

THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

(PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN)

No. 88

SATURDAY, APRIL 8th, 1922.

[Registered at the G.P.O.
as a Newspaper]

TWOPENCE

NOW FOR IT

THE Engineers' Lock-out has now continued for four weeks. They have been joined by the Shipbuilders and at the time of writing it would seem that the members of the 47 other unions employed in the Federated shops would be locked out likewise.

Altogether something like one and a-half million workers will be, in all probability, locked out by the week end.

The employers are arrogant and obstinate. But too often in the "official" labour circles we find doubt, hesitation, and divided counsels.

The National Joint Council (of the Labour Party and the T.U.C.) has interviewed Sir Allan Smith and made proposals for a resumption of negotiations. Whether they will be accepted we cannot say. But, if they are accepted, it will be because the Bosses are satisfied that they can twist more out of the official negotiators than they could out of the rank and file.

For nothing is clearer than that the Bosses are resolved upon victory—not only in the metal-working trades, but in all.

From the very beginning of the struggle we have urged that the whole organised working class should take action in unison with the Engineers and Shipbuilders.

Now we are glad to see our call is being taken up in several important directions.

The Call from the E.T.U.

The London District Committee of the Electrical Trades Union met on March 30, and spent the whole session discussing the position.

"The feeling of the Committee," says the circular issued by its secretary, J. F. Wyatt, "was that we could no longer remain idle and allow the employers to make their attacks upon organised labour piecemeal, but must take whatever steps are possible to bring about mass action of all the Trades Unions concerned, and especially embrace the unemployed workers."

They went on to pass the following significant resolutions:—

1. That this District Committee is prepared to co-operate with all other organisations which are prepared to resist any reduction in wages.

2. That this District Committee is prepared to co-operate with all other organisations which are prepared to resist any increase in the present working week.

3. That this District Committee is prepared to co-operate with all other organisations for the purpose of gaining full employment or full maintenance at Trade Union rates for all members unemployed.

The following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"That we, the London District Committee of the Electrical Trades Union, recognising that the present Lock-out is part of a general attack on the Trade Union movement, press our Executive Council, and urge the District Committees of the whole of the 48 Unions involved in the attack of the Engineering Employers' Federation, to press their Executive Councils, to take immediate steps to withdraw their whole membership in support of the sections that are already affected, with a view to defeating the intentions of the Employers, and bring the present crisis to a speedy and satisfactory termination."

While the London D.C. of the E.T.U. were taking this step, their National Executive, prompted by a similar spirit, were issuing orders to the effect that all Foremen and Apprentices in Federated Shops must be withdrawn. Action of an even more noteworthy kind was being taken at both Barrow and Sheffield.

From Barrow-in-Furness. "Council of Action" came a call for a NATIONAL RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE.

"We have decided," they write, "to take the initiative and attempt to convene a National Rank and File Conference, with a view to forming a National Council of Action."

It is imperative and urgent that we butt in at this juncture to put a stop to this tinkering of our leaders with the Bosses. The Bosses are determined in their attack on the Workers. These delays and negotiations between the Leaders and Sir Allan Smith and the Government, also the suggestion of further ballots are all part of the game to break the spirit of the rank and file."

The Sheffield Programme

This welcome indication of a healthy fighting spirit was barely in the post before the news came that Sheffield was in motion with a similar purpose. Here the Lock-out Committee not only advanced the idea of a national rank and file conference, but also succeeded in getting the local A.E.U. district committee to adopt and further their proposal, as this circular shows:—

AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION.

(Established 1920).

A.E.U. Institute, Stanley Street,
Sheffield.

March 30th, 1922.

To the Lock-out Committee.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,

The Sheffield District Committee having fully discussed the following resolution passed by a Mass Meeting held on March 29th, 1922:—

"That Sheffield District Committee convene a National Conference of Delegates elected from Lock-out Committees for the purpose of unifying the forces in the struggle, and to adopt a common programme on the Memorandum, Wages, Hours of Labour and any conditions governing the return to work."

That the Executive Council of the A.E.U., also members of the Executives of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation, and the General Council of Trade Unions, be invited to report to such Conference on the Negotiations" have decided to carry out such recommendation.

We therefore invite you to send one or two delegates to the Conference, to be held in the A.E.U. Institute, Stanley Street, Wicker, Sheffield, on Tuesday, April 4th, 1922, at 11.30 a.m.

After hearing reports of the official representatives the Conference will be open for discussion of a common programme for future action, as outlined in the resolution.

The reason for the calling of such Conference is, that necessity is felt for closer unity between those conducting the dispute and the Executive Council conducting negotiations with the Employers.

Each district to finance its own delegates.

Trusting you will realise the need of such a Conference being called and respond by representation.

Yours fraternally,

Sheffield District Committee,

E. BRADSHAW

Acting Sec.

The conference was called for an early date because of the imminent prospect of an extension of the area of the struggle, and also because no time should be lost in matters of this kind. To make sure that a well-attended conference would result, messengers were despatched from Sheffield to all the chief engineering centres, to urge the despatch of delegates. We have reason to believe that a good conference is assembling as we write and much good will be likely to result.

What can be done

It must be made quite clear that there is no intention on the part of the initiators of this plan to take power out of the hands of the leaders by force. It is a plain straightforward endeavour to co-ordinate the struggle and consolidate the forces actually engaged in conflict. Should, as seems inevitable, the further lock-outs take effect, it will have provided a machinery which will ensure joint action with a minimum of delay.

To complete this machinery and to rouse the spirit necessary to make its operation co-extensive with the whole range of working class interests some such idea as that of the Barrow Council of Action must be adopted.

A national rank and file conference meeting (we suggest) in Manchester and including representatives from (say) trades councils, district committees and shop stewards, in addition to the lock-out committees and the unemployed, should be able not only to formulate a programme, but also to devise a plan for putting it into operation.

Such a national conference should be able to secure the general adoption of the programme given in these columns a month ago.

The main points of that programme it will be remembered were:—

- (1) No separate agreements.
- (2) General resistance to all wage-cuts and lengthening of hours.
- (3) The adoption of a national minimum for every craft.
- (4) The enforcement of the National Programme of the Unemployed Workers' Committee.
- (5) The control of workshop conditions, and
- (6) Recognition of Soviet Russia.

If this programme were adopted by a National Workers' Conference and an intensive agitation brought to bear, especially upon the Head Offices of the Unions, the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party—it would be certain to result in such a unification and stiffening of the labour front as would not only Stop the Retreat, but Begin the Advance.

Workers of Britain:—Mass your forces, let there be no slacking and no shirking, let your leaders know that you are determined. THE WELSH WIZARD IS ON THE JOB—LET HIM KNOW YOU CAN'T BE WANGLED.

It is for life itself you are fighting.

Fight for your lives.

A Mass Movement will gain Mass Liberation.

WHAT COMMUNISM MEANS

By T. A. JACKSON

[This article is the first of a series intended to explain the principles and aims of Communism to beginners. The series as a whole is based upon a work which the Communist Party will shortly publish—"The A.B.C. of Communism," by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky. This work forms an admirable compendium for students and it is hoped that this introductory series will enable beginners to go on to that work when it appears and read it with ease and advantage.]

In this first article the author deals with some general preliminary considerations.]

YOU wonder what it is that "these Communists" are after?

If you are willing to listen I will tell you—as plainly and clearly as words will allow. But you for your part must be willing to listen. And listen honestly—paying attention to what is said and forgetting for the time all those things which you have believed because of what you have heard or read.

It is necessary that I should make this demand at the beginning because it is almost certain that you have already a vague distorted notion (derived from newspaper reading) that Communists are either fools with murderous inclinations or brutes bribed by rogues to make mischief.

To all that I make this answer at the outset—there were Communists in Britain before Lenin or Trotsky were born. In every country in the world there are not only individual Communists but Communist Parties. Where the conditions at all resemble those we are familiar with these Parties number tens and hundreds of thousands—all or nearly all drawn from the ranks of the working class.

Now it stands to reason that an idea which is held by so many men in so many different places cannot be entirely absurd. When we find that it endures in spite of all that can be done to check it—in spite of ridicule, or repression, hardship, black-listing, boycott, bludgeoning, or bloody assault—when we find, I say, that the thing lives and grows in spite of all these attempts to wreck and destroy it we must see that there is "something in it."

True the devotion of its followers does not of itself prove Communism to be right. It does prove that Communism has something to recommend it to large masses of workers.

The present condition of the British Worker, too, is such that any remedy suggested is worth considering. The very anxiety of the employers as a class to discredit Communism (at a time when they are straining every nerve to get the workers to work harder and longer and for less than ever!) makes it more than likely that Communism is just the thing you want (because it is just the thing they want to prevent you wishing for).

Communism, then, is a proposal for the reconstruction of social arrangements. If the relations between the workers and the employers, and the State, and each others are altered in a particular way we shall be living in a state of Communism. I am going to describe the nature of that alteration and the means we shall rely upon to bring it about, but before I can begin the job I must explain just what those relations are and just why they must be changed in a Communist way and no other.

