Lantern Lecture, Castleford C.P., £7 4s.; Mrs. Robinson, £1; Miss Clark, 2s.; Blodwen Williams, 10s.; Collected, F. Jackson, Hull, £1; Hugh Ross, 4s.; Ellis Jones, 5s.; C. J. Hicks, 10s.; J. R. White, 3s.; Altrincham C.P., Collected at Social, 5s.; Jessie Williams, 3s. 6d.; Heckmondwike and District Socialist Society, 12s.; G.M.B.F., 2s.; Marjorie and Billie Davies, 5s.; Evan David Francis, 1s.; Sale, Labour Party, £2; S. Turnbull, 5s.; Winifred Smyth, £1; Y.C.L., Liverpool School Section, 14s. 9d.; McLaine's Lantern Lecture, Bow C.P., £7 5s. 6d.; Ronald Bell, 2s. 6d.; R.I.T., 6s.

Mrs. Rochester, 10s.; Elsie Aitchison, 10s.; John Aitchison, Newdigate Camp, 10s.; Charles and Ethel Richards, £1; Collected by J. Menis, Stirling Factory, Darvel, £1 13s.; Collected by Mr. Anderson, Morton and Aird Factory, Darvel, £2 1s.; N.U.R., New Cross No. 1, Miss Sanders' Meeting, £5; Mrs. Sellas, Hastings, per E. Scuttenden, 10s.; Per E. G. Scuttenden, 10s.; Rochdale C.P., Sheet 2548, £2 8s. 9d.; L. Burman, 10s.; A.M.H., 2s. 6d.; Capricorn, 12s.; Streatham Joint Workers Famine Com., Social, £8 5s.; A. McGregor, Dalmaur, Vale of Leven C.P., £2 7s.; Selston Labour Party, 2nd Collection, £4; Lostock Hall Rebel, 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Densley, 10s.; H. E. Hough, 5s.; A Mother, 5s.; Liverpool Workers Famine Relief Com., Stop Watch Competition, £50; Sympathiser, Tredegar, 12s.; Mrs. Power, £1; Miss Dooley, 10s.; Collected, Halifax Trades and Industrial Council,

per Miss Crabtree, 15s.; Irene Fairhurst, 5s.; Thos. Hodson, 5s.; E.G.M., £1; E. Mazzini, 2nd con., £1.

Haslingden C.P., 8s. 2d.; Manchester Central C.P., 6s. 6d.; Joiners at Bryce's Contract Proven Gas Works, Chryslon C.P., 18s.; Workers' Circle, Branch 10, 2nd con., £5; B. Bubonski, 2s. 6d.; Collected, John Burns, Darvel, £2 6s.; Collected, Jeannie Ireland, Darvel, £1 11s.; Collected, Sally Ireland, Darvel, £2 8s.; 2nd collection, Cadbury's, Bournville, £1 5s. 6d.; Thos. J. Rees, 10s. 6d.; G. B. Cayford, 5s.; Per M. A. Lobley, £3; C. Cowell, Family Collection, 8s.; Ellen Mann, £1; R.B., 5s.; W. Clarke and Family, 10s.; H. Jagoe, 2s. 6d.; C. Caldwell, £1 1s. 6d.; W. F. Marshall, 2s. 6d.; One of the Unemployed, 2s.; Lunday May Day Committee, per J. Rothberg, £1 17s. 8½d.; E. J. Wilkinson, 3s.; Walthamstow Guildsmen, per P.W.B., 13s.; R. G. Legge and Friends, 12s. 6d.; Per Mrs. Thomas, Burry Port, 10s.; Miss Baldwin, 10s.; Buckhaven C.P., Ritchie's Meeting, 10s.; F.G.P., Southampton, £1.

Co-op. Land Guild, Holt, £1 10s.; Manchester Central C.P., per Barnofsky, 16s. 6d.; Hydonian, £2 6s. 6d.; Blackburn C.P., Mrs. Crawford's Meeting, 16s.; Rochdale Clarion C.C., £1; Disillusioned ex-Hero, Unemployed, 2s. 6d.; M. M. Bedford, 1s.; Anon., Stoke Newington, 2s. 6d.; Miss M. Shooton, 3s.; H. Archer, £2; A.F., 2s. 6d.; Dora G. Dunn, 5s.; N. Waugh, Gateshead, 10s.; Tom Chittenden, Chatham, £1; Mr. and Mrs. Holden, Stockton, 10s.; S. and J. Dunn, £1; K. Maher, 2s.; W. G. Gilbert, 10s.; Stannergate, 2s. 6d.; John James, 10s.; A.M.I. and W.B., 5s.; J.D., 5s.; Thomas Davies, 2s. 6d.; G. L. Hoyle, 10s.; John Mackay, 5s.; Collected, Polygon Glass Works, Canning Town, by H. Arcoff, £1 15s.; R. W. Place, 5s.; Plymouth C.P., Ebury's Meeting, £2 5s.

Plymouth C.P., Sale of Jewellery, 10s.; Plymouth C.P., A. H. Harding, £2; Plymouth C.P., Miss Butland, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Margrie, 1s. 6d.; Plymouth C.P., Warne Family, 10s.; H. Moore, 2s. 6d.; N.A.F.T.A. East London United Branch 15, £7 7s.; Miss Roberts, Central London C.P., Collection, £1 6s. 1d.; Hackney C.P., £1 17s. 6d.; Yeovil I.L.P., £1 10s.; Seade and Hamilton's Factory, Darvel, per J. Cox, £1 3s.; Gibbon's Factory, Darvel, per R. Cox, 16s.; Brighton C.P., £1 4s.; Miss McKenzie, 12s.; Four Women Workers, 14s.; Unemployed Paisley Rebel, 2s.; Two Leamington Comrades, 7s.; Greenock C.P., Draw, £2 10s.; Devonport Primitive Methodist Sunday School, 5s. 7d.; Glasgow District Branches Social, £2 5s. 2½d.; Nolan Family, £1; Bolshies on Charlton Guild Scheme, 10s.; Annie and Ada Hodson, £3; R.E.A., Hull, £2; Neil Brown, £1; Mrs. Shearer, 10s.; A.H., Osmer, £1; O. Parsley, £1 10s.; Per Elsie Todd, West Hartlepool Y.C.L., 3s.; N.U.R., Broad Street Branch, £5.

Red International of Labour Unions (British Bureau)

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

LITERATURE SECRETARIES PLEASE NOTE.

- "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions." A. Losovsky. 6d. each. 4/- per doz.
- "The Reds in Congress." J. T. Murphy. 3d. each. 2/3 per doz.
- "Russia in 1921." Tom Mann. 6d. each. 4/- per doz.
- "Constitution of R.I.L.U." 2d. each. 1/6 per doz.
- "Labour's New Charter." The resolutions and decisions of the first Congress of the R.I.L.U. July, 1921. 6d. each. 4/- per doz.
- "Stop the Retreat!" An appeal to Trade Unionists. J. T. Murphy. 1d. each. 9d. per doz.
- "All Power." The Monthly Journal of the British Bureau, R.I.L.U. Published first Saturday. each month. 1d. each. 1/6 per quire. Postage extra.

To be obtained from 3, Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C. 2.

THE MARCH PLEBS

Where Prof. Soddy Went Wrong.

L. B. BOUDIN.

The "GOULD" Standard: A Reply to the *Herald* review of the Plebs Psychology Text Book.

