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TWOPENCE

MAKE THE LEADERS FIGHT

NOW is the time for the rank and file of the Trades Union movement to show its mettle. Never was there a time when a move from the bottom was more urgently demanded. The present attitude of the Union leaders to the fate of the Unions in the present struggle is fatal. They are setting the pace towards a Blacker Friday than years have ever known.

On the day of the lock-out the A.E.U. Executive split the Engineers into sections—into (1) apprentices at work in Federated firms, (2) black-coated men at work in Federated firms, (3) A.E.U. members working in non-Federated firms, and (4) locked-out workers.

Now, adding folly to injury, they have issued instructions to the effect that the lock-out committees shall be composed *only* of locked-out members. They have thus split the District Committees who had the task of organising the locked-out members, and created division just when unity was most imperative.

Not content with the damnable cunning of the employers, they create an artificial division among their own members.

THE LIVERPOOL CASE

In Liverpool, for example, there are 47 engineering factories. Only 8 engineering firms belong to the Engineering Federation. The Engineers of 39 factories are still working. And now this situation is to be made still more appalling by insisting that the 900 locked-out workers are something different from the unemployed.

This hellish nonsense must be stopped, and the rank and file must be the ones to stop it.

There is nothing that we desire less than to embarrass the leaders in the struggle, if they are really leading. Nothing would be more disastrous than to create a division in the rank and file. But a time comes when protest is inevitable, and that time is when the leaders take action, through fear or through foolishness, which leads to the defeat of the workers.

Refuse to accept these criminal decisions !

Insist at every mass meeting, and every branch meeting that the Engineers Executive Committee must immediately call out from the factories all members of the Union—whether employed by Federated or Non-Federated Firms.

The only way to victory in this struggle lies through complete solidarity among all the workers.

ENGINEERS CANNOT EXPECT OTHER ORGANISATIONS TO JOIN IN IF THEY ARE NOT DETERMINED TO PULL THEIR FULL STRENGTH.

ALL IN TO THE FIGHT IS THE ONLY WAY TO STOP THE RETREAT.

Other Unions are coming along in spite of all the efforts to evade the plain issue.

THE SHIPBUILDERS

The Shipbuilding workers are turning down the memorandum and the officials have been unable to wangle the wages question.

Shipbuilding workers must not let it be forgotten that these officials have accepted the principle of further wage reductions.

This, which means a continuation of the retreat to disaster, must be repudiated.

Shipbuilding workers!—insist on

NO MORE WAGE REDUCTIONS

Make them fight!

Make them draw the whole Labour movement into action.

The future depends upon the rank and file.

APPROACH THE LEADERS

The leaders of the Engineering and Shipbuilding workers are not alone in their timidity. The leaders of the Unions in the Building Industry, in spite of all their large talk of resistance, have accepted the principle of wage reductions under a threat of an attack upon hours. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party has emitted, with many groans, nothing more than a piteous request for a Court of Inquiry and a Parliamentary debate.

The immediate situation therefore demands, the most intensive and stirring action on the part of the masses.

On no account must the workers allow themselves to be divided into segments.

Especially do we urge the London locked-out and unemployed to do more than demonstrate at factory gates.

Mass picket the union leaders as well as the factories. March up in thousands to the union offices and insist upon the Engineers E.C. pulling out all engineers.

The Union leaders have a power and an influence which must be made to work.

March upon the General Council and insist upon an All-in Congress.

Do not wait patiently and pathetically for something to turn up. Set the pace and make the leaders toe the line. It is neither the subtle strategy of the employers nor the apathy of the workers which are the stumbling blocks to action. All along the line the Union leaders are funkng the issue and dodging hither and thither searching among the constitutions for the means to prevent action.

A RANK AND FILE UNITED FRONT

Let, therefore, the London workers tackle the Trade Union bureaucracy in mass formation, and make them see that we workers are not going to tolerate any humbug.

The retreat has gone far enough.

STOP IT!

The trickery of constitutionalism has been used too much!

STOP IT!

Equally imperative is the need for the closest contact and understanding with all sections of the workers in every district. Urge the Building workers by persistent approach, by local conferences, deputations, leaflets, conversations, mass meetings, to reject the terms offered by the building employers.

Don't wait for long distance branch meetings. Everywhere let us approach our fellow workers and urge them to make a united front against starvation conditions and intolerable agreements.

ENGINEERS FOR RUSSIA

By "Sutin"

SIX thousand engineers (including all grades of staff men) are being advertised for in America to work a co-operative scheme to develop a big Machine Industry in the Kuznets Basin, the potential centre of industrial life in Siberia. Enquiries are constantly being made by engineers in England as to the possibilities of work in Russia, and a brief outline of the scheme should prove of interest and perhaps encourage an effort in this country to promote a similar scheme.

The Russian Government is offering as concessions to foreign capitalists large slices of land capable of commercial exploitation. "Concession Number One" is the KUZNETS COAL AND IRON BASIN, possessing two hundred and fifty billion tons of coal, rich in iron ore, and generously covered with timber. It has been taken over by a group of American workers who intend to develop it under the name of the "Autonomous Industrial Colony, Kuzbas." In and around this area at the present moment are a number of machine shops, iron and steel foundries, saw mills, and other types of prime industrial equipments running at only between ten to fifteen per cent of their productive capacity and manned in many cases by units drawn from the agricultural districts. It is the intention of the American group to refill these almost empty factories with skilled workers from America and to develop the whole area to its fullest capacity. The responsibility for the direction of this vast enterprise will rest with a Management Committee elected by the workers and approved by the Soviet Government. Of this committee three are to reside in the Kuzbas, three in the Urals, and one in Moscow.

They are to be directly responsible for the discipline and control of all technical staffs, who in turn are made accountable for all works progress. It is worthy of notice as indicating the businesslike standing of the organisation that the technical staffs determine absolutely the workshop methods to be adopted and the disciplinary regulations to be introduced. Organised Labour will act in an advisory capacity, thus ensuring that their side of the problem shall not be forgotten by the technicians.

To guarantee a satisfactory standard of living during the first few years of working and allow for the extension of the enterprise, the Soviet

Government offers the Kuzbas Organisation the total products of the Agricultural and Building Industries less the usual taxes.

All the other industries are to turn over to the Soviet Government commodities equal in amount to that produced by the Government prior to 1921 (which was but 10 per cent of the productive capacity) plus an amount equal to 50 per cent of all production over that of 1921. In return the Soviet Government will supply an equivalent amount of commodities of the type required by the Kuzbas



Organisation. This amount (together with the remaining amount of Kuzbas production) will be at the disposal of the Organisation to consume or exchange with the peasantry as the case may be.

From the total output the workers will receive a satisfactory standard of living, together with a Bonus calculated on the yearly output, the remaining amount to be devoted to the purchase of equipment for maintenance and development.

Given a reasonable amount of luck and immunity from "Wrangelism," everything points to a very speedy success. Take, for example, the district of Nadejdenski. Here there is a complete steel plant

with its complement of maintenance machinery and rolling mills. There is a power plant of 10,000 Kilowatt output and a tin plate works of no less than 50,000 tons capacity. In the immediate surroundings are large quantities of iron ore containing an average of 65 per cent pure iron and within easy distance are 6,000 acres of the best timber in Russia. Two large production shops near to the steel plant are built on the most modern lines with saw-tooth roofs, northern lights, wood block floors, and equipped with 300 American lathes of the latest type, together with a large number of power presses which should enable the output from the rolling to be speedily converted into marketable commodities. Nadejdenski also possesses a brick kiln with a monthly capacity of 250,000 bricks. There are a number of granaries, flour mills, bakeries and minor municipal industries which are all operated from the Central Power House. Of this particular plant the Soviet Government have only been able to utilise 10 per cent of its resources owing to the shortage of skilled labour. All the other centres in Kuzbas are similarly equipped in a self-contained way and only await the introduction of skilled labour to set them in full blast. Why not, then, transport all the unemployed from England to Russia and set them to work?