* * *

A "society" is a body of people who act together for certain purposes. "Social" arrangements in the sense indicated above mean all those rules, regulations, habits, beliefs, institutions and things which, taken together, make it possible for people to live just how they do live.

Some people, for instance, are people of "birth" and title; some are people of wealth; some are people of important position—most people are people like ourselves: common, ordinary working people.

Newspaper writers have a trick of referring to the first class only under the title of "Society." This is slang which must not mislead you. They mean only the "aristocratic" or official class, but we, when we refer to Society, mean the whole of these various classes taken together—employers and employed, officials and private citizens, men of property and men of no property, people of distinction and people of none, men who live at ease and men who work for their living.

We take them together for the reason that each class exists as a class because the other classes also exist as separate and distinct classes.

The "working" class, for instance, is distinguished from the other classes by the fact that its members habitually work. If everybody worked there would be no special working class.

Similarly the "shopkeeping" and "professional" classes are distinguished from each other, and from both the working and the titled classes. The difference between these classes of people is not only in the matter of their occupation and the size of their income. It extends to their homes, their costume, their amusements, their speech, and their treatment of their children. They are, in practice, distinct nations within the nation—a fact which has been somewhat obscured of recent years by the ease with which "lords" have been manufactured from successful shopkeepers and employers and by the tales of the ease with which poor workers can pass into the ranks of shopkeepers, employers, and so onward.

The chief thing to notice, however, is not the difference between these classes, great and important though they are. The inter-dependence of these classes must be grasped if any understanding of them is to be gained.

The worker can only work for wages if somebody is able and willing to pay him. The shopkeeper can only live by shop-keeping if there are goods for him to sell and people able and willing to buy.

The professional architect can only design factories, shops, mansions and dwellings if there are people with sufficient money to buy his services in addition to the other costs of the building—which include wages for the craftsmen. These in turn must be skilled at the various sub-divisions of the building industry.

The person of title, finally, can only be distinguished by his title on condition that most people have no title at all; and are at the same time so trained that they reverence titled people as their superiors.

All classes are inter-dependent. Morally because their class position is made by contrast, materially because their way of living presupposes another way of living for the rest of the community.

* * *

Coming particularly to the working class in this connection we have first to note the striking fact revealed in their very name—"working" class.

Everybody in order to live must be fed, clothed and sheltered. As food, clothing and shelter only come into existence as a result of the work of somebody, those who eat food, wear clothes, and occupy houses in order to live, are kept alive by work.

Now why are the workers called workers unless there exists another class (or other classes) whose special characteristic is that they do not work?

And if they live and do not work what are they but parasites upon the labour of those who do?

* * *

Again, the workers themselves are a class divided into a number of various occupations—miners, engineers, railway men, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, bakers, builders, and so forth. Each of these again is made up of a number of distinct crafts so that the manufacture of anything requires the combined work of a large number of men. To get coal, for instance, from the earth to the grate or furnace requires a whole succession of crafts. One man hews it from its place and loads it into the "tub" or "truck." Another sees that it is hauled to the pit bottom from which it is hoisted by an engine superintended by an engineer, and so on and so on. But also before the hewing can begin not only must the pit be sunk—it must be inspected to see that it is safe and constantly, as the coal is taken out, the roof must be propped and supported by a number of men whose work is necessary to keep the pit in being.

Before the miner or the engineer can begin his day's work some other worker must have produced his food, his clothing, his house, his tools, and the raw materials of his craft. After his work is done his finished product is raw material for some other worker—or means of existence for somebody, worker or idler.

The actual process of work is thus so divided and sub-divided between the workers that they constitute one great productive whole, and their work as a whole makes possible alike the existence and the wealth of the nation or State.

* * *

These things are so natural and usual to us that it may surprise you to learn that not any one of them came into existence ready made just as we know it. Neither the crafts at which men work nor the classes into which we are divided, nor the forms of State to which we are subject, nor the

peculiar machinery we employ for deciding to whom shall go any particular thing produced by work—not any of these things can be traced back in history very far before we find it changing out of all recognition if not disappearing entirely.

To make this plain let us take up this last mentioned thing—the existing machinery for deciding who shall have what and how much of it.

You, fellow worker, have in food, clothing, shelter and amusement what you can buy within limits set by the money at your command. So it would seem does everybody else—the difference being in the extent of your command. At first sight it would seem that everybody is treated on an equal footing since everybody can buy what he is able to pay for. It is this appearance of equality which deceives people. They think we have freedom and equality because anybody can walk into any shop and order what he likes if only he has the means of paying. They have read that in the past certain classes were forbidden by law to eat certain things, to wear certain colours and stuffs and to go into certain places specially reserved for the superior classes. They fail to see or they are ignorant of the social facts and arrangements which make it impossible for some (however legally free) to do or enjoy certain things which are always at the disposal of some others.

The worker can buy what he likes with his money. Does anything set limits to the money at his disposal? His money he gets as wages—the price paid by a boss for the use of his body and craft-skill. That price, like every other price, depends upon the state of the market.

If there are many potatoes for sale in the potato market and only few people wanting to buy the price of the potatoes must be low: if there are many workers for sale in the labour market and only a few bosses wanting to buy the price of the worker must be low.

As this is with only rare exceptions the usual state of the labour market it stands as a consequence that only a minimum of money—barely sufficient for his indispensable needs—is ever at the workers' disposal.

The boss, on the other hand, starts with the advantage that whereas he may at times be caught napping with a batch of goods—produced by "his" workers—which he cannot sell except at ruinous prices, yet he can guard against such a happening by controlling production and anyway he is just as often (and more generally often) in a position to extract the maximum of advantage from a favourable state of the market.

The boss can shut his factory and wait; living upon past gains until the market improves. The worker seldom has any reserve—even when the market turns slightly in his favour the fact that he must sell the use of himself in order to live prevents him from taking full advantage of these rare cases.

Above and over all other facts is that one—the worker must sell the use of himself. He works for wages because he must—he has no other means of living. He owns no land, no flocks, nor herds of cattle—nothing at all whereby to maintain himself—he lives "so long as he finds work and finds work only so long as his labour increases the boss's capital."

* * *

Now there was a time—many years ago—when it was impossible for anybody to live as the boss does by buying raw materials and labour power and selling the product of their coming together.

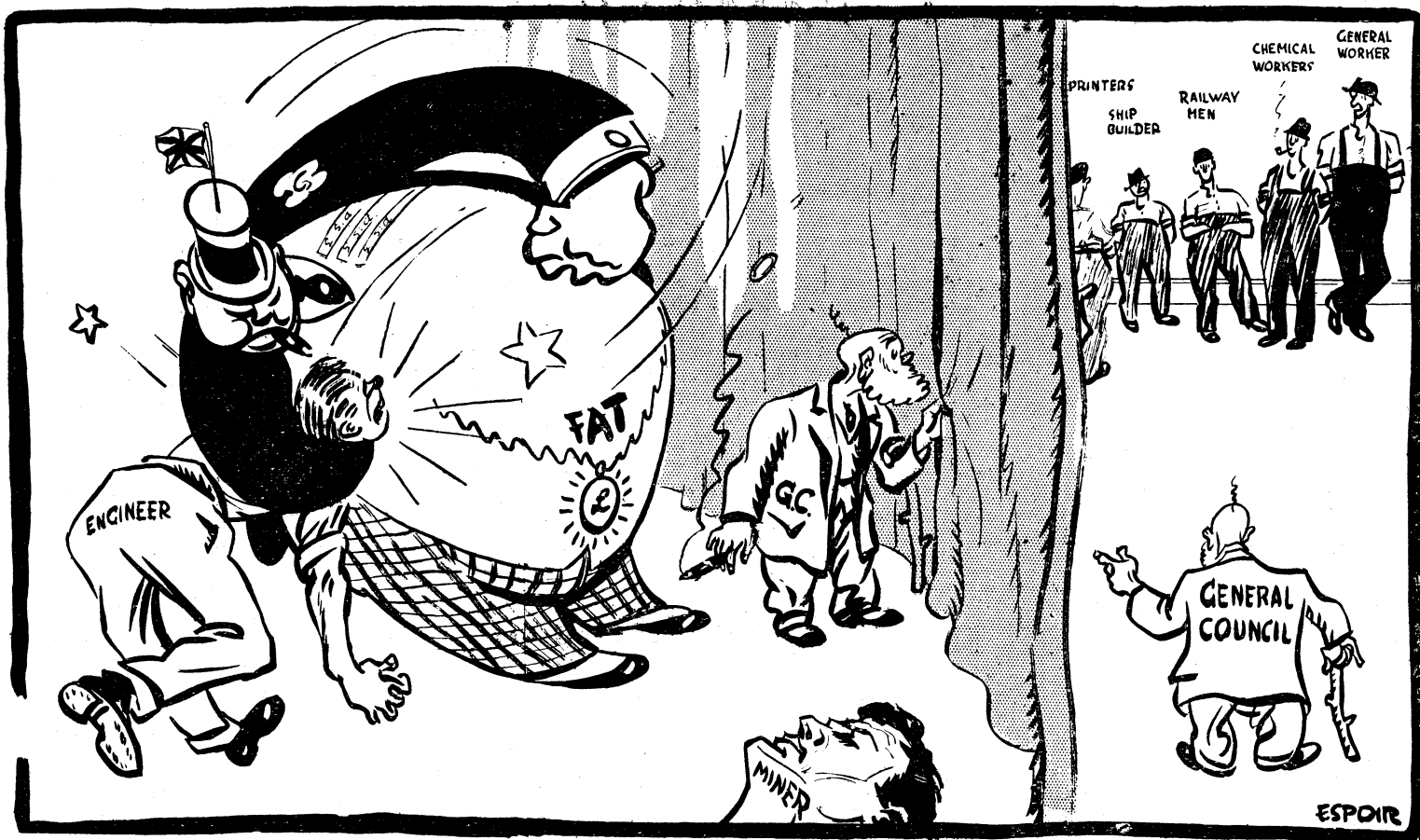
Impossible first because buying and selling was not established as a habit, second because from lack of buying and selling money had not been invented, third because nobody was so placed that he could not get to the land and (by hunting and fishing if by no other way) produce his own keep. That which was impossible has become so much the rule that men have forgotten that it was ever otherwise.