T. A. JACKSON.

The Webbs' Young Man.

R. W. POSTGATE.

Geographical Footnotes (with Maps): Hilferding: Reviews, etc.

6d. (post paid, 7d.)

PLEBS, 11a, Penywern Road, S.W. 5.



AN IMAGINARY SCENE, or "We've come to collect our Wedding Presents"

The workers of this country will pay £6,000 a year to Princess Mary, after her wedding. As her husband's income, also derived from the workers, is quite probably under £50,000 a year, it is a clear case of destitution and the thousands of pounds more wrung out of the workers and "invested" in wedding presents by their exploiters are of course mere justifiable expenses.

THE WORKERS' LIBRARY

The Foundations of Imperialism. By M. Pavlovitch. 3/6.

Men and Steel. By Mary H. Vorse. 3/6.

Left Wing Trade Unionism in France. By Monatte and others. 1/6.

Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power? By N. Lenin. 1/6.

The Workers' Library. Labour Publishing Co.

A NEW series of workers' books is always an event of importance, and this "Workers' Library," together with the same company's "Workers' Classics" (why such confusing titles?) deserves a welcome. The eighteen-penny booklets in particular are value for the money and not the scraggy little pamphlets we are generally put off with.

The two Russian books claim first treatment. Pavlovitch's is described as "lectures delivered to the General Staff." Only incidentally do we find that the staff is the Russian general staff, and then we begin to understand. The general staff to which these lectures were delivered consisted mainly of peasants and rank and file soldiers in whom military ability had been discovered. It was necessary to explain to them the elements of Communism and the world outside their narrow knowledge. Hence these strictly elementary lectures, delivered to people to whom a bank was a thing unknown. The lectures are very good indeed: clear, accurate and intensely interesting, but they are not the advanced and important studies that at first sight one expected. To the mass of us this only increases their value. Pavlovitch must be an admirable lecturer, and one closes the book with the thought that it would have been a pleasure to hear him.

Eighteen-penn'orth of Lenin will probably be bought up greedily. The pamphlet in question was written before the Soviet Revolution and deals with the faint-hearted, who shied when the time came, at the actual task of taking power. Its importance to us is not as a Russian document—it is a little old for that—but as a guide to ourselves. It will not be so long before a revolutionary crisis may come upon us, and then—? We shall find the manner in which Lenin approached the problem extremely heartening.

One word of criticism in both these cases. The translation should not have been printed as it stood. Sentences obviously written by a foreigner abound, and there are other sentences which are not even intelligible. Footnotes are taken into the text, references to German editions are slovenly allowed

to stand when it is simply a question of taking down the English edition and checking, finally there are no indices or even tables of contents. Probably a case for shooting the editor.

"Left Wing Trades Unionism in France" is uniform in size and get-up with the Lenin booklet. Its interest is less obvious and dramatic, in so far as the problem of the structure and spirit of the Trade Union Movement in France would seem at first glance to be one too local to be of general importance. On examination the essays in this volume reveal themselves as profoundly thoughtful studies of the general principles of industrial organisation. The ground covered includes industrial versus craft unionism, "form" and "spirit," the development of the strike concept up to the point of "take control," workers' control, and the working class education movement as part of the apparatus of industrial struggle. These are all treated briefly but with a deep sympathetic insight. It is a notable piece of work.

Mary Heaton Vorse has produced a genuine prose epic. She sets out to tell the story of the great Steel Strike in the U.S.A. in 1920, and her sympathy with the toilers is so keen, her power of visualisation so vivid, that the whole Pittsburg area rises before one as distinctly as a well remembered scene—a story so compelling that one has almost to remind oneself that only at second-hand do we know the area and the actors in this titanic struggle.

Far more than any formally exact and statistical work does this book give us the atmosphere and the emotional values of the vast complexity of class-conflict. Subconsciously one hears as each page is turned an echo of the battle slogan "Go to the Masses." One of the most moving of books is Mary Heaton Vorse's "Men and Steel."

R.W.P.—T.A.J.

MEHRING'S "LIFE OF MARX."

J. B. Askew announces that he is translating Franz Mehring's "Life of Marx," which has attained a European reputation as a Socialist classic. It has long been a matter of profound regret that no English version has been available.

Askew is engaged on an English Translation, which can be published as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers are found. It is proposed to issue subscribers' copies at one guinea.

"Nine Mile Point"

FATE is kind or unkind to Mr. Kane, managing agent of the United National Collieries, for there has occurred a first-class rumpus. The men at Nine Mile Point have to deal with a swashbuckler and a tyrant—a Mr. Huxham, the colliery manager, second to none—not even the tame ex-Kaiser. The affair, reported in the *Herald* and the *Western Mail*, became something like a free fight.

Since this rumpus at the colliery, which was purely spontaneous and unofficial, the rank and file are waking up to their power, whether their official organisation is crippled or not!

A Special Executive of the S.W.M.F. has been called to consider the critical situation at Nine Mile Point, where the pits have remained idle since Monday last.

But, Lord! the blindness of some old "fogies"—some of them respectable union agents of the J.P. mentality, who "blame all this on Communists"—when they could see at once, if they took off their blinkers, that the source is the local tyrant.

S.W.M.F.—A Recovery

The campaign in the coalfield against non-unionism and craft unionism is proceeding better in the various districts of the S.W.M.F.

The reactionary leaders of the resuscitated craft union in S. Wales and Mon.—the backsliders D. B. Jones and W. Thomas—have added a bait to their "offers" to craft unionists who will join up their tin-pot organisation, viz. :—

a lump sum of £8 to be paid to the widow or children of a deceased member.

This is a *dead* benefit indeed. And an expensive one, for there will soon be no *live* members in their union: they will have left to rejoin the Federation or even perhaps be compelled like the poor Mr. Huxham at Nine Mile Point.

A Second Big Lock-out?

All the S.W.M.F. districts are recovering not only membership but some spirit. All districts are rapidly getting down to insufferable minimums under the 1921 agreement. So we can safely prophecy that this Lock-out Agreement will be absolutely *dead* in September, if not before.

This means another scrap with the coalowners and perhaps with the Government.

And in another S. Wales industry. For the tin-plate men's wages are "down" and they are living on a "bonus" from the owners, like the miners of South Wales.

J.A.L.T.

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. They cannot be paid for at the present.

Advertisement rates are 12/- per inch per single column. Undisplayed notices of meetings etc., 1/6 for 18 words.

"The Communist" can be sent to any reader direct from this office at the prepaid, post-paid rate of 3/3 per quarter, or pro rata.

Terms for quantities: 1/4 for 13, post paid, sale or return; monthly account. All communications to:—Circulation Manager, "The Communist," 16, King Street, W.C.2

NOTES OF THE WEEK

The threatened lock-out of the Engineers, brings to a head the Big Boss Push that commenced with the debacle of Black Friday.

Frankly—almost flamboyantly—the Bosses are making the issue a clear class question. "Are we," they ask, "to be masters in our own house, or not?"

Upon the fate of the engineers depends that of the whole working class, employed and unemployed alike. If there is ever to be a stand, the workers must make it now. Financially crippled as the Trade Unions are, they will be morally destroyed past all reclamation unless they are able to rise above the sophistries of business expediency with which the Bosses seek to entangle their spokesmen and negotiators.