Herein lies the difficulty of the Soviet Government—there is a serious shortage of foods and fruits necessary to western workers and which the Government cannot at the moment supply. There is a scarcity of small tools—there are additional houses to be built together with all the conveniences of modern life which are the necessary concomitants to production on modern lines. This means preparation—it demands pioneer work and only the hardy, sturdy ones will be allowed to go in the first instance. Instead of one eye on the clock and the other on the Foreman, these adventurers will have to keep one hand on the lathe handle and have the other ready to throw a lump of iron at the first marauder that heralds the coming of another band of counter-revolutionaries. A journey of a thousand miles or so will be necessary if you want to go to the pictures. In short, all conveniences are lacking at the present moment, and those who are not prepared to rough it and pioneer for the Red Flag had better stay at home until these things are ready.

YANKEE JOTTINGS

By E. T. WHITEHEAD

AMERICA is a country of huge meals, cheap travel, monstrously gigantic newspapers, and fat cheeked men and women. What would we say if in our "Lyons," "A.B.C.'s," "Express," and even Carmen's Pull Ups, we could obtain excellent food for three square meals all for a shilling? Or again if we could travel from Richmond, Finchley, Croydon or Romford to the City for a penny? Or if the Sunday newspapers consisted of ten sections, each larger than the largest London newspaper? Such is New York and such is America. If we could transport a hundred thousand New Yorkers to London Town and make them endure our miserable food, our costly travel, and our melancholy faces for a month, our Social Revolution would be an accomplished fact.

The United States of America is not only the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world, it knows it too. This explains, perhaps, why it is so difficult to enter their country. Like a huge dragon's trap with gaping jaws, Ellis Island lies in constant waiting just behind Liberty's Statue, ready to snap up any unsuspecting "Alien" (that includes us) who may be so unfortunate to trip up. Then he doesn't catch half a holiday. Close confinement behind bars and wire meshes, food that one would not feed a dog upon, sleeping accommodation without sheets, mattresses, or pillows—such is his lot. If any European country attempted such atrocities upon our citizens there would be howls of protest that would shake the country. And this does not happen just to criminals or "undesirables." It happens to real solid Englishmen with their Passports and Visas. all in order, their "head-tax" paid, and their pockets full of money. Generally their crime is that they have a job to go to.

Bernard Shaw knew something when he shied from an American visit. They had no respect for Marie Lloyd, and they would have none for G.B.S. On the strength of "Man and Superman" he would probably be cast into this dungeon for suspected association with persons opposed to organised government. This is the sort of footle they face you with. And if you're not a very plausible and fertile liar, able to a look like Jesus Christ himself, there you would stop.

Like everything else, the Labour Movement in America is a huge surprise. Less than one quarter of the workers are organised in any way whatever. It is like going back to the middle ages to find the struggle centring round the "Open Shop," and a gigantic battle being waged by the Capitalists for the suppression of all Trade Unions together. After the way in which Unions here serve as a bulwark between Capitalism and Revolution, and Labour Leaders are more solidly on the side of reaction than the Liberals, such a condition of affairs is staggering.

Not that they have not got "Labour Leaders" over there. They have, and more so. When I attended a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labour I found the street choked with the limousines and "flivvers" (Ford cars) in which the delegates had come. A moderate sized organiser of a moderate sized Union over there must have his motor car. "International Presidents" put up at the "Ritz" and "Carlton," or at least at the most expensive hotel to be found "so as not to be at any disadvantage when dealing with the Bosses."

The "Labour Leaders" of America batien upon the workers, bleed them, fool them, and dupe them in a way that would make the British Trade Union bureaucracy green with envy. Their International Presidents make the "grand tour" of Europe at the members' expense so as to "study labour conditions over here," winding up by going to Moscow and kissing Lenin, as one very irate rank and filer put it to me.

Native born Americans never seem to work. With the exception of the better jobs on the railways and in farming, every main industry has a large majority of foreign immigrant labour. The miners in the West are 80 per cent foreigners, the tailors and furriers much more. The building industry is manned 70 per cent or 80 per cent with foreign immigrant labour. All this makes great difficulties in organising. Probably less than twenty per cent of the American Labour Movement are English speaking.

American audiences are peculiarly docile. They like rhetoric and they like platitude. This I found astonishing until I was told that a large proportion of the audience did not understand English at all and were simply there to lend moral support.

The militant or left wing movement is even more surprising still. Infantile leftism and theoretical purism used to be a fault of our own movement, but over there it is ten thousand times worse. And with it all goes a fervency and a generosity that would leave the British comrades gasping. That large mass meetings of workers, many of them unemployed, others earning 25-30 dollars weekly, should put together a collection averaging half a dollar per person, and totalling sums that seem small fortunes to the British mind, is something really admirable.

America is supposed to have six million unemployed, mostly concentrated in the large cities. They receive no State aid, they are not registered, they have no organisation whatever, and are hard to locate. During my stay in New York one unemployed meeting was held. The attendance was perhaps 500, and to look after it were 200 foot and horse police.

America is the country of quick development and quick change. In Chicago, a city of over 2½ million souls, they cannot point to a building which has been standing more than a century. The same quick growth is true of American organisations. And in that quick growth and rapid change lies the chief hope of the American Labour Movement. Once the right way to organise and operate is found, something which "takes on" and in which the masses have confidence, the growth will probably be mushroom-like. Here, one can usually see six months ahead and watch firmly grounded causes already operative work through slowly and surely to their inevitable results. Over there this is not possible. To see two months ahead is difficult. To see a year ahead is impossible. Only in that lies the hope of the American proletariat.

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THE WHITE TERROR ON THE RAND

By L. A. MOTLER

[We print with pleasure the first article which has appeared in the English press giving the true facts about the Rand revolt. It is written by L. A. Motler, who has just returned straight from the scene of the fighting.].

A SHORT, swift fight; a most bloody battle, and the strike of gold and coal miners on the Rand has been broken.

An amazing example of solidarity amongst white workers in South Africa has been crushed by tanks, aeroplanes and machine guns.

What has been this Rand Revolution?

The answer is in five words—*there has been no revolution*. It is the old trick of calling a body of workers a mob of rebels and wiping them out by blood and iron.

The history of the Rand Strike is this: Early in the new year the coal miners and gold miners on the Rand came out on strike. This was inevitable. Already wages had been lowered in the engineering and building trades. The successful offensive of the masters on these fronts spurred them on to further victories. The turn of the miners came.

The miners, however, showed unexampled solidarity. They stood up against the Chamber of Mines, British and Dutch, shoulder to shoulder. Not a man was left on the mines except staff officials, who were of course in a cuff-and-collar Union. These "gentlemen workers" kept on the essential services, saving the mines from flooding and performing any scab labour handy.

Smuts—who has always been called "general" in S. Africa—came to Pretoria, no doubt at the suggestion of the Chamber of Mines, whose headquarters are at the Corner House, Johannesburg. This is barely an hour's run in a fast car to Pretoria.

The strike was "run" by the S. African Industrial Federation throughout. During the strike an "Augmented Executive" was formed from minor Unions.

At first the strike dragged its slow length along. Then, spontaneously, the strikers began to form themselves into commandoes. This was in much the same way as the Russian workers spontaneously set up the Soviets. Neither have anything else in common, however. A commando is roughly a body of armed burghers raised locally to form the nucleus of an army. This was the proceeding adopted by the Boers during the war of 1899-1902.

It should be understood, right away, however, that the strikers' commandoes were *not* armed. And the idea was *not* to raise an army of any sort. This must be understood perfectly in order to grasp the fact that the Rand strike was a strike, not a revolution. The S. African Industrial Federation, although containing distinctly red elements, was about as revolutionary as any of the British Unions when on strike.