Remember that when they tell you that Communism is impossible.

* * *

I call these things—the fact that goods are distributed solely through the mechanism of buying and selling and that the worker himself must go into the market and be sold before he can return and take something out by buying it with his own purchase price, with the laws, institutions and conditions which make it possible for the "superior" class to keep the workers in an unfair position—all these things I call "social arrangements." And these are the things that Communism is designed and intended to alter completely.

How and in what way I will tell you next week.



WAITING IN THE QUEUE

THE DEAR OLD GENERAL COUNCIL: "Now, Boys, that's right. The gentleman inside will have finished talking to our engineering brother soon, and we'll let you know when it's your turn. One at a time, please. We must have order."

HOW NOT TO DO IT

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

By John Ball

FROM amongst the typical instances of the mismanagement of the lock-out which have reached me from various quarters I take the following. The whole of the workers at the Gothic Works, Edmonton, consisting of sheet metal workers, general workers, etc., ceased work in sympathy with the locked out engineers immediately the dispute commenced. It was a spontaneous demonstration of solidarity which was rendered the more striking by the fact that only about a dozen A.E.U. mem were involved. So far, so good. But what has happened since the strike started? The Sheet Metal Workers have held their mass meetings, the General Workers have held theirs; each section has isolated itself from the others, the strike committees have failed to come together, and separate negotiations with the management have taken place. The inevitable has occurred. The men are returning to work in ones and twos. The lesson is obvious. No more separate committees, no more separate mass meetings. Get together and fight as a single unit.

A New Factor

At the same time there are not wanting facts which show that the rank and file are at last waking up to the realisation that "there is a war on"—and acting accordingly. For instance, the London members of the A.E.U., employed and unemployed, met on Tower Hill and after a meeting marched on the A.E.U. offices in Peckham Road in order that a deputation might wait on the Executive. Unfortunately the E.C. were out, and, in another sense, so was Brother Smethurst. The latter gentleman stated to a *Daily Herald* representative that "the deputation wished to see the Council on purely domestic matters regarding the lock-out.... The deputation.... asked Mr. Smethurst to explain to the Council that the men were in no way antagonistic to the general policy of the Council respecting the dispute." 'Strewth! Considering that the object of the demonstration was to protest against the E.C. policy of debarring the unemployed from lock-out committees and to demand the withdrawal of all A.E.U. members whether working in non-federated shops or otherwise, Brother Smethurst's remarks are certainly more than a trifle "out."

The Right Way

From Reading and Croydon as well as many other centres I have received good reports of activities of the live members. At Croydon the leaders of the local unemployed have been co-opted on the lock-out committee and have been given the special task of organising mass picketing. Camberwell and Reading have drawn first blood in this direction, and with a little activity on the part of the men affected by the dispute there would not be a single scab working. From all over the country come reports of District Committees, Lock-out Committees, and aggregate meetings of members passing resolutions calling upon the E.C. to withdraw all A.E.U. members. These resolutions have so far produced no result but, unless something is done soon, the districts will have to take matters into their own hands.

The United Front

The Shipbuilders have now joined in the fray, and the rest of the Engineering industry cannot be kept out much longer in face of the attitude of the employers. Now is the time for action. *If the Executives will not form the United Front you must form it for yourselves in the districts.* Get your District Committees together, get your local Lock-out Committees together, get the rank and file together—and fight like Hell.

The Lockout in S. Wales

My S. Wales correspondent writes: Despite the continuance of the Engineering Lock-out for some weeks it seems to have had no appreciable influence on the industrial life of S. Wales. The lock-out will tell most when it is extended after the 25th to the shipbuilding workers.

The same damnable "isolation" that characterised the miners' lock-out last March is again the principal feature of the present dispute. From reports to hand there is not even a gesture of sympathy by miners or railwaymen at the tremendous and fundamental struggle in which the A.E.U. are at present engaged. "Stolidarity," and not "solidarity," of labour organisations seems to be the feature of these lock-outs.

Hours Attacked

There is trouble ahead between the dock labourers and their bosses re the hours of labour at the docks. Deadlock has not yet been reached, but there are ominous signs.

The N.U.R.

I see it is stated by the N.U.R. officials that between December, 1919, and the beginning of this year the Union lost a hundred thousand members. Another "triumph for sane trade unionism."

C.P. ELECTION FUND

£500 GUARANTEED IF— you do your bit

A Manchester member of the Party has offered to double every pound raised for the Election Fund up to the extent of £500.

This is an opportunity not to be lost.

IT IS A GENUINE OFFER.

It is up to the membership to take up the challenge.

Money is coming in and the first list of contributions will be published shortly.

We are modestly only asking for £5,000, but don't object to more.

Every penny given will bring in results.

Collecting sheets are now ready.

Comrades let us hear from you.

All monies and communications to

Electoral Committee,
Communist Party, 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

TO BRANCHES OF COMMUNIST PARTY.

Wm. Taylor and Alison Stewart, of Dundee, now travelling with the "Revivalists" and claiming to be Communists, are not attached to the Communist Party.

GORTON PARLIAMENTARY STOP WATCH COMPETITION.

Results postponed until April 29th. All Cards must be returned to Socialist Hall, Margaret Street,

FULHAM Branch expects Fulham, Putney and Chelsea readers at 9, Gowan Avenue, Wednesdays, at 8. Secretary that address.

THE PARTY COMMISSION

THE Commission to enquire into Party Organisation, set up by the Policy Conference, has been appointed. It consists of three members, Comrades R. P. Dutt, H. Inkpin and H. Pollitt. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows:—

To make detailed recommendations to the Executive and to the Annual Conference for the application of the Theses.

In particular it shall be the function of the Commission:

- (1) to draft such revisions of the Constitution as may seem necessary to bring it into accord with the Thesis;
- (2) to examine and report on the existing divisions, areas and other units;
- (3) to draw up a full scheme for the co-ordination and direction of groups and nuclei in the Trade Unions and other working class organisations and to make recommendations as to the first steps to be taken in the practical operation of this scheme;

- (4) to consider the organisation of the Party centre and make recommendations;
- (5) to bring under review the Party Press and other forms of propaganda in order to make possible a more effective fulfilment of the Theses in these respects.

The Commission shall be empowered to call for reports from any and every section of the Party organisation, and shall have access to all necessary documents for the purpose of conducting its enquiries; but shall have no executive powers.

The Commission shall issue a first report not more than one month after the date of its appointment and shall present a complete report to the Annual Conference. Wherever advisable or possible the Executive shall put into operation interim recommendations without delay.

The Commission has issued the following statement:—

The first meeting of the Commission was held on Wednesday, March 29th. R. Palme Dutt was elected Chairman.

To get through the large volume of work the Commission has arranged to meet three times a week, with such further meetings as may be necessary.

The Commission will issue short reports on its work from time to time in order that members may be aware of the ground that it is covering.

The Commission can only accomplish its work by the co-operation of the whole membership. Members and branches all over the country should send along in writing any points they wish to raise on the work and organisation of the Party. Information, criticisms and suggestions will all be given careful attention, and every communication will be treated as confidential.

A member of the Commission will attend every Tuesday from 7 to 9 p.m. at 16, King Street, to receive Party members with regard to the Commission's work. But regular evidence for the Commission should, whenever possible, be sent in writing.

All communications should be addressed to The Party Commission, c/o 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

R. PALME DUTT, *Chairman.*

H. INKPIN.

H. POLLITT.

Outcry Against the Black Horror URGENT APPEAL TO ENGLISHMEN

[We have received the following appeal and reprint it verbatim believing it to be true in substance and in fact. It is part of the normal brutality of Imperialism to ignore things like those set out herein on the ground that the protest comes "from Germany." Such a pretence only adds to the iniquity.—Ed.]