A good fight, now—and well fought, might be the turning point in the fortunes of the whole working class. An ignominious compromise may seal the fate of the whole generation.

* * *

Ireland The Irish situation is such as to cause, for the time being, great joy to the one and only Welsh Wizard. On the Treaty issue Irish national solidarity has been riven asunder. Sinn Fein is split—so badly that Collins and De Valera have agreed to pretend that "unity" has been maintained—at any rate for three months. Then the draft Constitution and the Treaty will be submitted to the people at an election. Not only will this prevent a straight vote on the treaty issue; it will (and here we see the hand of the astute Collins), put the Irish Labour Party right up against the problem of either making good their protestations in favour of a Workers' Republic, in opposition to De Valera's republicanism pure and simple, or alternatively, of ceasing to count as an independent force. Sinn Fein is split; the I.R.A. is split; the Labour Party is split; and (to complete the picture), Ulster is split on the question whether to hold tight or go to the rescue of Collins. Naturally, neither section will admit that the split exists—hence these manoeuvres and postponements.

If De Valera were not afraid of the proletariat, the whole situation might be straightened. As it is, only a mass movement of the Irish rank-and-file can save the Republic from ignominious burial.

* * *

"The Bravest Man" Eugene Debs has issued the following statement on Larkin, addressed especially to Ireland: "Jim Larkin is one of the bravest and truest men that ever gave his life and his all to the working class."

"He stands giant-like at the forefront of the Labour movement, fearless and erect, defying the enemies of his class, and fighting with all his splendid strength of mind and body and soul for the emancipation of the world's workers."

"His power is recognised and feared by capitalism, and he is persecuted and imprisoned accordingly, but his dauntless spirit remains free, and he grows stronger

and greater than the fetters which were meant to break and destroy him.

"If Jim Larkin has any fault, it is that he has no fear and no care concerning himself. He is completely immersed in and consecrated to the working class that he utterly forgets self in his ruling passion to serve the cause."

An active campaign in favour of the release of Jim Larkin, assisted by Debs, Miss Helen Keller, Max Eastman, John Fitzpatrick (President Chicago Federation of Labour), and many other prominent workers in the American Labour movement is now being prepared. The secretary is Minnie Carney, 2620, Seminary Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, United States.

The Moscow "International Communist Tailoring Factory" unanimously elected Jim Larkin to represent them on the Moscow Soviet; and have instructed the Russian Foreign Commissariat to inform the American Government of his election and to ask for his release from prison.

* * *

The Bull Ring Two additions to the roll of honour this week come from Birmingham, both comrades being charged with alleged speeches in the famous Bull Ring. Their names are A. Swain and J. H. Ganley. Among the charming statements made in the police evidence was one, from the solicitor, to the effect that while Comrade Swain was at liberty "it is becoming quite dangerous for the police to be out." Dear, dear! Poor fellows, then, diddums!

* * *

Bottomley Again So the Public Prosecutor has joined in the attack and is going to prosecute Bottomley. Whether he is doing so on the strength of the revelations submitted to him by C. H. Norman and summarized in last week's COMMUNIST is more than we can say. Nevertheless, there is something a little peculiar in this prosecution. It is merely for "converting £5,000 of the Victory Bond Club's money to his own use." What, only this? The great Horatio himself protested that he had been accused (a) of corruptly arranging that Bigland should receive £1,000 in a War Stock Draw; (b) of faking a libel trial—the Greeny case.

Indeed, we endorse the protest of the honourable gentleman. If the matter is left at this the very worst construction will be placed on the limitations of the action of the Public Prosecutor.

* * *

Release All The Prisoners To demand the release of Albert Inkpin, Secretary of the Communist Party, and of all other political prisoners, is the object of a demonstration which the Communist Party has arranged for Sunday, March 5th, at 3 p.m., in Trafalgar Square.

Because this is a land of boasted freedom and because these attacks are on working class bodies, the organisers expect the trades unions and others to lend their support to the demonstration, and to march with their banners in the following contingents:—

1.30 o'clockGardeners Corner
1.0 "Camberwell Green
1.0 "St. Pancras Arches
12.0 "Manor House

Tom Mann, Victor Beacham, Skene Mackay, Dawson Large, J. G. Butler (L.C.C.), and T. A. Jackson, are amongst those who have already promised to speak.

* * *

"My Friend The Manchester Guardian the Princess" of last Saturday gave a long list of the presents given to the Princess Mary, and an account of the brief speeches with which in each case she thanked the donors. It continued:—

There was one exception to this rule. Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., went to the Palace to present a magnificent inkstand of Crown Derby porcelain, of which the prevailing shades were red and gold. He desired to hand it to the Princess "as a small token of loyalty and affection from the Royal Crown Derby Pottery Company," but finding that the Princess was already deeply engaged, Mr. Thomas very considerably left the inkstand with one of the Court officials, and a written acknowledgment will be sent.

A little unpleasant to be sent round to the servants' entrance, was it not, Mr. Thomas?

£6,000 The unemployment dole has gone up like a rocket. So at least we understand from the latest recipient, Mrs. M. Lascelles, late Princess Mary, who is getting £6,000 a year out-relief without so much as applying to the Guardians.

General Election

The Executive Committee of the C.P. has decided to contest a number of seats at the next General Election. The following constituencies and candidates have been decided upon and endorsed by the local branches:—

EAST LEYTON	C. L. Malone
DUNDEE	W. Gallagher
COVENTRY	J. V. Leckie
MOTHERWELL	J. T. Walton Newbold
GLASGOW (Tradeston)	Mrs. H. Crawford
EAST RHONDDA	R. Stewart
GORTON	H. Pollitt

In addition the question of contests in the following constituencies is still under consideration:—West Fife, Sheffield (Attercliffe), and West Walthamstow. Also the following members of the party are proposed as Labour Party candidates and will receive the party support:—

BETHNAL GREEN	J. J. Vaughan
BATTERSEA	S. Saklatvala
PORTSMOUTH	H. Hinshelwood
LEIGH BURGHS	R. Foulis

Party Members and Sympathisers: Attention!

Above is the list of party candidates up to date. The Executive Committee is determined that the Communists shall enter into the lists at the forthcoming General Election and through the mobilisation of the Communist forces all over the country, secure the return for the first time in British history of representatives of the revolutionary working class.

Finance is urgently needed for the fight. We therefore propose to open up through the columns of THE COMMUNIST a General Election fighting fund.

£4,000 is required as a minimum to finance ten avowed Communist candidatures.

We appeal, therefore, to all members and sympathisers of the party to send along something for this fund.

All monies will be acknowledged in THE COMMUNIST. Collecting cards will be issued and applications can be now made for same.

Comrades, we have no finance beyond what the working class provides. No "plutes" in the party.

Therefore, it is up to you.

Get busy now. Every penny counts, so let us hear from you quickly.

All monies to Electoral Committee, C.P.G.B.

16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.

The Policy Conference

The Policy Conference will be held on Saturday and Sunday, March 18th and 19th, at the St. Pancras Town Hall, Pancras Road, London, N.W. The Agenda is now in the hands of the branches and special branch meetings should be held to discuss the items. The branches should use every endeavour to send a delegate.

Expenses of Delegates

As advised branches situated beyond the £3 fare limit will be assisted to the extent of the difference between £3 and the total rail fare. In order to meet the expense thus incurred, a graduated delegate fee has been arranged. The London Delegate fee will be 30/- per delegate, and this will be graded downwards to 7/6.