The S.A.I.F. Executive itself approved of the formation of commandoes. These bodies were raised locally and the Executive had nothing to do with their formation: it was busy negotiating and organising.

At the time of the outbreak of the Rand "revolution" the position was, roughly, as follows: Smuts, after having had negotiations with both the Chamber of Mines and the S.A.I.F. Executive, had returned to Cape Town. The miners, still solid, were parading in commandoes. They walked ten, twenty, thirty miles a day to Johannesburg Town Hall to hear their leaders. The *Transvaal Post* had been started as an official strike bulletin, in English and Dutch, being issued from Pretoria. The police had been imported from all parts of the Union and paraded the mines; all S. A. Mounted Police are armed normally, therefore more so in a time like this. The military were at Pretoria within an hour's run, and aeroplanes were to be found in the north near Roberts Heights, Pretoria, and on the road to Potchefstroom in the south.

Previous to his return to Cape Town, Smuts had issued an appeal—which the English speaking press also printed in Dutch, although Dutch papers are plentiful enough. This appeal, boiled down to elementals, meant: "whoever wants to scab, let him do so right away and there will be ample police for protection." The Chief of Police, Truter, also issued an Order of the Day to the effect that the formation of bodies of men in commandoes, constituted the crime of Public Violence ("Geweld" as the old Boer laws have it). The police were instructed to take action where such bodies or even individuals indulged in picketing.

As a result, many miners were arrested when on picket duty. An old Boer law was dug up to make a case against them. In the meantime, five members of the S. African Miners' Union were arrested on a charge of incitement to revolt.

On Feb. 14, Comrade W. H. Andrews, Secretary of the Communist Party of S. Africa, and Editor of the official organ, *The International*, was arrested. He was not concerned in the strike, but, like others, had made a speech to the miners. The "reds" were being rounded up.

By this time the revolutionary elements had practically all been coralled. Yet it was two weeks after that the "revolution engineered by Bolsheviks" broke out. The exact cause of the outbreak is obscure, but officially it is stated that the military only began to take action when some natives were murdered.

It is plain, however, that Smuts had meantime been organising his forces. The proof can be found in the words of the *News of the World* "that within 70 hours the outbreak had been crushed and 10,000 prisoners taken." The casualties were over 100 killed and 500 wounded."

The actual point where Smuts decided to act was when the S.A.I.F. Executive at last decided on the long-delayed general strike. This eventually proved ineffective, but the calling of it drove the masters to action. The Chamber of Mines issued their instructions. Somebody fired on a few natives and in a few hours martial law was declared. Bulletins were issued in true military style and the workers were credited with an organised revolution.

Is it any wonder then that the workers, threatened with a repetition of the 1913 massacre, on a vaster and more organised scale, put their hands on the nearest weapons? Sporting rifles are common enough in a country where every miner goes shooting at week-ends and where the Dutch section have rifle clubs.

From the beginning the commandoes were unarmed. These commandoes were merely an expression of solidarity. They were a movement to secure cohesion in the strike, to kindle enthusiasm and an *esprit de corps*. The moment they laid their hands on their rifles, however, was exactly what Smuts had been waiting for. The strike had not been smashed. Where guile had failed, force would succeed. So force was used, and force won.

The moral is obvious.

This strike has been the biggest thing in the labour history of South Africa. It has been the biggest expression of solidarity of the Rand white workers. *And it has been the biggest massacre in the annals of S. African Trades Unionism.*

Yet the organised workers of Britain have been silent. Their tame leaders have been silent. Their respectable press has been silent.

As the Sunday press says: the object lesson of these events will not be lost upon a world obsessed by economic troubles.

The masters learn from each other.

It may be your turn next.

NOTE.

A review of W. Paul's *Communism and Society* (now on the market), is held over for reasons of space.

PECKHAM STOP WATCH.

Sheets still outstanding. Time they were sent in.

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Communism and Society

By W. PAUL

(Author of "The State," etc.)

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NOTES OF THE WEEK

Ireland and a Several correspondents have Workers Republic taken us to task because of our recent notes on Ireland. Crowded as our space is with the matter of our Party Conference, we have no room to spare for a full treatment. For the present we content ourselves with this brief comment.

The establishment of an Irish Free State unchallenged by an effective Republican opposition, would consolidate the position of that very British Imperialism which we wish to relegate to the realm of forgotten things.

Therefore we deplore first the (apparent) failure of De Valera to give a sufficiently militant and downright lead. Secondly, we feel that this failure created an opportunity for the leaders of the Irish Labour Party to assume the lead of the United Republican Movement—united that is to say by their common enthusiasm rather than by organic bonds. If it be objected that the divergence of interest between the farmers and the proletariat make such a unity impossible, we would reply that a large proportion of the farmers (and most of the farmers' sons), are hit by the problem of the uneconomic land holding, and therefore have grievances and a sense of economic subjection, which makes their position approximate for political purposes to that of the proletariat.

The truth of this will, we believe, be made apparent quite soon in concrete deeds. The

lamentable lack of leadership will, we fear, determine the result.

We will give next week a striking summary of the view hostile to ours, which we have received from a correspondent ('J'), in Ireland.

* * *

Two Men There were two men and one woman. The woman and one of the men forged telegrams to gain money at gambling. The man got a year, the woman got off.

The other man was the idol of a whole nation. He spoke for the freedom of that nation; he held them all back from violence and spoke only of love and self-sacrifice. He got six years.

The judge in the latter case delivered himself of some very well-chosen and weighty remarks upon the need for respecting the law.

* * *

The Labour Party At the Conference last week-end instances were cited of local Labour Parties ordering Trade Unions to withdraw their delegates because they were Communists. We should like to add this question:—

"Has the Labour Party E.C. authorised the Scottish organiser to say that no Communist can be accepted as a candidate?"

* * *

A Second Hungary Grave news reaches us from Spain. It appears that the Governors of Spain are deliberately trying to make that country a second Hungary. Labour organisations are

forced to work underground and the most terrible cruelties are believed to be practised upon their leaders in the prison cells. Here is a selection from the news items reaching this office:—

In Bilbao, five members of the Young Communist League of Spain were imprisoned for the sole crime of having in their possession cards of membership of the League.

The Headquarters of the Metal Workers' Union, in Madrid were destroyed by the police, and three officials of the Union were arrested.

Certain members of the Spanish working class have been in Madrid prisons for a year, without knowing for what offence, and without having been called on even to answer one question. Many of these comrades have suffered atrocious cruelties at the hands of their jailors.

Comrade Jose Maria Vinuela has been condemned to imprisonment—with hard labour for life, on the charge of being an "Anti-Militarist."

* * *

Note to London members are re-London Members minded of the Famine Bazaar, which will be held on Saturday and Monday, in the Holborn Hall. Admission by programme.

All manner of goods and gifts have arrived for sale, and all sorts of things are there which you will want. This is not a collection of odds-and-ends, but really worth going to. Bring your rich uncle, also Aunt Maria, even if she is not a Communist.

Industrial Notes

IN connection with the lock-out a very curious instruction has been issued from Peckham Road by the A.E.U. Executive. It is to the effect that no member who is affected by the dispute, i.e., no member who was unemployed previous to the dispute, should sit on any lock-out committees. It is difficult to understand the reasons which prompted this instruction. The unemployed members of the A.E.U. number in their ranks fully 95 per cent of the active fighters in the Union, and the question of unrestricted overtime is one which affects them as much as it does any other member. If the instruction is carried out it will mean that the lock-out committees will be deprived of the services of the overwhelming majority of the active members of the Union and they will alienate the ungrudging support which is being given them at the present moment by the Unemployed Organisation.

The London District Committee of the Union have already contested this absurd instruction, and I hope that every other District Committee in the country will take the same step.

Who are the Fighters?