AN awful crime against the white race, against our German women, maidens and children is being perpetrated by the French in using black and coloured troops for the occupation of German territory in an ever increasing number without our being able to prevent it. We therefore resort to the only means at our disposal, viz., to an urgent appeal to the conscience of all the white nations in the world.

In the Wild West when a coloured man outrages a white woman, he is lynched without more ado. But what have our German women, girls and children to suffer from the African troops in the occupied districts? What says the world to hundreds of thousands of white people being enslaved by black and coloured savages? What says the world to the ever increasing assaults and crimes committed by these wild beasts on German women and children? Do the other white nations of the world know about this? It must really be doubted, for it can hardly be believed that they should have no fellow-feeling for the disgrace which is being perpetrated on us and thus on all white people. Therefore the crime committed by the French must be shouted all over the world and the other white nations must be made aware of that this disgrace hits them as well as us.

In front of us lies a pamphlet of about a hundred pages entitled, "Coloured Frenchmen on the Rhine," a cry of distress from German women (published by H. R. Engelmann, Berlin). These represent the police records of a large number of crimes committed by black and coloured men. Any one's blood must boil at the horrors committed on defenceless women and children reported in these pages in a cold matter-of-fact way.

In them special emphasis is laid on the fact that the cases not placed on record would be far more numerous than those officially reported which seems but natural as the feeling of shame restrains in many cases the victim from denouncement, partly from fear of retaliation, for often denunciations have been punished for libelling black troops.

Many millions are being paid by the French to suppress publication of these crimes and to stifle German appeals for help. The newspapers published in the occupied districts have been forbidden by the French to report crimes committed on white women. In some places the papers were compelled to publish declarations according to which the black troops had committed no assaults. Nevertheless

It is a fact that black soldiers push white women from the footpaths assisting with the butt ends of their rifles;

It is a fact that the French have started compulsory brothels with white girls in them for the use of coloured soldiers;

It is a fact that the number of births (coloured bastards) is steadily increasing;

It is a fact that parents, teachers, clergymen have been punished because they had forbidden to the girls in their charge any intercourse with coloured soldiers;

It is a fact that a negro took part for months at the sittings of the Police Court and Court of Appeal at Landau and expressed his scorn and contempt for the white accused;

It is a fact that a French officer to whom an outraged young wife applied for help bawled out to her: "These fellows have been away from home now for 2½ years and must have it. And they are specially keen on fair hair." (Police Court Sitting of 10th April, 1920).

It is a fact that black soldiers are outraging boys and infect them with venereal diseases;

It is a fact that girls are seized, tied on seats or held by the black soldiers and then violated until they expire;

It is a fact that mothers who run to help their ill-used children have been simply shot down;

It is a fact that white women have been torn from their beds and that their fettered husbands had to look on whilst their wives were being outraged;

It is a fact that up to the beginning of 1921 the following cases have been put on record by the police:

- 40 cases of attempted rape;
- 70 cases of accomplished rape;
- 20 cases of sexual misdemeanour of various other kinds;
- 7 cases of unnatural intercourse with boys.

The French chauvinists are trying to hide these facts. Abroad the news is spread that the Blacks have been withdrawn from the Rhine long ago. These lies are spread so persistently that America has repeatedly enquired by cable whether the coloured troops had been withdrawn. All that has been done, is that on approach of the cold season and owing to the many cases of illness amongst the soldiers, part of them has been transferred to more southerly districts, but with the warmer season coming round again, their number keeps on increasing. France does not dream of withdrawing the black troops. On the contrary France wishes to make the occupation of Germany territory by black troops a permanent institution by introducing compulsory military service in Africa and decreeing that out of the three years service two years have to be served in Europe, but of course not in France. The "Victor" Foch even called the blacks the strongest pillar of French power.

No age, no bodily condition gives immunity from the Black Horror. Pregnant women and even aged matrons have been violated in bestial ways. "Could the walls of cells inhabited by raving maniacs speak of the psychic tortures endured by these victims," says the director of a lunatic asylum "even the hardest heart would break."

"We had been in hopes," many German women cry out in their distress, "that our misery would be known sufficiently to the world and that the world's conscience would bring forth assistance. But those in whose clutches we find ourselves announce scornfully that our press and government are lying and that not the white women have to be protected against the black and yellow soldiers of the French Republic, but vice versa, the niggers from the island of Madagascar had to be protected against the immoral influence of the white women on the Rhine! The same negro who in France is considered only as a third-rate man and is subjected there to the strictest discipline, is thus

allowed to bear himself in the Rhineland as lord and victor. The French Government is thus adding cynical contempt to insult.

In view of the barefaced scorn and compelled by the unspeakable disgrace heaped by the French on us and all white people, we are opening a campaign with intellectual weapons. Millions of fly-leaves must be sent out to England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Spain, Switzerland and Italy, across the ocean to North and South America, to Australia, in fact wherever white people live, but particularly to England and North America.

You members of the white race, help us to free our women, girls and children from the hell in the occupied district into which they have been cast by the black and coloured hordes of Africa. Read this appeal to your friends, don't throw it away, pass it along from hand to hand, ask for more fly-leaves if you have use for them.

Englishmen! Where would the French have been without your help in the world's war? Now that Germany has been overpowered, the French as "victors" distribute medals for bravery for the occupation of German towns where no armed adversary has ever met them and scoff at their former helpmates.

Englishmen! We have sufficient pride in us to bear socially the distress inflicted on us as the vanquished, without crying for help, but outrages on the bodies of our white women and children we will not submit to. You have taken our weapons from us, give them back to us, or help us by the weight of your voices to put a stop to the darkest crime ever committed in the world's history: the Black Horror. Help us if you have any feeling for the awful disgrace which is being done to our white women on the Rhine by the eager lust of African savages.

May-day of Tools The British Section of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee,

which, by the way, has removed to 35, Grays Inn Road, W.C. 1 (make a note of it), states that from May 1st for one week, the committee is devoting its energies to the collection of tools for the stricken districts of the Volga. In considering the seriousness of the famine and the need for the sending of food, we are apt to forget sometimes that unless the Russians are enabled to set to work again in the famine area there will be a worse famine next year. We must remember that the deserted areas of the Volga region must be ploughed and sown if men are to live there again.

On May Day, therefore, every worker will be asked to present an implement of some kind to the famine fund. Details will be given later.

A GRAND DANCE at King's Hall, Lower Clapton Road, Friday, April 7th, at 7.30 p.m. Arranged by the Entertainments Committee Hackney Branch Electrical Trades Union on behalf of the unemployed members. Patron: The Mayor of Hackney, Coun. W. Parker, J.P. Electra Dance Orchestra. Admission 1/6. Gallery 6d.

IRELAND—The reply by T. A. Jackson to the letter signed "J" which appeared in last week's COMMUNIST, is unavoidably held over.

BETWEEN RED & WHITE

A Study of some fundamental questions of Revolution with Especial Reference to Georgia. Specially written for the COMMUNIST by LEON TROTSKY, People's Commissar for War in the Russian Soviet Republic.

WE publish to-day the first instalment of a serial especially written for the COMMUNIST by Comrade L. Trotsky. Some portions of this, of course, have appeared in the "Daily Herald" but it is perhaps as well to emphasize that only a small portion, and that bowdlerized, has been printed there. Not only were great connected portions left out, and whole chapters represented by two paragraphs, but in the text itself the best of Trotsky's witticisms and the most characteristic thrusts were expunged in deference to the susceptibilities of "Herald" readers.

D E D I C A T I O N

To the memory of Stepan Shaukian, Alexei Djaparidze, and 34 other Communists, who, without investigation or trial, on a lonely spot between the stations of Pereval and Akhtcha in Transcaucasia, were shot on the 20th of October, 1918 by the chief of the English military mission at Askhabad, Teague-Jones, with the knowledge and approbation of the other English Authorities in Transcaucasia, notably the commander of the British forces in Transcaucasia, Major-General Thompson;

To the memory of the workers, shot by the Menshevik government during a meeting in Alexander Gardens at Tiflis, on the 10th of February, 1918;

To the memory of tens, hundreds and thousands of Caucasian Communists, who perished in the struggle for the Soviet regime, shot, hanged, tortured to death, by the coalition "democratic" government

of Transcaucasia by the troops of the Sultan, the ally of the Transcaucasia "democracy," by the troops of the Hohenzollern protector of Menshevik Georgia; by the British troops which invaded Georgia for a joint struggle with the Mensheviks against the Communists, by the White Guards of Denikin and Wrangel, directly and indirectly, aided by the Georgian Mensheviks;

To the memory of the revolutionary leaders of the peasant revolts in Ossetia, Abkhazia, Adjara, Guria, etc., shot by the Menshevik government of Georgia;

THE AUTHOR DEDICATES THIS BOOK, written for the purpose of unmasking the lies, calumny, and slander that rise like a thick cloud from the camp of the oppressors, exploiters, imperialists, robbers, and murderers and their political hirelings and voluntary lackeys.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

AS these lines are written we are less than three weeks removed from the time set for the Genoa Conference. Nobody, apparently, can yet tell how much time separates us from the actual opening of this Conference. The diplomatic contest around this Conference is very closely interwoven with the political agitation about Soviet Russia. Between the diplomacy of the bourgeoisie and its own social-democracy, the principle of sub-division of labour is faithfully observed; diplomacy conducts its intrigues, while social-democracy mobilises public opinion against the Republic of workers and peasants.