The Executive Committee have made adequate arrangements for proxy delegates for those branches who cannot possibly meet the expense, and there is no reason whatsoever why every branch should not be represented.

All amendments must reach the Central Office not later than March 13th. Hotel expenses must be met by the delegates.

FRED H. PEET,
Acting Secretary

THE BEATITUDES OF BOTTOMLEY

By T. A. JACKSON

"Mr. Stewart Chamberlain, the ex-English German, lamented the other day that Germany did not possess a MAN.... Although we are not short of leaders of men we do not sufficiently employ them. Take the case of Mr. Horatio Bottomley, whose tonic utterances in this journal give inspiration and comfort to the most lugubrious souls. Mr. Bottomley exercises an enormous influence with his pen and voice. Are recruits wanted? He gets them! Is there a strike to settle? He can pour oil on the troubled waters! Is there a cause to plead? He pleads it successfully.

"His crusade for a 'business Government' is well remembered. Its fruits are now to be observed in the new committees appointed to get things done. Yet his great talents are mostly exercised 'unofficially.' There is much more work that Mr. Bottomley could do. He is a force in the State. His services should be utilised more and more by the Government."

Sunday Pictorial, July 25th, 1915.

THE press informs us that Horatio Bottomley has ceased to be chairman of the Independent Party in Parliament. Also that he has ceased to be the Editor of the *Sunday Illustrated*—his connection with *John Bull* having been severed weeks before.

Barely a twelvemonth since the grave and revered *Observer* remarked that the only possible alternative to Lloyd George was Mr. Bottomley.

A little before *John Bull* had recorded the fact that:—

"A correspondent writes to point out that three men named Horatio saved England—Horatio, Lord Nelson, Horatio, Lord Kitchener, and, . . . (modesty forbids the Editor to name the third.)"

It is characteristic of Bottomley (and of that public which threatens to desert him at the first chill of an adverse wind) that he and they should rejoice in the symbol of "John Bull." Bluff, hearty, downright, "John Bull." Corpulent, heavy jowled, top-booted, big sticked, "John Bull." Not over-brainy, little given to qualms, hearty for all his truculence, and truculent for all his heartiness—"John Bull."

True, the conventional image "John Bull" was so very unlike the average of the Englishmen whom he was supposed to typify that when one of them was found to be literally "John Bullish" in face and figure, every newspaper printed his photograph as a curiosity. True, too, that nothing could be less like the hale and hearty agriculturist "John Bull" than the smart men-about-town, the weedy clerks, or the needy and greedy race-course hangers-on, who, providing the nucleus of Bottomley's public acclaimed the hale and hearty one as their tribal deity.

"John Bull," in fact, was successful as a symbol because he was so unlike the reality he served to conceal. His "bluff"-ness was a good excuse for his worshippers' brazen impudence; his insensitiveness for their brutality. His robustness and his bulldog was an excuse for greedy gambling upon prize-fights, football matches, horse races, and the chances of the Stock Exchange—upon anything, in short, which gave them a chance of doing meanly what the Big Bourgeoisie did grandly, viz., get something for nothing.

Around this nucleus of "fly-flats" there aggregated a much wider public, composed of the constitutionally timid, the petty-scandal mongers, and the half-radical, to whom the nucleus aforementioned, seemed the very quintessence of courageous independence. To all these, the journal, *John Bull* came as a gospel, an apocalypse, and a war manifesto. It gave them tit-bits of scandal; it gave them slabs of that righteous indignation which is dearer to the soul of the True Born Englishman than is molasses to the palate of a nigger. It gave them cheap and easy "gambles" in the form of "skill" competitions in which a thousand pounds in prizes tempted many hundreds of thousands of sixpences from their pockets. It gave a breezy tolerance to that practice of "free" living, which is denoted by the phrase "man of the world," and combined this with a scrupulous (if ritual) respect for conventions in the abstract.

Naturally, its patriotism was unquestioned. It gave a benevolent nod of recognition to Piety, it bowed its acknowledgments to virtue, it was on familiar terms with God, and at the name of the Throne or the Empire, took off its coat and banged the big-drum till the plaster fell down from the saloon-bar ceiling.

And now the creator of this mighty engine for making a noise in a vacuum and mistaking the result for an earthquake, is suspect in the temple of his own erection. He is debarred from the altar, and his acolytes swing their censers at his head instead of beneath his nostrils.

To recall them to their allegiance, I have (from a volume of *John Bull*), gathered, almost at haphazard, the beginnings of a BOTTOMLEY ANTHOLOGY Or A Golden Treasury of the Great Thoughts of a Great Man on Great Occasions.

* * *

Three themes predominate in the Editorial articles in *John Bull*: (1) Bottomley, His Virtues; (2) Bottomley, His Friends; (3) Bottomley, His Advice to the working man." We will arrange them under those heads.

BOTTOMLEY: HIS VIRTUES

First of his virtues is patriotism. He can find time to keep one eye upon the tape machine, one on the Government, one on the "Hun," and still have one left for the creeping spectre of

Bolshevism. And even when he recognises perils on every hand he remembers that he is there, if not at the helm, at any rate at the megaphone.

Bottomley's faith is another of his strongest virtues; so is his hope. On the 4th December, 1920, he wrote:—

"I am not without hope that some arrangement may be arrived at before the next General Election between the Independents and the National Party, to prevent overlapping and waste of energy"

We understand that this hope is quite justified; there will be no overlapping. Hardly a lap, even.

Not only faith and hope, but charity. On the 13th November, 1920, he gave these words to the world:—

"I am in no cavilling mood, and am ready to make every allowance for the frailties of human nature."

This brings us to his stern honesty. On Dec. 18, 1920, he writes:—

"I can assure the Prime Minister that there will be short shrift for his ministry once the suspicion of trickery is established in the public mind."

A month earlier he had said in the course of some articles on "Recollections of the Law":—

"Why didn't I go to the Bar? . . . to put it quite bluntly, I was gradually forced to the view that the Bar—despite all its high traditions—is really an ignoble profession."

BOTTOMLEY: HIS FRIENDS

Naturally, a man such as this is bound to attract the friendship of the flower of the land, and he lets you know it. Curiously enough, quite a lot of his friends belong to the "ignoble profession" of the Bar. For instance, on the 23rd Oct., 1920, in the course of some Recollections, he found occasion to refer to Rufus Isaacs (now Lord Reading):—

"He (Rufus) would sometimes spend an evening at my London flat—especially when there was to be a roulette party."

Again, he refers to his "friend," George Riddell (now Lord Riddell), and tells how they brought a collusive action solely to advertise "Bottomley's Book," and the *News of the World*, in which it was running as a serial. (*John Bull*, Sept. 18, 1920).

In December, 1920, he was in such high feather that he was seriously contemplating offering himself to a suffering Throne and country as a candidate for the Premiership. Generously, he thought of his friends:—

"If, for instance, I were to-day asked to form a Ministry . . . I should probably ask my friend, Sir Herbert Hambly, of Barclay's Bank to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Edward Marshall Hall would undoubtedly be Public Defender, General Townshend would take his proper place as Secretary of State for War, Sir Henry Dalziel would be Scottish Secretary, Dr. Macnamara would go to the Education Office, Sir Donald Maclean would be my Home Secretary—and, with a few days' time for consideration, I do not think I should have much difficulty in filling up the other posts."