In this connection I have received numbers of reports of the progress of the fight from various localities, and one thing which emerges very clearly is the undeniable fact that the people who are putting the "pep" into the lock-out organisations and machinery are the unemployed. In one instance a local lock-out committee was being elected and every nomination was that of an unemployed member. It was only after considerable pressure that men actually locked out could be persuaded to serve on the committee. All the same it is very curious that the E.C. should take up the attitude that the unemployed are *not* affected by the lock-out. The unemployed are more affected by the working of overtime than anybody, and it is only natural that they should throw themselves wholeheartedly into the fight.

Lock-out Bulletins

I have received copies of "Lock-Out Bulletins" published by the Sheffield branch of the Party and the Glasgow A.E.U. Vigilance Committee and R.I.L.U. Committee. These little sheets serve the very useful purpose of letting the lock-out men know what is going on in their own and other districts and should be copied in every other district where it is possible. The article in the Sheffield publication on the crisis and how to tackle it is particularly good.

Furnishing Fight

The Cabinet Section of the N.A.F.T.A. in London have learned one of the first lessons of war. Faced with the prospect of an attack by the Employers' Federation the workers' side have formulated counter-proposals at a largely attended

By John Ball

aggregate meeting of the members. The meeting unanimously endorsed the following demands:—

1. Reduction from 47 to 44 hours
2. Re-establishment of minimum rates for all sections.
3. One Penny per hour extra for all sections providing their own tools.
4. One Penny per hour extra for Machinists as Danger Money
5. Minimum Rate of 2s. per hour.
6. Abolition of Sliding Scale for regulating Wages.

Failing satisfactory progress in the negotiations by April 8th the workers have pledged themselves to cease work. This is a step in the right direction, and if every attack of the employers is met in this manner we shall have done something to stiffen the resistance of the workers in face of such attacks.

Goose Club or Union?

I have before me a copy of a cheery little circular that the Workers' Union have just sent round to their branches, giving details of the amounts paid in benefits during the year ending 31st Dec., 1921. It is so good that I reproduce it in full.

Circular No. 163B
G.E.C. 4489

Paid to Workers Union Members during year ending December 31st, 1922.	
Sick Benefit	£67,690 3 6
Accident Benefit	5,409 14 8½
Funeral Benefit	12,327 14 11
Dispute Victimization and Lock-out Benefits	28,086 14 4
Out of Work Benefit	231,787 11 1½
	£345,301 18 7
Out of Work State Benefit	516,641 12 2
	£861,943 10 9

It will be noted that an exceedingly small amount has been expended on any form of industrial benefit, a fact which probably accounts for the continuous procession of wage reductions reported each month in the *Workers' Union Record*.

You can often hear Workers' Union Organisers talking of the possibility of converting the Workers' Union into the One Big Union, this being their excuse for poaching members from every other Union. It looks from the figures as if the only "One Big Union" that the Workers' Union will ever become is the Union which is otherwise known as the "Lump," the "Spike," or the "House."

"Security of Tenure"

In this connection it is interesting to examine details of the abortive amalgamation proposals in which the Workers' Union Executive were recently concerned. They make a very poor showing compared with such a Union as the General Workers'. The official figures supplied by the Unions taking part in the amalgamation show the following comparison of membership and full-time officials:—

	Membership.	Full Time Officials.
General Workers' ...	514,015	81
Workers' Union ...	451,234	158

In face of these figures the bright lads of the Workers' Union had the nerve to move an amendment to the amalgamation proposals which would

have saddled the new amalgamation with all this gang for umpteen years in the same way that the A.E.U. have Brother Brownlie firmly planted in their midst for the next six years. Failing this heavenly state of affairs those who were unfortunate were to be compensated for loss of office. The amendment was defeated, whereupon the Workers' Union withdrew their participation in the scheme.

The obvious course for all live rebels in the Workers' Union to pursue is to work with all their might to carry over their branch or district to the new amalgamation without troubling further with the guzzlers of Golders Green.

Neutrality

The National Foremen's Association is an organisation who claim neutrality in industrial disputes as their guiding principle, but occasionally their neutrality "drops a stitch." For example, their official instructions in connection with the engineering lock-out:—

"They must not perform the duties, either temporarily or otherwise, of anyone involved in the dispute, nor supervise labour which may be brought in with a view to breaking the strike... it should be clearly understood that in the event of any of those normally employed under a foreman's supervision deciding to remain at work, it would be the duty of the foreman to continue to supervise them..."

This is neutrality! Be on neither side—but if there is the slightest chance of getting the bosses' work done by men who have not sufficient spirit to strike, then stop in and see that they do it.

"Stabilising" Wages

Sweet reasonableness appears to be an attribute of the printing trade bosses. They have submitted to various sections of the trade elaborate documents set out what they consider to be excellent reasons for an immediate reduction in wages. From the document sent to the Machine Rulers it appears that they do not want to drive the workers down to their pre-war level of subsistence. Oh, dear, no! They are going to make the workers a present of 12 points "as an improvement in the basic wage." After doing this, and making sundry other calculations, they arrive at 16s. 3d. as the amount that they are going to reduce wages by. They call this "a proposal for stabilising wages." There is only one way of stabilising wages, and that is by having an organisation which is strong enough to resist all attacks made by the bosses. The sooner the Unions threatened by wage reductions get together for a common fight the better chance there will be of "stabilising wages."

Alban Richards

Last week I stated on apparently authentic sources that Mrs. J. H. Thomas had a considerable amount of shares in Alban Richards. Investigation at Somerset House shows the information was not correct, or at least not substantiable, and I therefore wish to withdraw it.

THE "SECRET" CONFERENCE

Full Report of the Conference of the Communist Party— The Terror of the "Times"

REDS in secret conclave. Perfection of Plots to use Engineering lock-out for revolutionary ends.—These and worse squeals of terror came from the "Express" and the Northcliffe Press on the occasion of the meeting of the Party's Policy Conference last week-end in St. Pancras Town Hall.

Here, for the small expenditure of 2d., Lord Northcliffe himself may learn what happened. Here he will hear not of bombs and terrible slaughter, but of something that should disturb him even more. For at this Conference one thing happened of importance, and one thing only. And it was—the Communist Party delegates came together, settled the policy of the Party and made clear and manifest the strong and deep foundations of the party.

From this Conference the Communist Party goes forward a united body, no longer formally united, but welded into a homogeneous whole. One body, and that a revolutionary body.

Lord Northcliffe's alarm was justified.

The decisions of most outstanding moment were those upon the United Front and Affiliation to the Labour Party. Our report is from the shortness of time, as well as space at our disposal necessarily brief and scrappy. It will be at the same time sufficient to indicate the fine tone and spirit of one of the best Conferences ever held.

We are greatly indebted to Comrades MacAlpine and O'Sullivan for their preparation of this report.

BY OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES

BOILERMAKERS, engineers, railwaymen, miners, sailors, firemen, factory workers, dockers, labourers, bricklayers, clerks, newspaper men, and even, here and there, a proletariat poet or artist—those who tear wealth from the bowels of the earth, the men who go down to the sea in ships, those who shape the molten metal to their wills, the tenders of the furnaces of industry, the controllers of the whirring machines, the builders of bridges, the diggers of ditches—all sections of the great army of workers assembled in St. Pancras Town Hall on Saturday, March 18th, to frame the policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain, to shape it into an efficient weapon of the class struggle nationally and internationally to the end that this party may rise to the heights of its historic mission—the leadership of the working masses in their struggle for emancipation.