What is the aim of this democracy? To impose upon revolutionary Russia the heaviest possible tribute, to compel her to pay the utmost reparations; to develop upon the widest possible scale the encroachment of private capital upon Soviet territory; to

create the greatest possible privileges for foreign and Russian financiers, industrialists and usurers as against the workers and peasants. The mask hitherto concealing these demands (viz. "democracy," "right," "liberty," etc.), has now been cast aside by bourgeois diplomacy, just as the merchant throws off the paper wrappings from a piece of cloth when it is necessary to display the goods, and to measure it out in yards.

But bourgeois society allows nothing to be wasted. The paper wrapper of "right" is handed over to the social-democracy, because it happens to be its particular line of goods, its stock-in-trade, so to speak. The Second International—and what is said about the latter applies also to its shadow on the Left, the 2½ International—exerts all efforts to prove to the workers, that since the Soviet Government observes neither "right" nor "democracy," the

toiling masses of Russia deserve no support in their struggle against the world's usurers.

We committed our most flagrant act of disrespect to "right" and "democracy," as everybody knows, by the October Revolution. It represents our original sin. During the first year the bourgeoisie tried to destroy the revolution by the sword. Now it contents itself with the introducing of substantial capitalist amendments. The struggle now centres around the scope of these amendments.

The Second International, however, wishes to avail itself of the Genoa Conference to restore the "right," which should have meant quite a definite programme—not to admit to Genoa the "usurers," "dictators," "terrorists" of the Soviet Government, but to bring thither instead the democratic relics of the Constituent Assembly. But such a formulation of the question would be

INTRODUCTION—continued

too ridiculous, and besides, it would run counter to the plans of the bourgeoisie. The Second International least of all lays claim to the role of knight errant of democracy. It is only its Sancho-Panza. It dare not put the question in its full scope. It hankers merely after small gains.

The banner of the struggle for small democratic gains is furnished just now by Georgia. The Soviet Revolution in Georgia took place but a year ago. At the helm in Georgia, was a party of the Second International. The Menshevik Republic had been manœuvring all the time between Imperialism and the proletarian revolution, seeking the side of the former in its struggle against the latter. This is quite in keeping with the role of the Second International. The Georgian Mensheviks paid with their own fall for their liaison with the counter-revolution. The same inevitable result is in store for the Second International itself. No wonder then if the struggle of the international social-democracy for a "democratic" Georgia has assumed a somewhat symbolic character.

THE OLD, OLD STORY

Yet even the most fertile brains of the Second International could not evolve any argument in favour of the pretensions of the Georgian Mensheviks that has not already been worn threadbare by the defenders of the "democratic rights" of Milukov, Kerensky, Tchernov or Martov. As a matter of principle there is no difference whatever between the two sets of claimants. The social-democrats now present *in octavo* what the imperialist press has previously published *in folio*. Of this one can easily become convinced by perusing the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Second International on the question of Georgia.

The text of the resolution deserves to be examined. The style not merely reflects the men but the Party. Let us listen to the political style of the Second International in addressing itself to the proletarian revolution:—

1. *The territory of Georgia has been occupied by the troops of the Moscow Government, which maintains in Georgia a government that is loathed by the population and is regarded by the proletariat of the world as being solely responsible for the destruction of the Georgian Republic and for the terrorist regime established in that country.*

Is not this the language that has been used for the last four years by the reactionary press of the whole world in regard to the Soviet Federation as a whole? Did it not argue that the Soviet regime was loathed by the population of Russia and was maintained by military terrorism? Did we not hold Petrograd and Moscow by the aid of "Latvian, Chinese, German and Bashkir regiments?" Did not the power of the Soviets "violently" spread to Ukraine, Siberia, Don, Kuban, Azerbaijan? If now, after we have beaten off the reactionary rabble, the Second International repeats the same phrase, word for word, especially in regard to Georgia, does it in any way alter their character?

2. *The responsibility of the Moscow Government was further aggravated by the recent events in Georgia, particularly after the protest-strikes arranged by the workers (?) and suppressed by force, as is done by reactionary governments.*

Yes, the revolutionary government of Georgia forcibly frustrated the plans of the Menshevik Chiefs of the railway bureaucracy, the petty officials and the White Guard officers who failed to make their escape to practice sabotage against the workers' and peasants' States. With reference to these repressions, Merrheim, a quite well-known petty servitor of imperialism in France, writes of "thousands" of Georgian citizens that were compelled to quit their homes. "Among those refugees—

we are quoting him textually—there are a great number of officers, former officials of the Republic, and all the leaders of the National Guard." This was the very Menshevik machinery which for three years ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary workers, and the incessantly rebellious Georgian peasants, and after the overthrow of the Mensheviks they remained as ready tools for the attempts of the Entente at restoration. That the revolutionary government of Georgia dealt firmly with the sabotaging bureaucracy, we fully admit. But this very thing we have done through the entire territory of the revolution. The establishment of Soviet domination at Petrograd and Moscow met its first obstacle in an attempted railway strike, under the guidance of the Mensheviks social-revolutionary bureaucracy. Supported by the workers, we smashed this bureaucracy, purified and subordinated it to the authority of the toilers. The reactionary scum of the whole world raised a howl about our barbarous terrorism. The same lamentations of the reactionary scum are now repeated, this time only with regard to Georgia, by the social-democratic leaders. Where is the difference?

But is it not rather strange that the social-democratic leaders can now twist their tongues to speak of the forcible suppression of the strikes and the mode of action of "reactionary governments?" For do we not know the kind of men that compose the Second International? Noske and Ebert are its leading members. Or have they been expelled? How many workers' strikes and rebellions have they crushed? Or, perhaps they are not the murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht? Perhaps it was not the social-democrat Hersing, a member of the Second International, who provoked the March movement in Germany in order to drown it in blood. And what about the very latest measures of the social-democrat Ebert, against the German railway strike?

A QUESTION TO THE 'SECOND'

Perhaps the Executive Committee in London does not see what is going on upon the Continent? But in that case, one might be allowed to put a polite question to Henderson; was he not a Privy Councillor during the Easter Rebellion in Ireland in 1916, when the royal troops bombarded Dublin, executed 15 Irishmen, including the socialist Connolly, already wounded previously? Perhaps Vandervelde, a former president of the Second International, the little Privy Councillor of a little kingdom, did not appeal to the Russian socialists during the war to make peace with Czarism which was wading up to its neck in the blood of the workers and peasants, and which was soon to drown in it? Are any more instances required? The leaders of the Second International have as much right to defend the right of strikes as Judas Iscariot had to preach loyalty.

3. *At the moment when the Moscow government demands its recognition by other countries, it should treat the rights of other nations with the same respect it desires for itself and must refrain from violating the elementary principles upon which the intercourse between civilised nations must be based.*

The political style reflects the very soul of the party. The last point is the highest achievement of the Second International. If Soviet Russia desires recognition (by whom?) it should "treat the rights of other nations with the same (which?) respect, and not violate (*sic*) the elementary principles upon which the intercourse between civilised nations must be based."

Who wrote this? We would have suspected Longuet himself, but for the fact that he has migrated to the International No. 23. Perhaps it was written by Vandervelde, the

elegant jurist of the Belgian crown? Or perhaps by Mr. Henderson, inspired by one of his own Sunday sermons at a Brotherhood meeting? It is essential for the sake of history to establish the identity of the author of this incomparable resolution. Who is responsible for this product of a diseased mind?

Let us, however, return to the text. In order to be recognised by the bourgeois, imperialist, slave-owning governments (for the reference is obviously to them), the Soviet government should refrain from violating "principles" and "treat with the same respect the right of other nations." With the same . . . with *what* "respect?"

For three years the imperialist governments tried to overthrow us. They have failed. Their economic position is a hopeless one. Their mutual jealousies and struggles have reached a state of extreme acuteness. They have found themselves compelled to enter into relations with Soviet Russia for the sake of her raw materials, her markets and revenues. In extending this invitation, Lloyd George explained to Briand that international morality admits the conclusion of agreements not only with the murderers of the East (Turkey), but also with the murderers of the North (Soviet Russia). We take no offence at the strong expression used by Lloyd George. Upon this question we fully accept his outspoken formula. Yes, we do consider it possible, admissible and necessary—within certain limits—to conclude agreements with the imperialist murderers of the West as well as of the East.

An agreement which imposes obligations upon us ought at the same time to compel our enemies to give up their armed attacks upon us. Such is the sum-total of four years' open fighting, as far as it can be gauged for the moment. Of course, the bourgeois governments demand the recognition of the "elementary principles, upon which the intercourse between civilised nations must be based." But these principles have nothing in common with the questions of democracy and national self-determination. We are drily asked to recognise debts contracted by Tzarism for the purpose of crushing this very Georgia, Finland, Poland, all the border provinces, and the toiling masses of Great Russia herself.