It is by a flash of inspiration such as only comes to men of true Greatness that he recognises that with Such a Prime Minister there would be plenty of work for a "Public Defender."

HIS ADVICE TO THE WORKING MAN

It is in his advice to the working man that Horatio adopts his Olympian manner. Note the nice modulation of this thunder:—

"Unless the employer is protected against sudden disturbance and loss he cannot be expected to share his precarious profits on generous terms with the men who make them."—(*John Bull*, Nov. 27, 1920).

This, in varying tones, is his sole advice to the working man—"Don't Strike." When the strike looks like being a big one, we get a big shout; as thus:—

"Should the strike come—which God forbid!—then, as I said to the railway strikers a year ago, 'Father, forgive them—they know not what they do!'"—Sept. 25, 1920.

A month later, he grows desperate, and we get this:—

"I tell the miners to-day, without any mincing of words, that in this strike they are guilty of a crime against the dead!"

What dead? The men who died in the Great War? How would a strike be a crime against them? Why, thus:—

"I would point to the crosses bearing the names of some of your pals—perchance a brother or son, and I would bid you listen! And shall I tell you what you would hear? Brother, Father, it was not for *this* I died; I died for England—go back to work!" (Oct. 23, 1920).

He goes on (in case you might think, despite his italics, that he doesn't mean it):—

"Believe me, my friends, I speak in deep earnestness. I sent many of those dear boys to their doom . . ."

And this seems to be so utterly the very last word, that I abandon the rest of the Anthology until some other time.

THE UNCROWNED KINGS

By MARK STARR

THE Press of the last week in January brought again to the front the growing power and influence of the Big Five of the banking world. Their total of paid up capital cannot be less now than £50,000,000, and that they are doing well the following list of their 1921 dividends will show:

	Per cent.
London County Westminster & Parrs	20
London Joint City & Midland	18
Lloyds	16½
National Provincial & Union	16
Barclay's	14
A shares 10	
B shares 14	

In addition to the declared profits these Banks are building up reserves because they hold gilt-edged stock which, bearing a fixed rate of interest, automatically increases in its price as the purchasing power grows by a fall in general prices.

Their advertisements show:—

- (1) The huge extent to which credit and cheques are used in modern business.
 - (2) That the system of participating in other affiliated Banks is being adopted.
 - (3) That Big Business is well represented on the directorates of these Banking Trusts.
- Mr. McKenna (London City and Midland) and Mr. Goodenough (Barclays) called last year for lower wages. This year they are chuckling at the success of the great capitalist offensive. The great necessity is more economy (in anything but the paying of dividends), while the Reparation payments have to be more judiciously handled and spread over a larger period. Also they must be paid in things which will not injure our own industrialists and their colleagues the bankers.

To the few who deny that all power is concentrating into the hands of a small group of financial giants nothing would be more worthy of study than the growing power of these Banks. Credit was at first made only for the merchant, but now the industrialist cannot proceed without it. It is not merely that fallow capital must be lessened and that larger starting capitals are necessary; but in order to export capital and carry out huge Imperialist projects the Banks (who manufacture credit) are indispensable.

Big Business gets raw materials and a market. The Banks float a loan, to be paid in the exports of the concerns in which they are directly or indirectly interested or finance directly a company. Ex-State officials appear on the inter-locked directorates and make for easy contact with the Government Departments whose influence and power are necessary to divide up the world.

This personal union of the little directing group and the new rôle of the Banks made itself apparent earlier abroad than in Britain. Industry here did not need the help of credit in its inception. The American and German capitalists were late in their arrival and they found a pace already set which they could only attain by the help of the Banks. France was usurper of the world, but her loans were not separate from the hopes of her industrialists and her armament manufacturers. This is the Big Three of France:

Credit Lyonnais.
Comptoir National d'Escompte.
Societe Generale.

In America as far back as 1915 the ruling Banks of J. P. Morgan and Rockefeller had a capital estimated at £550,000,000. The later doings of Standard Oil in Mexico and the American grab at China are modern examples of Banks working in the closest harmony with oil, railway-construction and mining syndicates.

In Germany they speak of the Big D's. The greatest of these are the Deutsche Bank which, as early as 1914, through its affiliated concerns, controlled a capital of £150,000,000, and the Disconto-Gesellschaft, which at the same time had a capital of its own of £15,000,000. The former was the Bank behind the Berlin-Bagdad railway proposal.

In every country of importance the same thing appears. To follow out the relations between the Banks and the many companies would be to show in the immense ramifications of these great financial concerns how firmly entrenched and united are the various industries.

A little group of oligarchs control the destinies of the world. The Kaiser goes, but Stinnes ("Honoured Sir!") remains. Will the new uncrowned kings agree to partition out the world peacefully?—or will it drift to world war?

This much we as workers can do: Prepare our organisations to take over and control industry. The financial rulers can be guilty of all their sharp practices. They can use their inside knowledge to rob the smaller shareholders. They can water capital and issue bonus shares to disguise their real profits. They can create huge claims on future surplus-value by lending their credit to their States in the shape of War Loans. They can amalgamate and create monopolies. But if the workers would only imitate their solidarity the roots of their mower in production would be destroyed.

MAINLY ABOUT WOMEN

By PEGGY ROTHWELL

CAN there be any more damning indictment of the present inhuman social system than the daily story of its victims, driven to hopeless despair and suicide by unemployment? The pathetic letter of a girl, faced with the alternatives of prostitution and starvation (she preferred death to either!) and the bitterness of her words, "I know there is the street, but it is not to my taste," throw a strong side-light on the position of women to-day. After nineteen hundred years of Christianity, after years of suffrage agitation, after obtaining the much coveted vote, the tragedy of unemployment!—far worse for the friendless woman than man.

She is penalised by her sex, either a sweated wage slave, a white slave, or a domestic slave.

* * *

Communism means eternal war on the causes of revolt—the iniquitous inhumanities to woman, man and dumb beast, perpetrated under a system that fattens on the misery of the mass.

Fortunately, for the hope of the world, there is revolt—deep if silent—not only in the ranks of the unemployed men and women to be seen outside Labour Exchanges, but amongst the thousands of unpaid never un-employed—the wives and mothers, the heroines in the never-ending war to make impossible ends meet; to keep children healthy in mind and body in miserable, sordid, unsanitary surroundings; to make some semblance of home out of a hovel; to get the work done and to cope with the horrible lack of necessities, conveniences, and labour saving appliances.

It is time there was revolt! And the revolt of woman means, not the breaking up of the home, but the changing of the status of woman in her relation to man, to establish the Communist principle of moral and economic equality of men and women so that real companionship makes of home a place of rest, recreation and contentment.

The war taught women something as well as men. The organisation of women in industry; trade union propaganda; the demand for equal pay for equal work; the comradeship of the factory (new to many women) opened up a wider outlook. In the home, the war allowances; the fact that she received the money herself, gave to the woman a different idea of the value of her labour in the home. To-day, the terrible nightmare of unemployment must (even in those most indifferent to politics) arouse bitter resentment.

Communist teaching will tell her "Why" the misery, the privation, the no work, and the over-work. She will learn that unemployment is not the necessary result of war, but necessary to Capitalism. Low wages mean bigger profits for the farmer, the manufacturer, the coal owners, etc. To get wages down these blood-suckers bring about unemployment, and so long as the workers submit, so long will they suffer.