In a large rectangular hall, with no pretensions to architectural beauty, one hundred and fifty-nine delegates from all parts of Britain gathered when Arthur Macmanus took the chair, at the head of the great horseshoe-like arrangement of tables, and the forerunner of the first Congress of British Soviets settled to its deliberations. From their guilt frames former Mayors of St. Pancras, resplendent in their robes and chains of office, seemed to frown on this strange assembly that by its very presence hurled scornful defiance at all capitalist society has decreed sacred. These oil portraits of the officers of a passing order of society and the royal arms that perched insecurely on the top of Macmanus' chair served but to throw into sharper relief the significance of the times—as when a Congress of the Communist International meets in the throne room of the palace of a Czar.

After the preliminary business of the Conference came the first intimation of its international importance with the reading of a telegram by Acting-Secretary Peet from Zinoviev on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as follows:—

Warmest fraternal greetings from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Conference of the British Party. We have watched with pride the excellent work of the Party in England on behalf of the unemployed and in the labour unions. To the present conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to smash the labour unions and crush the working class down to the level of the coolies there can be only one reply: the broad masses of the unions must be drawn together in one united front against the common enemy. We feel sure the Communist Party of Great Britain will exert its whole influence in the direction of achieving this unity and thus hasten the final victory of the working class.

Long live the Communist Party of Great Britain!

Long live the Communist International!!

Outlining the business of the Conference Macmanus reviewed the broad field of the international situation in a speech lasting about twenty minutes, delivered in clear, forceful manner, and with an absence of gesture or attempted heroics that was itself impressive.

Macmanus' Speech

"Probably," he said, "at no period has the contemporary situation been so trenchant with events of importance as at the present. It is, perhaps, a happy coincidence that the Conference of the Party should be assembled—for this particular item at any rate—just at the time of my having had an opportunity of getting into contact with some of the liveliest features of the general international situation, and I am therefore to speak after immediate touch with the world situation.

"The predominant problem of capitalist politics is to secure economic outlets for the various interests of capitalism generally. Proof of that, for instance, can be found better in no country than in Great Britain. Here you have probably, in every sense, the happiest government in the world—a government that is happy enough to be able to discover satisfactory capitalist solutions for every problem except that for which capitalism is trying to find a solution. The one problem they are trying to solve is the markets outlet—how can they revive capitalism and set the wheels of industry going. Instead



THE PARTY TREASURER
(J. F. Hodgson)

of discovering the solution Lloyd George is solving the Irish and Egyptian problems, bringing home solutions from India, solving every problem save that for which capitalism is demanding a solution.

"On the other hand you have the organisation of an international capitalist assault on the working class of the world. In every country you can find, at various stages and degrees, manifestations of this capitalist offensive. In every country you have ferment, strikes—resistance organised by the working class.

"The critics of the Communist Party and the International find the basis of their criticism in the incapacity of the leaders of the International to gauge the political situation; they find the justification of their criticism in attributing lack of foresight to the leaders of the Communist International, and the proof they adduce is the general proclamation of the world revolution. They now say: 'Here is the situation. The world revolution has not materialised. These people are infants in politics.'

"Well, are they? Consider the significant direction of world events and you see that capitalism cannot stabilise itself. Is capitalism stabilising itself? Has it stabilised itself by one tiny fragment since the International declared that the world revolution was now definitely perceptible? It is getting into very difficult water every day and those stinging critics one might pardon.

"Where is capitalism turning to find a way out? Russia is the only known part of the globe in which there is hope of relief from the predicament in which capitalism finds itself. The proof of that is

Genoa. Genoa is the last attempt to reorganise Europe. It is the sequel of Versailles and Cannes which failed because they did not include the only market in the world—Russia. They were, therefore, superseded by Genoa, where the Russians are being invited to take part. The Russian Communist Republic appreciates the significance of Genoa. We outside of it can see Russia wanting, in the absence of the immediate world revolution, stabilisation.

"How far can Russia make concessions at Genoa? I think the various reports of statements by Trotsky to the Red Army and Lenin to the metal workers show us that they are going to be frank. They will say: 'You need us; we need you on certain points, but we will never be united because we are Communists and you are Imperialists; but let us get down to agreement to the extent to which we need each other.'

"The working class movement of this country has the duty of seeing to it that the might and power of that class is directed against preventing our government at Genoa trying to impose such conditions on the working class of Russia as would be disastrous to the world revolution and particularly to the stability of Russia. The position of the capitalist world is indecision and indefiniteness throughout, and the only section that can go to Genoa with hope in its breast is the Russian, because it carries with it the outlook of the Communist Party."

The Present Struggle

Macmanus then rapidly surveyed the position in several countries; the German railway strike, which was a complete stoppage emanating from that supposedly strike-proof section, the Civil Service; the ferment in America of about 25 big struggles; the valiant struggle on the Rand, which reflected the world struggle and in which the interests of the workers of Britain were directly concerned. "To all these workers," continued Macmanus, "as well as to the comrades who had set up the independent Communist Republic of Georgia, a message of hope and encouragement will be sent out from this Conference."

Dealing next with the capitalist offensive in Britain, the Chairman said that when the Conference ended the delegates would be back in the movement doing their own personal and class part in the present struggle. "We will tell capitalism that the workers had learned a lesson from Black Friday—a catastrophe which, nevertheless, had not broken the trade union movement. We see these things as that section of the movement which is trying to gauge the strength of battle, trying to anticipate the various moves of the other side. Our party is now, as on every other occasion, four square, fighting the organised offensive. It will go out that we are prepared, and we will demonstrate it not by the mere expression of opinion but by action with their action. We will stand with any and every working class organisation, the leaders do not matter to us. In this struggle we are back of all the workers because of the forces involved and because the unity of the working class is threatened.

"The present struggle is not one of abstract victory but of immediate demands, all of which must be supported. The miners are learning the value of association with the engineers, the engineers are learning the lesson of non-association with the miners during the Black Friday period. We appreciate that now because it means extension of that solidarity which ultimately leads to the goal of the Communist movement."

Referring to the newspaper shams of Communist secrecy Macmanus said their members had been and were now in jail for telling the people openly what the newspapers thought could only be secretly discovered. "The press said," he continued, "we are

striving for world revolution. Of course we are. That is our purpose. That is the significance we see in the economic conditions just now—the breaking of the backbone of capitalism.”

A resolution on the general situation was moved by Gallacher, who asked that it be endorsed in spirit and remitted for re-drafting. Mellor, in a speech whose keynote was aggressive class action, supported this, and the following resolution, subsequently submitted, was carried by the Conference:—



“STOP THE RETREAT”
(J. T. Murphy)

“This Conference, realising that the offensive of International Capitalism against the workers is being developed with the hope of stabilising its system by reducing the workers to unprecedented depths of misery, welcomes the spirit of revolt now becoming manifest.

In every country the period of apathy is giving place to stubborn resistance which, with the active co-operation of the Communist movement, is rapidly developing into a conscious revolutionary attack upon the whole capitalist system.

In India, Egypt, Ireland, South and East Africa, British Imperialism is breaking before the blows of revolt from the peoples hitherto held subject beneath its sway.

Particularly we note the desperate effort of the workers in the Rand to enforce consideration of their claims.

We protest against the press campaign of calumny against them and affirm our admiration for their gallant struggle. We call upon the workers of Britain to use every endeavour to prevent them falling victims to a bloody persecution at the hands of an infuriated capitalist class.

In Great Britain, the life and death struggle against the organised employers into which the engineers have been forced (as were the miners before them) and the fact that other industries are threatened with a similar fate demonstrates that only a complete unity and vigorous resistance will save the organised workers' movement from disaster.

This Conference, therefore, welcomes every sign of working class revolt, and pledges its whole-hearted support to any and every section of the working class which is, or may be, involved in the struggle against Capitalism.”

A Message from Inkpin

At this stage the Chairman read a message to the Conference from Albert Inkpin, secretary of the Party, who is at present serving a six months' jail sentence. The message, which read as follows, was received with great enthusiasm:—

TO THE DELEGATES AND COMRADES AT
THE POLICY CONFERENCE.

Greeting!