And we are also called upon to pay compensation to the private capitalists who have suffered loss as a result of the revolution. It cannot be denied that the proletarian revolution has caused damage to some pockets and purses, which are regarded as the most sacred principles upon which "the intercourse between civilised nations" rests. This will be dealt with at Genoa and other places, but of what principles do the leaders of the Second International speak? Is it the predatory principles of the Versailles Peace which at this moment determine the relations between States, i.e., the principles of Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and the Mikado?

Or do they in their crafty, evasive tongues, speak of the principles which do not as yet but which ought to determine the intercourse between nations? If the latter, why then do they put them forward now as conditions for our being accepted into the respectable "family" of the present imperialistic States? Or do they wish us to disarm to-day and to evacuate territory before the imperialists on the expectation of the relations that will exist to-morrow? We have already made one such experiment in the sight of the whole world. We openly disarmed during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations; did that prevent German militarism from invading our frontiers? Perhaps the German social-democracy, the bulwark of the Second International, at that time raised the standard of revolt? Not a bit. It remained the governing party of the Hohenzollerns

INTRODUCTION—continued

In Georgia remained the petty bourgeois party of the Mensheviks. To-day it is the Georgian Bolshevik Party that governs it. The Mensheviks depended upon the material assistance of the European and American imperialism, the Georgian Bolsheviks rely upon the support of Soviet Russia. Upon what logical grounds does the Social Democratic International desire to condition the conclusion of peace between the Soviet Federation and the capitalist countries by the return of Georgia to the Mensheviks?

The logic is bad, but the aim is clear. The Second International desired and desires now, the overthrow of the Soviet Power. In this direction it has done everything possible. It has conducted this struggle side by side with capitalism under the mask of democracy fighting against dictatorship. The labour masses of Europe have driven it from this position and prevented an open struggle against the Soviet Republic. Now Social Democracy has renewed the struggles under the camouflage of defending Georgia.

The labouring masses of the whole world immediately showed a readiness to regard the Russian revolution as a whole, and in this their revolutionary instinct coincided not for the first time, with high theoretical sense, which teaches that a revolution, with its heroism and cruelty, the struggle for individuality and the suppression of individuality, can only be understood in the material logic of its internal relations, and not by any valuation of its individual phases or separate episodes according to the price list of Right, Ethics, and Aesthetics. The first great theoretical battle with Communism put up in defence of the revolutionary law of dictatorship and its methods, has brought its fruits. Social democracy finally parted company with the methods and even with the phraseology of Marxism. The German Independents, the Italian Socialists and others like them, under the pressure of their workers, "recognised" dictatorship, the more clearly to reveal their incapability to fight for it. The Communist Party grew up and became a force, but a great hitch occurred in the development of the proletarian revolution. Its ideas and significance were sufficiently clearly explained at the Third Congress of the Communist International. The crystallisation of revolutionary consciousness expressed in the growth of the Communist Party, was accompanied by the ebb of the revolutionary temper of the first post-war period. Bourgeois public opinion passed over to the offensive. Its chief task was to destroy or at least to break the spell of the revolution.

MRS. SNOWDEN'S ITCH

A great work was commenced in which the crude and clamorous lying brought the bourgeois much less advantage than the careful selection of scraps of truth. The bourgeoisie by means of its newspaper reconnoitring, approached the revolution by the back door. Do you know what a proletarian republic means? It means locomotives suffering from asthma, it means typhus-bearing lice, it means the daughter of a well-known respected lawyer living in an unheated flat, it means Mensheviks imprisoned, filthy lavatories; that is what the working class revolution means! The bourgeois journalists exhibited the Soviet louse under a microscope to the whole

world. The first thing that Mrs. Snowden found it necessary to do on returning from the Volga district to the Thames, was to scratch herself in public. This became almost a rite symbolising the advantage of civilisation over barbarity. However, this did not solve the question. The gentlemen who keep bourgeois public opinion informed, approached the revolution . . . by the back door and armed with a microscope. Some details they examined with considerable and even extraordinary care, but what they examined was not the proletarian revolution.

However, the mere transference of the question to the plane of our economic difficulties and defects in our social amenities, was an advance. From variously toned and not very clever talk about the advantages of the Constituent Assembly over the Soviet Power, bourgeois public opinion as it were, came to realise that we do exist, and that the Constituent Assembly does not exist and never will. The businesslike exposures of transport and other disorders were in their way equal to a *de facto* recognition of the Soviets. These exposures, however, coincide with our own fears and efforts in the same direction. Recognition in no case, however, meant reconciliation. It only meant that the futile attacks were substituted by a war of positions. We all remember, how, during the Great War, the fight on the Franco-German front was suddenly concentrated around some "woodman's hut." For several weeks this hut figured in the communiques. Really the fight for this hut signified either an attempt to break through the opposite front, or, at any rate, to do the greatest possible damage to the enemy.

In continuing this life and death struggle against us, bourgeois public opinion naturally seized upon Georgia as the woodman's hut in the present stage of the war of positions. Lord Northcliffe, Huysmans, Gustave Herve, the ruling Rumanian bandits, Martoff, the Royalist Leon Daudet, Mrs. Snowden, and her maiden aunt, Kautsky, and even Frau Lisa Kautsky (of the *Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung*), in a word, all the weapons in the armoury of bourgeois public opinion were brought into play in defence of democratic, loyal, and strictly neutral Georgia.

And thus we observe, what at first sight is inexplicable, a fresh outburst of frenzy: all the charges—political, juridical, moral, criminal—that were first directed against the Soviet system as a whole, are now mobilised against the Soviet authorities in Georgia. It appears that it is in Georgia that the Soviet fails to express the will of the people. But what about Great Russia? Have they really forgotten the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly with the aid of Lettish and Chinese regiments? Has it not been proved long ago that although not rooted anywhere, we, nevertheless, with the aid of armed forces from "outside" (!!!) scattered to the winds the most solid democratic governments, no matter how deep rooted they may be? Why, gentlemen, this is the very argument with which you started! It is precisely on this ground that you foretold the collapse of the Soviets within a few weeks! So Clemenceau prophesied at the beginning of the Versailles negotiations, and so did Kautsky at the beginning of the German revolution. Why then is all the talk confined to Georgia now? Is it because Jordania and Tseretelli are now emigres? Then what about the others? The Azerbadjan Musavatists, the Armenian Dashnaks, the Kuban Rada, the Don Area, the Ukrainian Petlurists, Martoff and Chernoff, Kerensky and Milukov? Why

is all this preference given to Georgian Mensheviks as against the Moscow Mensheviks? For the Georgian Mensheviks they demand the return of power, and for the Moscow Mensheviks they merely demand reforms in the methods of persecution. This is not very logical, but the political aim is too clear. Georgia provides a new pretext for the mobilisation of hate and hostility against us in this protracted war of positions. These are the laws of wars of "exhaustion." Our opponents are producing *in octavo*, the failure they committed *in folio*.

This in a large measure defines the contents and character of this work. We have once again to examine questions, the principles of which have already been laid down particularly in my "Terrorism and Communism."* In that book I attempted to be as concrete as possible. My task consisted in showing by concrete examples, the operation of the basic forces of our epoch. In the history of "democratic" Georgia, we attempt to trace the policy of the ruling social democratic parties which were compelled to pick their pact between imperialism and the proletarian revolution. We hope that just such a detailed and concrete exposition as this will bring the internal problems of the revolution, its requirements and difficulties, to the closer understanding of a reader who does not possess direct revolutionary experience, but who is interested in acquiring it.

* * *

We do not always in the text give the references for our quotations: this would be too wearisome for the reader, particularly to a foreign reader, as most of the sources are Russian publications. Those who wish to confirm our quotations and obtain more complete documentary evidence may refer to the following brochures: "Documents and material on the foreign policy of the Trans-Caucasia and Georgia," Tiflis, 1919; "The Russian Socialist Federated Republic and the Georgian Democratic Republic and their relations," Moscow, 1922; Makharadze, "The Dictatorship of the Menshevik Party in Georgia," Meschाराoff "In the Menshevik Paradise," Moscow, 1921; Shaffier, "Civil War in Russia and in Menshevik Georgia," Moscow, 1921.

By the same author, "Secrets of the reign of the Mensheviks," Tiflis, 1921. The last two brochures are based on part of the material discovered by the Commission of the Communist International in Georgia and the Crimea. Furthermore, we have made use of the archives of the Peoples' Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Peoples' Commissariat for War.

Our exposition and our sources of information cannot by any means pretend to be complete. The most valuable material is inaccessible to us. This material consists of the most compromising documents as well as the archives of the respective British and French institutions taken out by the late Menshevik government, since November, 1918.