* * *

The working woman knows what she wants—or ought to know!

Her life is shortened by bad housing and lack of conveniences, continual worry, need of leisure, recreation—change from the monotony of home work.

The heartbreak of seeing her children ill-clad, not properly fed, with nowhere to play but the street—full of dangers. She knows the rich woman's children get all they need. She knows what it is to lie ill—with a new baby in a small airless room distracted by the noises of the street—with anxiety for the children playing in the busy thoroughfare.

When the workers throw the idlers off their backs and own all industry and land and work—not for profits for one class but for use for all. When all work, all things for the comfort, convenience and happiness of the workers are possible.

Women have grown used to looking upon themselves as the natural slaves of the home. To many the very idea of changing things seems almost criminal; and yet—how the majority of women would welcome a revolution in their lives!

The communal laundry, in every town and village, relieving the woman of the worst and hardest task of the week. Communal kitchens where well cooked food could be purchased and either taken home or eaten in the cheerful communal dining room. The labour-saving devices in the home, at present only within reach of the idle women who employ the daughter of the proletariat to do their work. Leisure which women need so much, opportunity for comradeship, rest and recreation. Rest homes for the workers (as in Russia). Holiday hotels for tired workers (men and women) at our most beautiful seaside resorts. Convalescent homes for sick children. Nursing homes for the sick. All these are possible when the workers will it. There is nothing fantastic about it—the idle class have them now—the workers work to give them these things—it is high time they gave them to themselves.

Once women realise the potentialities—under Communism—there will be rebels in plenty.

TOMFOOL'S 'MOONSHINE'

Moonshine. By Tomfool. Labour Publishing Co. 2s. 6d.

LEANOR FARJEON, who writes as Tomfool in the *Daily Herald*, must be a remarkable person. How regularly and unfailingly charming and amusing she is! Most of the unfortunate hacks who write the daily poem in every morning newspaper can now and then produce something well-turned or amusing, but nearly always they are dull or irritating. Their dunghill is so vast and the pearls so few. But Tomfool never fails us. Day after day, at the same high level—there must be a devil in the woman.

It is not mere sharpness of epigram or merciless comment on some insolence of the ruling classes. Tomfool can write real poetry. Just these two lines on the Sun's Spot, after a verse of light mockery:

O fill the goblet of the demi-moon
With Citrate of Magnesia, swift and soon....

Isn't it perfect mock—Keats?

One whole poem we may be allowed to quote, at random:

MRS. BLANK TO MISS DASH.

(At a meeting of the Mothers' Defence League Mrs. Chesterton stated that she knew of one woman who was visited by no fewer than thirteen inspectors and health visitors in a single day.)

"Yes, miss, these seven are all mine
To feed and mend and wash and dress
Per week on what you'd pay to dine
Once at the Ritz, or even less;

And I confess

It's sometimes hard to keep them clean
For want of time—see what I mean?

"'Cos there's the couple o' rooms to do
As well; and I go out to char
A bit, to help my old man's screw.
We ain't yet got our motor car

So there you are!

It's one big rush—it's always been—
It's time that counts—see what I mean?

"If you was me, miss, you'd do, what?
This thing and that? I 'spect you would!
Seven. How many have you got?
No, miss, I don't mean to be rude,

But there! I've stood

This morning answering thirteen
Like you. Time's short. See what I mean?"

R.W.P.

A correction—Vernon Hartshorn

In our issue dated February 18th, under the heading of "Welsh Rarebits," we were (by a curious misprint) committed to an inaccurate statement. We said: "Hartshorn (whom the coal owners once called a "swashbuckler" and as "tyrannical as the Kaiser") in a managers conference at Swansea a week ago, gave a first performance of his changed tune." The second) should have been placed after the word "ago." Hartshorn was not at the Managers Conference. On the contrary it was then that the uncomplimentary "Kaiser" reference was hurled at him.

Even so we do not think Mr. Hartshorn had any right to say (in his wrath) that we are "men of straw" because in this office we cannot produce £2,000 at a moment's notice. In cold truth it would more often than not embarrass the editorial staff individually and collectively if called upon without warning for 2,000 pence. This proves them to be not "men of straw" nor men of "brass" but men of worth. "Worth" that is to say much more than they are ever likely to get.

THE GENOA CONFERENCE

BY KARL RADEK

[The following article was addressed to the French by Karl Radek through the medium of the French capitalist daily "Le Matin." It shows clearly the concessions that the Russians are prepared to make, and is also of interest as a diplomatic document of considerable ability. Note how ably Radek appeals to every prejudice of the narrow-minded, French jingo.]

THREE thoughts are in the mind of any French statesman who thinks of resuming relations with Russia:—The debts, Germany, England. These three points I will explain. First of all, the debts.

DEBTS

Trotsky declared at the Soviet Congress that he made no moral distinction between the different categories of debts. We are prepared to pay, but if we were right away to enter into any exact engagement on this head we should be guilty of culpable irresponsibility. France knows that, from a financial point of view, we are bankrupts, bankrupts who wish to resume serious business with other countries, but not people who wish to be taken on again at the Bourse at any price, wiping out the past, and promising the moon. To our declaration on debts, there should be a counter-declaration on the part of France. If we receive sufficient assistance we shall be able to get on our feet again. We shall start working again to produce wealth. We shall then be able to indicate exactly what our payments will be. Any other language would be dishonest. If the late lamented Koltchak and Baron Wrangel had attained to power, the first thing they would have demanded would have been a great loan. We also have one or two little matters to clear up. France, for example, seized the 200 million gold roubles which we had paid to Germany after Brest-Litovsk. The Entente took our fleet. That must all be reckoned up. Of course, we remain your debtors. Yet do not imagine that a problem of treating such enormous debts can be dealt with by two countries only. The question of international debts is a universal question. You cannot overlook this truth, for if the Entente wished, for example, to deal separately with French-American or French-English debts, you would rightly protest.

What the French shareholder should know is that a great change has taken place in Russia. The Russian peasant, under our regime, has become transformed from the moujik that he was into a sort of American farmer, a consumer of the first order. He can buy and live well. He is a proprietor who is capable of absorbing goods and of producing intensively.

No trickery with Russia; none of your Shylock business. Be in the front rank of those who will help us to our feet, since you are in the front rank of our creditors; help us, but do not ask us for illusory promises. A great Swedish industrial magnate said to me the other day: "I lost 3 million crowns in Russia. Consequently, I must do business on a much larger scale in that country, in order to recover my money with interest." If Russia sets herself to work again, you risk nothing. Her resources are your guarantee.

GERMANY

The second reason which makes France hesitate is the legend that we are hand in glove with Germany. There is no doubt that the Allies seem to have created a community of plan between the two countries. If Germany is condemned to die and Russia also, it is clear that before succumbing, the 150 million Russians and the 60 million Germans will make a last desperate effort together. It is not to France, to the heroic people of the wars of the Revolution, that we need teach what can be done by a nation shut out and cursed by all the others, when she is condemned to live. You cannot deal with Russia as with a man condemned to death to whom you bring in his cell the consolation of a glass of brandy. But happily, things have not reached such a pass. Outside of any question of responsibility for beginning the war, the position of Germany is a fact. There is on one side a conquering and devastated country, on the other a conquered country which has remained intact. Beyond a doubt, by one means or another, the conquered country must work for the reconstitution of the other.