That I am absent from the deliberations of the Party on this occasion is a matter of deep regret to me. To be held behind prison bars is bad enough at any time, but it is much worse when decisions of such vital importance to the future of our movement are to be discussed. Before commencing to serve my sentence, I take this opportunity of conveying my own sentiments to the comrades assembled at the Conference.

I believe in the policy of the united front. To me, a Communist Party divorced from the daily struggles of the working class is unthinkable.

All the elements of the working class, fighting, consciously or unconsciously, against capitalism must be inspired by Communist leadership and guidance. Every message from our comrades of the Communist International enforces this lesson, and, above all, it is demanded by the bitter attacks now being made on the workers' standard of living.

That the adoption of the policy of the united front may involve us in working with organisations and persons to whose general outlook we are otherwise bitterly opposed should not deter us from carrying out our clear duty. We have faith in ourselves because we are confident of the truth of Communist principles, but we know that our cause can only triumph through the struggles of the workers, and that our task is to gain their confidence, however little they may agree with us to-day, from the point of view of abstract theory.

Our criticism of the policy of their leaders will be all the more effective if we have proved our sincerity. Our independence we are strong enough to maintain.

Many comrades have been imprisoned for championing the cause of the workers during the past twelve months. Some are still interned. Their imprisonment is the measure of the growing uneasiness that fills the mind of the governing class. Without complaint and without fear, in prison or out of prison, we still advance the cause of Communism.

May the Policy Conference prove to be a new stage on the road that leads to our goal. May the discussions throw light on the path we tread. May the unity of the workers be realised under our banner.

Yours in the Cause of Communism,

A. INKPIN.

This evoked a general resolution on class war prisoners which was unanimously carried and which read:—

“This Conference of the Communist Party sends hearty greetings to all proletarian fighters (whether members of the Party or not) now in jail for challenging the capitalist order of society.

To the members of the Party so imprisoned, it places on record its appreciation of their faithful service to Communism.

It sees, in the continued incarceration of these comrades, an attack upon the party as such, and a realisation by the governing class that Communism is the unifying force that will lead the workers to a definite attack upon the capitalist system.”

Charles Ashleigh, who was recently deported from America after serving three years of his ten years jail sentence, was introduced as a fraternal delegate from the Communist Party of America. He dwelt on the conditions confronting the proletarian fighters in the United States. “I left behind me,” he said, “in Leavenworth Penitentiary alone 120 class war prisoners.” “The daily drudgery was the great test of the revolutionary movement,” he said. It was easier to get 5,000 men for a barricade than 500 for addressing envelopes. He concluded by conveying the fraternal greetings of the revolutionary workers of America to their British comrades.

Executive's Report

The report of the Executive Committee next submitted was a lengthy document. It covered changes in the official personnel of the party through organising activity and through arrests; the industrial and other ramifications of the party's organisation; the fortunes of the “Communist” and the “Communist Review” publications; the raising of money for the Famine Fund; the propagandist effect of the Thomas libel action; and the sectional work among women and the youth.

(From time to time a delegate from some committee or other “butted in” to the Conference, arranging the quarters and the feeding of the delegates; arranging the order of business. The Credentials Committee announced that there were present 159 delegates—35 proxy and 124 regular).

The Executive's document raised much talk. What relationship had there been, asked one delegate, between the Party and the Workers' Committee Movement, and this innocent question brought from the Chairman a statement of the genesis of the industrial activity of the Party and its growth.

Lisner declared that he was not satisfied that co-operation had existed between the R.I.L.U. bureau and the party, stating also that bureau representatives on the Communist Executive had not till recently been asked to attend executive meetings of the party. The old ground of the Communist libel trial was re-covered, the Caerphilly expenditure reviewed, and many delegates had reasons why some projected pamphlet or other should be immediately published. The mention of anything that made serious inroads upon the party's finances always

made live discussion, and women delegates were keen to see their newly launched work was not hampered by lack of whatever funds existed.

The discussion on the report of the Executive Committee of the Party was general because of the comprehensive nature of the survey, and was necessarily incomplete because many of the subjects were dealt with under separate resolutions.

Murphy moved the following resolution endorsing the Executive Committee's report:—

“That this Conference, while endorsing the report, desires to commend the Executive Committee for the lead given to the Party during the past eventful year, especially in regard to the efforts that were made to get the support of the whole working class movement behind the miners when that body of workers was ruthlessly attacked by the employers.”

In his speech Murphy reviewed the events of the past year, particularly with regard to the miners' strike and the lessons to be drawn from it. “The Executive,” he said, “had been faced during the year not only with a youthful party which could not put into operation what they desired, but it had been inundated with a lot of work from the International. . . . Now the party at the lock-out of the miners certainly did a great thing in exposing the Triple Alliance leaders, but they recognised that the party as a whole was not ready for the tasks of Black Friday. But they had made strides and now they were faced with one of the greatest crises in the history of the working class movement: that which has begun in the engineering industry. . . . It is one thing to call upon the party leadership to give the lead, another thing to put into operation that leadership. Only a small minority of our party has any idea of the significance of the mighty task before us. The bureaucracy of trade unionism will never be shifted by ballot vote at all, in the engineering industry there is a crisis which requires that we shall prepare for the possibility of throwing up a new leadership in this struggle.”

Davies, a Doncaster miner, seconding the resolution, created one of the most intense moments of the Conference by his rugged working-class appeal for the British proletariat to swing into line with the world movement. “Are we,” he asked, “to be continually pointed to by the world as the country which ought to be making pace? I say there is a possibility of success if we are prepared to fight and struggle. Let us take opportunities when they come. All the party requires is the spirit of sacrifice and the spirit of action.” The resolution was carried unanimously.

Macmanus' chief contribution to the deliberations of the Conference was then delivered. It was a forceful address on the work of the Executive Committee of the Third Communist International,



“THE SPIRIT OF ACTION”
(Davies of Doncaster)

a work chiefly concerned with the formulation of the thesis on the united front. Additionally, the speech gave delegates a newer perspective of the international situation in its most recent manifestations, and a background for the decisions they were later to make in the Conference.

An interesting feature of the report was that the Communist International now had consolidated its parties in 48 countries of the world, 38 of which sent representatives to the Congress of the International at Moscow.

Macmanus explained that reports were received from the five or six countries most actively engaged in the present phase of the class struggle. Germany took precedence on account of the late general transport strike. The German stock had been low since what is known as the March Action because of the various internal struggles within the movement. The strike proved to be the great opportunity of the party to redress itself, its one great contribution to the present period of the world movement. Right from the moment of the strike's inception the party increased its contact with the workers



"AS A PRELIMINARY . . ."

(T. A. Jackson)

considerably and its papers were read with avidity by the strikers. The party has now 300,000 members and publishes 33 newspapers.

In France the situation is extremely interesting and very delicate. At the Tours Congress the majority of the French Socialist Party declared its adherence to the Third International transforming itself into the Communist Party. The minority, however, retained the name of the French Socialist Party and commenced a long struggle for the control of the two newspapers, *Le Populaire* and *L'Humanite*. Owing to certain peculiar conditions in the ownership of *L'Humanite*, which left the balance of voting power in the hands of one individual the struggle was complicated, but the Communists finally secured control. In the transformation of the majority of the Socialist to the Communist Party difficulties arose largely between personalities who had hitherto been in different camps. This was for a time submerged, but at the Marseilles Congress Loriot and others refused to accept nomination on the Executive Committee pleading that the centrists were trying to exclude them from all responsibility. Souvarine was repudiated, and that was the position when the matter came before the International. Owing to such difficulties as these the French report raised very difficult and delicate questions, and the report was remitted back to the French party giving the views of the International.

An American commission reported on the situation there, but owing to later developments this matter was held over until information was obtained.