If any one were conscientiously to collect all these documents and publish them, we should get a very instructive book for the guidance of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals. In spite of the financial embarrassment of the Soviet Republic, its government would undoubtedly undertake the cost of publishing such a book. It goes of course without saying that it would reciprocally hand over for such a publication all the documents referring to Georgia at present in the Soviet archives. We fear however that this proposal will not be accepted. Well, we shall have to wait until other methods are found for revealing these secrets. The day when this will be done is inevitable.

L. TROTSKY.

Moscow, 20th February, 1922.

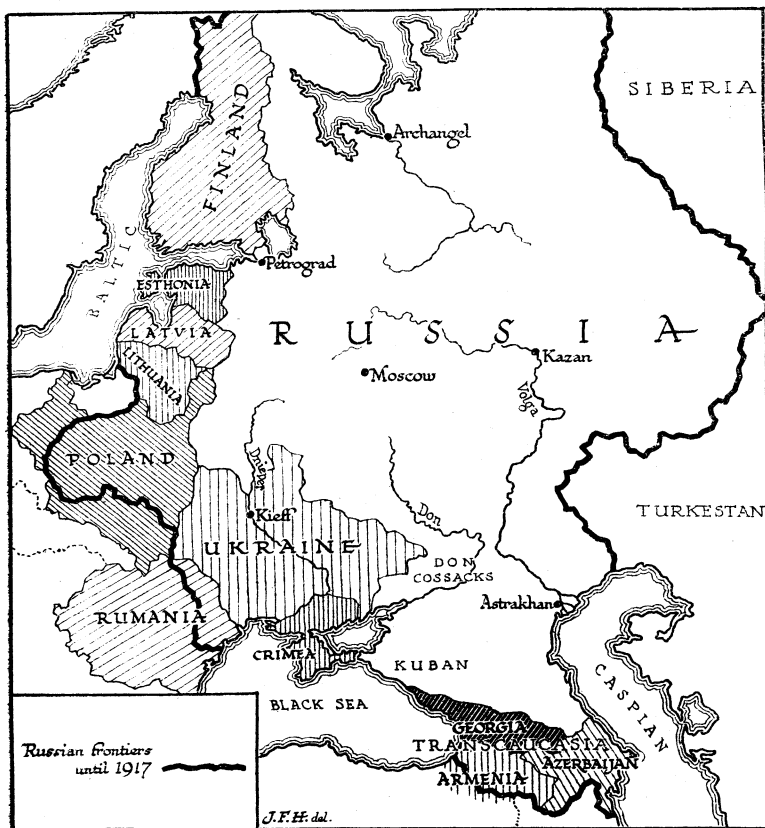
*Published in Great Britain under the misleading title of *The Defence of Terrorism*. Labour Publishing Coy. (3s. 6d.).

CHAPTER I. MYTH AND REALITY

How do the overthrown Mensheviks and their diverse patrons picture the fate of Georgia? In this connection quite a myth has been created, calculated to deceive simpletons, and simpletons exist in this world.

The Georgian people, by their own free will, so the myth commences, decided, in a peaceful and friendly manner, to separate from Russia. This decision the Georgian people expressed by a democratic vote. At the same time, it inscribed on its banner the programme of absolute neutrality in international relations. Neither in thought nor deed, did Georgia interfere in the Russian civil war. Neither the Central Empires nor the Entente could divert her from this path of neutrality. Her motto was "Live and let live"! Hearing of this righteous land, several pilgrims of the Second International, known for their piety—Vandervelde, Renaudel, and Mrs. Snowden—immediately booked a direct passage to it. Immediately after them followed Kautsky, bent with age and wisdom. All these, like the apostles of old, conversed in tongues they did not understand and saw visions which they afterwards described in articles and books, Kautsky on his return journey from Tiflis to Vienna unceasingly sang the psalm: "Lord, now lettest thou Thy servant depart in peace. . . for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation."

Hardly had these pilgrims managed to bring these good tidings to their flocks, however, than something terrible happened.



Specially drawn for the "Communist" by J.F.H.

MAP OF RUSSIA

Without any cause, Soviet Russia threw her army against peaceful neutral and democratic Georgia and ruthlessly suppressed this Social Democratic Republic, so whole-heartedly beloved by the masses of the people. The cause of this unexampled outrage is to be sought in the imperialism and Bonapartism of the Soviet Government, and particularly in its hatred towards the democratic successes of the Georgian Mensheviks. This is about all the myth contains, what follows further are apocalyptic prophesies of the inevitable fall of the Bolsheviks, and of how the Mensheviks will rise in glory.

Karl Kautsky has written a pious tract devoted to the establishment of this myth. (1) The resolution of the Second International on Georgia, the articles in *The Times*, the speeches of Vandervelde, the undoubted sympathies of the Belgian King, and the writings of Herve and Merrheim are all based on this myth. The only reason why a Papal Encyclical has not been published is the untimely death of Benedict XV. Let us hope that his successor will make good this omission.

(1) "Georgien, Eine sozial-demokratische Baurenrepublik" Vienna, 1921. "I did not see anything," says Kautsky, "except what could be seen from the window of the train or in Tiflis. To this I must add my lack of knowledge of the Georgian and Russian languages." Subsequently he relates "the Communists avoided me." He should have added further that the hospitable Mensheviks deceived their respected guest at every step, which he on his part willingly facilitated. The result of the combination of these fortunate circumstances was the appearance of this tract which represents a worthy theoretical climax to the international campaign against Soviet Russia.

We must declare, however, that while the myth about Georgia does not lack poetic dignity, nevertheless, like all myths, it is contrary to facts. To be precise, the Georgian myth is a lie, which must be attributed not to popular invention, but to the machine production of the capitalist press. Lies, and nothing but lies are at the basis of the frenzied anti-Soviet agitation in which the leaders of the Second International played the first fiddle. We will prove this point by point.

Mr. Henderson first heard of the existence of Georgia from Mrs. Snowden, and Mrs. Snowden became acquainted with the activities of Jordania and Tseretelli during her educational tour in Batoum and Tiflis.

As for ourselves, we knew the gentleman before, not as the lords of independent democratic Georgia, of which they never dreamed, but as Russian politicians in Petrograd and Moscow. Tchiedzé became the head of the Petrograd Soviet and subsequently of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, during the period of Kerensky when the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries dominated the Soviets. Tseretelli was a Minister in the Kerensky government and the inspirer of the policy of compromise. (1) Tchiedzé, Dan, and others served as intermediaries between the Menshevik Soviet and the Coalition Government. Gegechkori and Tchenkelli carried out responsible tasks for the Provisional Government. Tchenkelli was its plenipotentiary in the Trans-Caucasus. The position of the Mensheviks fundamentally was as follows: The revolution must preserve its bourgeois character; for that reason the bourgeoisie must remain at its head; the function of the Coalition between the Socialists and the bourgeoisie should be to accustom the masses of the people to the domination of the bourgeoisie; the striving to the capture of power by the proletariat is fatal to the revolution; ruthless war must be declared against the Bolsheviks, as the ideologists of the bourgeois republic. Tchiedzé and Tseretelli as well as all their friends, irreconcilably insisted on the unity and integrity of the Republic within the framework of the former Tsarist Empire. The claims of Finland for the widening of her autonomy and the attempts of the Ukrainian national democracy in the direction of independence met with the ruthless resistance of Tseretelli and Tchiedzé. Tchenkelli, at the Congress of Soviets, thundered against the separatist tendencies of some border countries, although at that time even Finland did not demand complete independence. For the suppression of these tendencies towards autonomy Tseretelli and Tchiedzé armed forces. They would have applied this force had history allowed them sufficient time for that purpose. Their main efforts, however, were directed towards fighting the Bolsheviks.

Although history knows of many campaigns of venom, hatred and persecution, it is hardly likely that anything similar to that which was conducted against us during the Kerensky period ever has occurred. The newspapers of all shades and tendencies, in all their articles and sections, in poetry and prose, in words and cartoons, upbraided, anathemised, and branded the Bolsheviks. There was not an outrage that they did not ascribe to us collectively and individually. When it seemed that the persecution had reached its highest point, some new episode, sometimes of most trifling character, would give it a new impetus. It would then rise to greater heights, intoxicated with the fumes of its own frenzy. The bourgeoisie sensed the danger of death. In their wild ravings was to be detected a note of fear.

The Mensheviks, as always, reflected the mood of the bourgeoisie. At the height of this campaign, Mr. Henderson visited the Provisional Government and came to the consoling conclusion that Sir George Buchanan, with sufficient dignity and success, represented the ideals of British democracy in the democracy of Kerensky and Tseretelli.

The Tsarist police and the Secret Service, temporarily remaining idle out of fear of over-reaching themselves, were bursting with eagerness to prove their loyalty to the new masters. All parties in educated society unanimously pointed out to them the object of their guardianship and care—the Bolsheviks. All the stupid inventions about our connection with the General Staff of the Hohenzollerns, which nobody except petty spies and Moscow merchants' wives really believed, were repeated, developed, exaggerated, and presented in lurid colours day after day and in all notes and keys. The leaders of the Mensheviks, better than anyone else, knew the real value of this accusation.