As regards the letter of the Treaty of Versailles, that is another matter. No serious politician believes any more that one can hold to it, and if it were to be applied integrally, it would be a disaster. It is already being revised in secret.

What does Russia think about all this?

We never signed this Treaty. We were ignored. At the march-past of victory we were absent, we who had lost millions of men on your side. In

Paris that day, there was but one single Russian flag, on the Japanese embassy. So we count for nothing in this Treaty and our attitude will depend on circumstances. If France drives us to the fray, we will endeavour to have the Peace altered. If France is in agreement with us, we shall wait for a natural evolution to manifest itself in the disposition of the French people. They will feel for themselves the necessity of avoiding a catastrophe.

French hegemony in Europe is spoken of. This hegemony reminds me of that of the Emperor of the Sahara of happy memory. Your politics with Germany are your affair. As for ourselves, we shall entertain with her the normal relations of an industrially active country with a ruined agricultural one.

As to this legend of political agreements between the two countries, I challenge anyone to produce the shadow of a proof. While it has never entered our heads to give Germany a monopoly, it has just as little occurred to us, given the geographical situation, to exclude her from our scheme of reconstruction.

ENGLAND

There remain our relations with England. She is the first nation to have treated with us. As the strongest commercial and maritime power in Europe, she holds us by the Baltic and the North Sea. She is an Asiatic empire.

We wish to remain at peace with her, and our good mutual relations are the corner-stone of our international policy.

Neither the Manchester cotton merchant, nor the City man dream of renewing the stupidities of Koltchak. On thinking it over, I even believe that the English Government is delighted to have the Bolsheviks in Russia. The Bolshevik is the illegitimate child who eats in the kitchen. One need not show him into the drawing-room or teach him golf. Whilst a White government would claim Finland, Poland, the Baltic provinces, and demand respect for the treaties by which you guaranteed to Russia Constantinople and Posen, one would not be able to say to them: "Pay your debts. As for us, we deny our signature."

The Bolsheviks are modest; if they did not exist, England would invent them. Great Britain is entirely reconverted to the policy of Beaconsfield, that of a feeble Russia. She will hold to it till such time as she settles the redoubtable Turkish, Arabian and Indian problems.

RUSSIA

As for us, our sentiments are quite simplex. When two beings are in love with each other, you have only to close the door on them. Once alone, there is happiness. But when one has concluded a marriage of convenience, it is prudent to introduce a third party into the household in order to avoid quarrels. We have had enough of gazing into the whites of Lord Curzon's eyes to read our destiny there, beneath a bombardment of diplomatic notes. Why do you not talk to us yourselves? We do not wish to divide you, England and you; that would be pure folly. But we do not wish for any more of this tete-a-tete with her. What is it that prevents two nations so closely united for thirty years from coming to an understanding?

Look at Turkey; we hailed with joy your policy with regard to her. We desire the friendship of this honest peasant people against whom Tsarism foolishly fought, and we can be useful to you in this part of the world.

Persia—no more than you do we desire to see her a vassal to another power, and throughout this region we should be happy to see our oil bearing areas attract French capital, and not merely the British Admiralty. In America our friendship would be invaluable to you. You were a little isolated at Washington and rather had the air of being in the dock. Do you not think that Russia would be an important factor with America as with Japan, and that our voice would sound more weighty in the concert of the Great Powers? As for our relations with England, do you not think that for you as for us, they would be put on a sound basis by the fact of our friendly relations?

I have re-read the notes interchanged between Paris and London on the subject of Russia from November, 1920, to May, 1921. Are these not pitiable, these communications with you via London, and this rôle of spokesman for France benevolently conferred on the Cabinet at St. James?

Something similar has happened to what you see at Berlin. England has taken from Germany her merchant fleet and her military fleet, and it is France who is called the vampire. All these intrigues would not have been possible, if by a realist policy with Germany, and by a return to

the Franco-Russian Entente you had recovered complete liberty of movement in the world.

The re-establishment of our relations is the surest means of definitely pacifying Eastern Europe.

France is an ally of Poland, and the latter would have every cause to congratulate itself on a Franco-Russian *rapprochement*. As for us, her independence has been a historical fact from the moment it was acquired. Our relations would become more and more friendly, so long as she desired it. This evolution would be facilitated by an entente between France and the Soviets.

GENOA

I will sum up. We go to Genoa joyfully to take our place again among the great powers. We go there with no exaggerated illusions and we do not expect to find the New Era in Italy.

We shall be represented there by negotiators, certain of themselves, forewarned, and resolved to make a durable work. I think that between France and ourselves we must leave behind the period of fumbling in the dark, of preliminary and irresponsible conversations, to enter on that of real and decisive results.

We should, at Genoa, understand one another, and not fight one another. The Soviet Government has a policy of realities, one and logical. France should study this policy and decide whether she wishes that we should re-enter the concert of the Powers without her, against her, or with her. She should explain herself completely and quickly, as time presses.

(Trans. L. M. Wertheim)

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LIVERPOOL STOP WATCH.

The announcement of the result was inserted in error. The statement that "£50 had been won by W. Munzenberg" should have read: "The profit from this competition was £50 which is being sent to W. Munzenberg, secretary of the International Famine Relief Committee."

Industrial Notes

THE attack upon the working class organisations is resulting in a serious decrease in Trade Union membership as well as a depletion of their funds.

The Glasgow Branches of the National Union of Foundry Workers are circularising the other branches of the Union with a programme frankly for "saving the Union." They propose that the salaries of all officials, including members of the N.E.C., be reduced in the same ratio as members working at the trade, the reductions to include those since June, 1921; that Branches, District Committees and Divisional Councils continue to function but on a voluntary basis, only travelling expenses and lost time being paid; that branch secretaries' and treasurer's salaries be reduced by 50 per cent and that other branch officials give voluntary service to the Union. They propose also that the contribution be increased by 1s. per week and that members be asked to contribute voluntarily loans to the society free of interest.

The scheme is limited to 12 months, the position to be reviewed at the end of that period, and the Glasgow Branches are demanding a ballot vote of the Union on the scheme they have submitted.

Losing the Unions

At the same time I have received reports from West Riding showing a big falling off in the membership of the Textile Unions, the "open shop" being adopted in an ever increasing number of factories. The custom of allowing Shop Stewards to collect Union dues from loom has been abolished by certain firms and on all occasions preference is being given to non-union labour. All this undermining is being done by the Wool Lords in preparation for an attack on the 48-hour week, an attack that is certain to be launched in the course of the next few weeks. Of all the concessions wrung from the bosses during the last few years this is the most important. A reversal to the pre-war 55-hour week would be tragic.

In the past the textile operatives have put up magnificent fights on the question of hours. Will the bosses be allowed to re-introduce the 5 a.m. knock-up without a fight? If the policy of the Union leaders is accepted this will be the result. That policy is summed up by a quotation from Ben Turner's article in the *Daily Herald* on February 16th. He writes:—

"The workers must fight . . . They must make the 8-hour day secure by law . . . To do this, they must turn the wasters out of Parliament and put Labour in."

The next month will see the Textile Bosses starting the real fight round the real wool sacks at Bradford and Huddersfield. The rank and file would do well to insist that Ben turns his attention to this at present and let the more ornamental one at St. Stephens wait awhile.