In Poland the situation was that the Communist Party, owing to the Mensheviks' alliance with the bourgeoisie, was likely to become the sole party of opposition in that country.

The report on the Russian situation dealt largely with administrative matters.

The Hungarian report was dramatically illustrated by the arrival in Moscow, while it was actually being discussed, of nine Communists who had escaped from the execution of death sentences on them by the White Guard.

Most important on the agenda of the International Executive was the question of the United Front which Zinoviev outlined. This tactic was important, not, as has been suggested by the press, as contributing to the stabilisation of Russia, but as a tactic in keeping with the general evolutionary developments of the International.

Macmanus dealt at length with the position in Georgia, where the Communist successful revolution had unearthed concrete evidence, which is to be the subject of a very important history by Trotsky, of the activities of the late Menshevik Government, the darling of the liberal bourgeoisie.

After a short debate arising out of the Chairman's statement, the Conference considered the first resolution (a) under the Third International Decisions. The resolution, with accepted amendments, and moved by R. Stewart, read:—

(a) Resolution ratifying Theses on the International Situation, Revolutionary Tactics, and Tactics of the Russian Communist Party.

RESOLVED—This Conference records its profound conviction that capitalism has entered upon a period of disintegration and decay. Faced with inevitable bankruptcy the capitalist class is compelled in sheer desperation to force the workers down to a condition of servitude without parallel even in pre-war times. Above all it fears the stabilisation of Soviet Russia. The task of our Russian comrades is to maintain at all costs the central fortress of the world revolution against the capitalist world in arms. By adapting themselves to the exigencies of the immediate situation they safeguard the future.

The task of the Communist Party everywhere is to act as the leading and inspiring section of the working class in the fight against capitalism.

It is, therefore, our duty to urge the workers to resist the present attack on wages and hours of labour. Also to strive for the formation of a mass party possessing the confidence of the workers in the fullest degree, and by entering into their daily struggles against the capitalists, prepare the way for final victory.

This Conference of the Communist Party therefore proceeds to ratify the Theses on the International Situation, Revolutionary Tactics, and Tactics of the Russian Communist Party.

Stewart, in a speech whimsical and aggressive by turns, interpreted the situation in the terms of the resolution. He stressed the fact that one of the great imports of the new Theses was that every member of the Party had to become an active, effective agent of Communism. There was to be an excuse for anything except refusal to work. Stewart again displayed a lively wit when replying to the forensic contest which ranged around the term "mass party." Asked for a definition of the term he replied: "It is a party which takes leadership of the masses, not by going back to where they are but by taking them from where they are to where they ought to be."

The debate, which aroused great theoretical contention, and which would lose by condensation, was participated in by delegates from all industries. So many wished to interpret the term that Macmanus was forced to split the last six minutes between three delegates.

* * *

After deliberating for nearly seven hours the Conference adjourned until Sunday morning. While there was confusion and violent disagreement regarding the interpretation of the term "mass party," the tone of the debate was good and the delegates displayed an activity and earnestness of mind that augurs well for the movement. It was pre-eminently a Conference of youth, despite here and there grey hairs. D'Annunzio cast his song of youth at the feet of Fascisti, Italy's White Guard. This Conference gave him the lie. Youth belongs not to reaction, the young workers are the seers of the future.

It is true that some of the delegates have grown grey in the service of their class, but even in the voices of these men and women the note was buoyantly youthful.

The Sunday Session

Opening the Conference on Sunday morning, Harry Pollitt propounded the new tactic of the united working class front against capitalism's desperate offensive. The resolution was:—

RESOLVED—In order that the policy of the United Front shall be effective in Great Britain, the following conditions are necessary:—

- (1) A strict definition of the concrete demands upon which common action is proposed to be taken.
- (2) Freedom of criticism in all cases. Freedom of action in movements other than those upon which mutual agreement has been arrived.

The Communist Party proclaims its complete unity with the workers in all struggles against (1) wage cuts and lengthening of hours; (2) attacks on protective regulations, trade union, or political, won by workers in the past; (3) attempts to smash working class organisations by the employers.

This unity is fundamental and of the very essence of communist principle.

In addition there are specific demands upon which all working class organisations can be rallied to a common fight such as:

- (1) Full recognition of the Soviet Republic.
- (2) Work or full maintenance for the unemployed.

On the basis of the above programme the C.P. expresses its willingness to join wholeheartedly with all other working class parties to obtain the aims set forth.

"The essence of the Thesis," said Pollitt, "can best be expressed in the slogan 'We must go to the

mass, and the tactic of the United Front is that which at the moment gives us the best opportunity of putting that slogan into operation. The tactic is not born of a brain wave. It is a result of the international situation, both politically and economic, in which the working class finds itself. It cannot be discussed from the point of view of Country, London, or even England, but only from the international point of view. The time has passed for the moment, when we can appeal with slogans like 'On to the revolution'; we must now appeal to the workers on the basis of their everyday practical domestic demands. It means that we shall have to associate with people whom we do not like, whom we definitely opposed. The fact, however, is that these people have the masses under their influence to a greater extent than we have. The workers now find themselves in a situation in which they are not being called upon to fight for great victories but defend those unions which have reformist leadership. . . . If we line up on the big movement to prevent the lowering of the workers' standard we will widen our sphere of Communist influence. So long as we can retain our freedom of action and propaganda the tactic of the United Front, in this country, particularly, offers us the most glorious opportunity we have had for many a long day."

Around this resolution centred a searching debate, entered into with the vehemence possible only to men and women for whom the class struggle is a vital actuality. Garrett, a Liverpool fireman, carrying to the floor of the Conference some of the surge of the sea, vigorously opposed the tactic. "I want all who are assembled here," he said, "to understand that I am not an orator. I can't bring off any highbrow phrases, so that if I make mistakes in phraseology I hope you will excuse it—outside of that I can fight."

"As a working class party we must understand what the working man thinks. So far 'Henry' recognises that the trade union leaders are nothing more or less than a bunch of fakers. While we ourselves believe that they are not to be trusted yet we are expected to go in with them, with the dirt that we are trying to clean. 'Henry' will say (to use his own terms) 'Those Communists are a lot of twisters like the Labour Party.' Clynes said the other day definitely his party was not a class party. Not that I would advocate the Communist Party being a secluded group, but I do want our Party to be absolutely a working class party, with a revolutionary outlook that the masses can look to and say 'those fellows might have funny ideas, but they are clean and they can fight.'"

The resolution was carried.

Now came the resolution on the industrial policy, which, moved by Brain was, with some minor alterations, eventually carried.

Brain indicated this as a continuation of the discussion on the United Front and said that under previous resolutions various matters that this raised had been dealt with in some way or other. They had found by experience that the workers did not come out of the craft unions to the revolutionary movement; they stayed where they were. They would not come out so the Communist Party had to go to them. The situation implied nothing but continual daily work and struggle.

A number of amendments were down to this resolution, but the discussion raged most fiercely round the question of Workshop Committees and Communist Nuclei, and this brought on the floor all



"MARY'S LITTLE LAMB"

(J. T. Walton Newbold)

those delegates who are well-known in connection with the activities of the Workshop Committee movement in this country.

The spearhead of the contest was the endeavour of the West Central London Branch, backed by Sheffield, to delete paragraph 3 (Workshop and Factory Committees formation) of the resolution and to insert after paragraph 4: "The Communist Party further supports the formation of Workshop Committees when circumstances permit, representing the mass of the workers in any given workshop for

general working class agitation, but the Communist Party gives no countenance to the establishment of small non-party sectarian bands outside or inside the workshop, which only duplicate the duties of Communist Nuclei."

After a tussle which still found many delegates wanting the floor when the time allotted to this resolution had expired, the amendment was lost. Supporting the amendment were Page, Arnot, Mellor, Postgate, Cook, and others, while the opposition included J. V. Leckie, Jackson, Kime, and many others.

The greatest amount of contention spent itself on the next proposition, the resolution on electoral policy:—

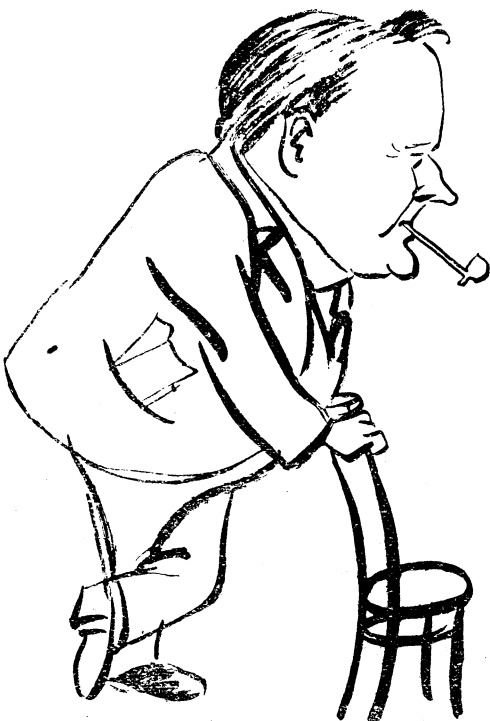
T. A. Jackson's speech on this delicate subject was a masterly blending of humour and logic, and was received by applause and cries of "Agreed," which indicated the Conference's relief that the introducer had taken the expected acrimony out of the debate. "The reason," he said, "that the Conference had been so quiet till now was that all the gladiators had reserved their weapons for the devoted victim who moved the resolution.... I want you here to forget that in 1905 you as a member of the S.L.P. said so and so. Forget that in 19 and so and so you as a member of something else took a certain attitude. To my thinking the most revolutionary text I can offer you is that in the New Testament which says, 'Let the dead past bury its dead.'"

The Conference should take up the question because the Third International had a strong opinion on it and because the whole tendency of the Conference had been to ungracefully assert its faith in the conception of a mass struggle of workers. If they would widen the scope of the struggle they would have to begin at the beginning, and the beginning was to break down every barrier of theory or attitude or manner or conception that prevented them from convincing the workers that the workers' cause was their cause.... Industrial strivings enabled them to raise the class issue in a particular form; in electoral battles they could raise the whole issue as to the possession of power. There was no suggestion that the party would look on electoral battles and electoral battles alone as the means to that end. The point was that those who objected to electoral battles limited the working class struggle.

The question of affiliation to the Labour Party was really one of using the outward form of working class unity presented by that body as a vehicle for influencing in a revolutionary direction both the fact and the mode of expression of the workers' class struggle.

"It might be urged that in affiliating with the Labour Party they would be virtually shaking hands with those leaders of the 2nd International who were in effect the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. This was true.... 'I would take them by the hand!—as a preliminary to taking them by the throat!'"

Clarke, of Altrincham, declared that the propaganda work of this policy was questionable as proved by the general press boycott of a recent valuable speech delivered in Parliament by Malone; this would be the fate of all Communist parliamentary speakers. His reply to the argument that



THE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE OF THE
BRIG'ON REPUBLIC SURVEYS
THE SCENE
(T. Clarke)



THE FULL WEIGHT OF THE EXECUTIVE
(Fletcher of Sheffield)

they could use an election campaign as a thermometer to gauge the acceptance of Communist principle was to suggest the substitution of an appeal to the workers to spoil their ballot papers.

J. T. Walton Newbold, who declared his belief in affiliation with the Labour Party, nevertheless opposed such affiliation at this time. "I do so," he said, "for a variety of reasons. I am not afraid of contact with the masses, I am not afraid of our contact with the Labour Party so much as I am afraid of the weapon we are proposing to use. I believe that at this juncture we have not had the constituent parts of the Communist Party sufficiently long together, we have not welded them sufficiently into an intelligent party understanding the implications of political action for us to be able to take them as a party into the Labour Party." considerable.

W. Paul announced himself as one of the unfortunate victims of a past. "It was myself that moved the resolution opposing affiliation to the Labour Party at the formation of the Communist Party, but since that time various events have compelled me to realise that we must take this matter of affiliation very seriously.... Owing to the breakdown of capitalism there have been great problems before the working class which the Labour Party will be compelled to face, and these problems will not be faced by them in the proper way unless you have a well-poised intelligently controlled section of the Communist Party there giving expression to the revolutionary standpoint.

Foster, Bishop, Whatton, Foulis, Joy, Inkpin, Brain and Len Jackson supported the resolution, which was carried by 112 votes to 31.

In the course of his reply Jackson convulsed the delegates. Referring to the past he said he had the worst record of all; whereas some had belonged to one organisation or another in the past, as he had belonged to the lot of them he was prejudiced in every possible direction. They had been told that confusion might arise by reason of the affiliation. "Here," said Jackson, "I note with great joy our Comrade Newbold's reclamation—that he has abandoned the rôle of Machiavelli for that of Mary's Little Lamb," a hit which Newbold enjoyed no less than others. "Standing for the working class," Jackson concluded, "we have to put the Labour Party in the position of either accepting or refusing us."

The answers to the Labour Party questionnaire was submitted back for re-drafting in the light of the Conference decisions.

The electoral programme was passed with a reference back to the Executive of the section dealing with disarmament.

Webb now moved resolution (d) on Organisation.

Webb explained the formation of guiding Party centres capable of taking Executive action at all times. He stressed the necessity of the Party Executive having a national psychology, a national mind taking into account the national needs of the working class and of the Communist Party acting on behalf of the workers. They had ratified the Theses, this was one of the implications. He suggested they discuss the details of the implications of nuclei work in this country.

The discussion developed along the lines Webb suggested, enlivened by amendments. Gallacher explained the necessity of having a commission to go into the whole question of party workings with a view to applying the new methods of organisation with the least amount of disturbance to the Party as it now exists. He secured the reference back to the Executive of the commission's terms of reference. Foster moved that the commission be

selected from outside the Executive's ranks. This was carried by 87 to 38; Garrett's motion for election of the commission of the Conference being rejected. The number was left to the decision of the Executive.

At this stage a fraternal telegram from Stocker on behalf of the German Communist Party was read and received with appreciation.

The Executive's submission "On the relationship of Youth and Party" and the women's work were approved in general outline, and with amendments and references back "Specific Application of the Principles of the United Front" was agreed to.

The concluding stages of the Conference were devoted to expressions of solidarity and kinship with the world's workers. The Australian workers were greeted and encouraged to continue the fight against wage cuts.

A resolution on the unemployed movement was moved by Holt and carried. The Conference enthusiastically carried the following message to American comrades:—

"This Conference sends greetings to the class war prisoners of America and pledges the Communist Party of Great Britain to give its fullest assistance wherever opportunity offers to secure their release.

We also note that there is a suggestion of Jim Larkin being released and express the sincere hope that this may prove to be true. The Conference further expresses its abhorrence of the framed-up trial of our Comrades Sacco and Vanzetti and joins with the workers of America in a determined demand for a new trial."

A further resolution carried unanimously read:—

"That this Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain, on the occasion of the vindictive sentence passed on the Indian National Leader, Gandhi, protests against the reign of Terror now prevailing in India and expresses its solidarity with the masses of workers and peasants endeavouring to secure their emancipation from Imperialist and economic exploitation, and urges them to continue the struggle by all means available."

Rising to their feet the delegates closed their deliberations with a fervent chorus of "The Internationale."



POINTS OF OR-R-DER!
(Kennedy, Springburn)

If you read **THE COMMUNIST** and agree with its views and policy, you have no right to remain idle and a mere spectator. You should join the Communist Party and take your share of the work. If you are prepared for real action on behalf of the British Workers, send your name to the National Organiser, 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2, who will put you in touch with your local branch.