Notice to Quit

The report of the visit of the Right Honourable John Hodge, M.P., to Gorton Trades Council, which appeared in THE COMMUNIST of February 4th, has evoked the following resolution from Barrow No. 2 Branch of the British Iron and Steel and Kindred Trades Association, of which he is President:—

"That, in view of the recent activities of Mr. John Hodge, firstly in touring the country appealing to the workers for 'more production,' and as after having taken his advice we now find that we have produced—'increased profits for the exploiters and increased unemployment for ourselves'; and as, in view of the treacherous statements which he made at a recent meeting of the Gorton Trades Council, we do not consider him to be a fit and proper person to hold any office in our Society, we call upon him to resign his position at the earliest possible moment."

This is very definite but it is not likely that the Right Honourable will take the hint. If he does not, then it becomes the obvious duty of the members to take good care that, next time he submits himself for election, he is turned out of the position he has so signally failed to adorn.

Divide and Conquer

At the present juncture it is unfortunate that some well-meaning members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in the London area appear to have got on the wrong track. I have received a copy of a circular which is being sent round to the branches of the Union by a Rank and File Re-Organisation Committee who appear to be out of touch with the recent developments in the Union in the London area.

They lay certain complaints against the E.C., but then proceed to create confusion by coupling the latter with the District Committee. They have apparently been so busy organising their rank and file committee that they have failed to notice the important changes both in the personnel and outlook which have taken place in the London District Committee during the last month or two. A majority on the Committee now are active rank and file rebels, and the general policy is one of forcing the Executive to stop retreating and to put up a fight.

By John Ball

They are asking the branches to contribute to a fund which will free them from the economic dictatorship of the E.C. and they are taking steps by means of mass meetings of members to arouse a strong opposition to the removal of overtime restrictions should the E.C. carry out their tactic of a second ballot. This incident only goes to show that the efforts of the live rank and file elements will only be wasted unless they are placed under a single directing influence. The only revolutionary directing influence in this country is the Communist Party. The sooner all active rebels are in that Party the sooner shall we be able to get on with the job.

Immediate Tasks

It is imperative that in each district immediate steps must be taken to destroy the illusion that the unemployed can be used to scab if the threatened fight comes off. In every district the District Committee of the Union and the District Committee of the Unemployed Organisation should be brought together in joint meeting to arrange for the necessary picketing of shops and for any other common



"Living and Existing are Synonymous Terms"—Sir A. MOND

action which can be carried out jointly by the two bodies. It is encouraging to note that steps are also being taken in this direction in the London area.

If there is going to be an A.E.U. lock-out, why does not the London D.C. of the A.E.U. get into touch with the London Council of the Unemployed? And this hint need not apply to London alone.

The "Comb" at Work

The editor of the *Workers' Union Record* has got a bad attack of nerves. The bold, bad Bolshies are on his track. In the February issue he prints an editorial in which he quotes from the "21 conditions" of the International with special reference to the necessity for removing reactionary officials. He states that the Communists have already marked down one or two branch secretaries for removal. Why so modest? When the rank and file of the Workers' Union set about the job of putting their house in order they will have more than branch secretaries to shift. It may even run to general secretaries. Terrible, isn't it!

It appears to be about time somebody was shifted. The bulk of the February issue is devoted to chronicles of the wage reductions the Union officials have gallantly secured for their members in seven different industries.

In passing, I feel I must comment on the cheap sneer at the unemployed organisations and their national card which appears in the same editorial. The writer states that if any attempt is made to rank the cards of the unemployed with those of the Trade Unions, then the Workers' Union will not recognise them. That is probably the finest compliment yet paid to the unemployed who have organised to prevent scabbing—not to ensure it.

Cuttings from the Press

A Year of Horror.

IL COMMUNISTA of January 13th, under the title "A Year of Fascism in the Province of Pisa," gives a vivid account of the savage ferocity exercised by the Fascisti against the working class of Pisa with, of course, the connivance of the authorities. The atrocities began in Cecina, which was entirely Red and had elected Communists and Socialists on the municipal council, a well-known Communist, Comrade Ambrogi, being Mayor.

On the 25th January last year the Fascisti made an organised attack on the municipal buildings, which resulted in a bitter conflict with the working class inhabitants, many of whom were wounded. Two Fascisti were killed. The Mayor, Ambrogi, and many of the Councillors were arrested and imprisoned. This was soon followed by predatory expeditions into other parts of the Province, all of which had the one object—destruction of the property and lives of the class-conscious proletariat. The headquarters of the Communists, Cooperatives and Trades Unions were destroyed, sacked and burned wherever possible.

On the 13th April a young schoolmaster, a Communist, Carlo Cammeo by name, was murdered in cold blood while teaching his class. The assassins were identified but set at liberty after a few days detention: a circumstance which made a deep impression on the proletariat of Pisa.

The Fascisti, encouraged and helped by the capitalists and landed autocracy as well as by the authorities, became more and more outrageous in their attacks on the workers. On the 2nd May the Camera del Lavoro (Trades Council Chamber) of Pisa was burned to the ground. On the 5th May the printing offices of two newspapers—one Socialist and the other Anarchist—were destroyed.

In every part of the Province, however, there is a nucleus of those who are prepared to work by every means in their power for the Communist cause. Comrade Ambrogi was forcibly released from prison and elected Deputy by a plebiscite of the proletariat of Pisa.

Bodysnatching.

ON the 18th of January Vincenzo Petruzelli died of consumption contracted while serving in the Italian Army during the late war. Almost as soon as the breath had left his body a number of the local Fascisti poured into the house and made to the surviving relatives the cynical offer of a sum of money on condition that they (the Fascisti) should be given sole charge of the funeral arrangements in order to make a patriotic display. The relatives indignantly refused, and a large crowd of his fellow workers with their wives and children gathered to do honour to the memory of their departed comrade.

On its way to the cemetery the procession was attacked by Fascisti armed with revolvers. A general stampede followed. Many of these unarmed workers were wounded and the funeral car was abandoned.

The body was taken to the cemetery by Carabinieri (soldiers) and the usual arrests of the victims followed, while the aggressors were left unmolested. The Committee of Agitation called a general strike of one day. The appeal met with a loyal response from the whole of Apulia.—*Il Lavoratore.*

A Rebel's Trial.

THE trial opened on Feb. 1st, at Turin, of an Italian comrade, Gazzera, who was arrested (Sept., 1920) during the Occupation of the Factories. Some papers were found on him giving details of the individuals and of the arms in various establishments. Gazzera, speaking in his own defence, said he was entrusted with the task of inspecting certain factories where it was suspected that some untrustworthy persons were at work with the object of destroying discipline and stirring up disaffection. His task was to prevent disorder in the occupied factories.

During his speech the interruptions by the President were so frequent as to call forth a protest from Gazzera's counsel, Ollivera.

During the hearing an officer under whom Gazzera had served during the war testified to the good character of the accused, who was never suspected of being a rebel. At this point Gazzera interjected, "No, I became a rebel after the war—a frequent result."

The trial lasted two days. The Public Prosecutor made a long speech in summing up all the points against Gazzera, but the jury, after an absence of only a quarter of an hour, declared Gazzera Not Guilty of the charge against him (which was practically that of inciting to Civil War).

The verdict was received with cheers and cries of "Bravo, Jurymen!" by the public.

A sad feature of the case is that Gazzera's wife died in childbirth while he was in prison awaiting his trial.—*Il Comunista.*