But Tseretelli and his fraternity considered it expedient to support it for political motives. The deep bass of Tseretelli set the tone which was taken up and repeated by the hoarse barks of the Black Hundred riff-raff. The result was that the Bolsheviks were formally accused of high treason, and of being in the service of German Militarism. Our printing press and stores were plundered by the bourgeoisie rabble, under the leadership of patriotic officers. Kerensky shut down our newspaper, and thousands and thousands of Communists were arrested in Petrograd and in all parts of the country.

(To be continued).

(1) Kautsky introduces confusion and garbles facts even where his lofty aim does not require it; thus he states that Tchiedzé and Tseretelli were at the head of the Petrograd Soviet in 1905. As a matter of fact nobody in Petrograd at that time had even heard of them.

MINERS, LOOK OUT!

By JOHN THOMAS

THE forthcoming Delegate Conference of the M.F.G.B., called for April 12th, promises to be very interesting to the whole Trade Union Movement. This Conference is the first Delegate Conference (after the Annual Conference that immediately followed the resumption of work) under the New Agreement that brought the last lock-out to a close. And the Llandudno Annual Conference was little more than a funeral ceremony.

It is a striking commentary on the acquiescent spirit of the miners that this forthcoming Conference is the first national Delegate Conference to be called during this most critical time of low wages, unemployment and slack times in the mining industry. Moreover, even this Conference is not one called to discuss the grave wage position in the coalfields, and the aggravating unemployment conditions in South Wales. A national conference is surely needed to discuss these problems, but presumably it is held that no attack can be made on the coal owners while this National Coalfield Agreement lasts. We wonder whether such an "Offensive" Conference will be called before September 30th, when the National Agreement naturally terminates.

The National Conference on April 12th will deal with "domestic" matters—the New Draft Rules of the M.F.G.B. submitted by the Executive, together with District Amendment thereto. There will be one other matter on the agenda, the question of the relationship of the miners' organisation to all other Trade Union organisations, as represented by the General Council.

The Proposed New Rules

There are altogether 20 rules originally drafted by the Executive, with 14 Standing Orders attached thereto. The majority of these rules are of a routine character, and therefore non-controversial. But Rules 7, 14, 17 and 19 are so vital and controversial in character, that we must single them out for explanation and comment.

Rule 7

This rule and its seven sub-sections govern the terms of appointment of the Secretary—now Mr. Frank Hodges.

Sub-section (a) reads:—

"That the Secretary be a full-time official and in the event of his becoming a Member of Parliament, or a paid official of the Government, he must relinquish his position as a permanent official of the Federation."

By this rule the miners secure that their Secretary devotes all his energies to his industrial tasks, instead of frittering away his time in the Lobbies of the House and treating the Secretariat of the M.F.G.B. as a mere stepping stone to a Minister's Portfolio in a Labour Government—or worse still in a Coalition Government, like Henderson or Brace!

The South Wales Executive has decided strongly in favour of 7 (a) as it stands. But it is to be feared that amendments will be forthcoming from other districts to enable the M.F.G.B. Secretary to enter Parliament and to retain his industrial post, a course favoured, we believe, by Mr. Hodges.

Sub-section (b) and (e) deal with the remuneration and perquisites of the Secretary.

Sub-section (b) states "that the sum of £75 per annum be allowed for house rent and that rates, lighting and fuel be allowed in addition," while sub-section (e) states "that the minimum salary of the Secretary be £600 per annum." As the above sub-section (e) stands, the Secretary's salary is to be a "minimum" of £600 (and to add the value of (b), without being too extravagant, would make a minimum of say, £750). As the clause now stands, as drafted by the E.C., which allows of other emoluments, from plural industrial positions now held by the present Secretary (e.g., Joint Secretary of the National Coal Board), his salary can range up to anything above £750.

The S.W.M.F. Executive have decided to suggest the deletion of the word "minimum" and leave it as plain £600, with the intention that the £600 plus perquisites should be a maximum. In view of the tremendous drop in the miners' wages generally throughout South Wales it is felt that to insert the word "minimum" in this sub-section (e) is an insult.

Rule 14 deals with the calling of Special Conferences by the Executive Committee. The S.W.M.F. Executive have tabled an amendment to enable Special Conferences to be called by Districts if one-third the membership of the M.F.G.B. desire it. This amendment secures greater control by the ultimate District rank and

file over Special Conferences that are so vital for the expression of rank and file opinion, as contrasted with the official Executive opinion.

Rule 17 deals with District Contributions to the coffers of the M.F.G.B. The Executive recommend that

"No district can be affiliated to the Federation unless the minimum weekly contribution of individual members of their district is 1s. per week." In view of the drastic drop in wages, the S.W.M.F. Executive have tabled an amendment of 6d. instead of the 1s.

Rule 19 covers the question of "National Action," with the "reactionary" two-thirds majority clause *re* strikes, which was used by the President in the recent lock-out. The Executive Draft Rule reads:

"That before a national strike is entered upon as a result of any finding of a Conference, a ballot vote of the members shall be taken and a strike shall not be declared unless two-thirds of those voting vote in favour of such a strike. If a ballot vote be taken during the time a strike is in progress, a vote of two-thirds of those taking part in the ballot shall be necessary to continue the strike."

The S.W.M.F. have tabled an amendment declaring that a bare majority be substituted for two-thirds. This is done with a view of increasing the mobility of national action when called for.

The M.F.G.B. and the General Council

Since Black Friday we are all sadly aware of the need for some machinery for co-ordinating industrial action. The General Council of the Trade Union Congress, with all its defects of structure and unwieldiness, is an effort in this direction, as the paragraph below explains (quoted from Clause XII. Standing Orders of T.U.C.).

"The General Council shall keep a watch on all industrial movements and shall, where possible, co-ordinate industrial action. It shall promote common action by the Trade Union movement on general questions, such as wages and hours of labour, and any matter of general concern that may arise between Trade Unions and Trade Unions, and employers and Trade Unions, or between the Trade Union movement and the Government, and shall have power to assist any Union which is attacked on any vital question of Trade Union principle."

The above Council is the only visible organisation which the British Trade Union Movement has, as against the Federation of British Industries. The Council has decided to circulate affiliated bodies on the arrangements that may be necessary if the General Council is to take action in particular disputes. The circular is now before the affiliated bodies for consideration of two definite points:

- (1) The machinery for transmitting information of disputes, and
- (2) The provision of money for a defence fund if the General Council decides to support an affiliated society in a struggle.

In its circular the General Council suggests "that the affiliated bodies shall notify the General Council of Disputes, etc." and "that the General Council shall impose a levy on the movement, etc."

Now the bigger members of the T.U.C., including the M.F.G.B. Executive have sent a circular commenting on the above and suggesting that instead of "shall," (meaning compulsory notification and a compulsory levy) the words, "may" be constituted, so as to make notification optional on the part of affiliated bodies, and to make the levies called by affiliated societies and not by the General Council.

In the circular from the M.F.G.B. Executive to the districts emphasis is laid on the desire to keep the autonomy of the organisation intact, as the M.F.G.B. does not brook outside interference, etc. All this is due to an over-exaggerated notion of the omnipotence of one isolated union. This independence and dignity of isolated big unions was tried and found wanting in the miners' lock-out. As miners, we must be prepared to sink our individuality as an organisation in making common cause with our fellow Trade Unionists in the Big Push that organised Capital has launched against us.

The miners had it in the neck over their wages in 1921; if we don't forestall the organised employers by a super-organisation, such as the General Council can be made into, we shall be in the cart in 1922, with our seven-hour privilege filched and eight or perhaps nine hours substituted.

We are glad to note that the S.W.M.F. Executive, after a very keen debate on the above General

Council circular, decided to stick to *shall* and not the optional *may* suggested in the M.F.G.B. circular.

It is to be hoped that other miners' District Executive will follow the lead given to the South Wales Executive, who still have some fight left, despite the demoralisation that has swept over the district since the resumption of work after the lock-out.

RUSSIAN FAMINE FUND

Acknowledgments

Badges—Leyton C.P., £1 5s.; Porth C.P., 4s.; Kentish Town Relief Committee, £2 2s. 3d.; Bolton C.P., 3s. 3d.; Openshaw C.P., £1 3s.; South Manchester C.P., 7s.; Crayford C.P., 2s.; C. A. Jones, Gilfach, 3s. 6d.; Aberdeen C.P., 1s. 6d.; Rutherglen C.P., 2s.; R. Wykes, 10s.

T. Harmer, 1s. 9d.; A. E. Boyce, £5; Am. Society of Dyers, Acton Branch, 8s.; Am. Society of Dyers, Acton Branch, 5s. 6d.; King Street Collecting Box, £1 4s. 3d.; London Electric Railwaymen, £8; Portsmouth Com. Group, per Mills Arcade, 7s. 8½d.; Portsmouth Com. Group, Trades Hall, 1s. 3½d.; Portsmouth Com. Group, A Friend, 2s.; T. Whitehouse, Barry, 2s. 2d.

Two Croydon Engineers, S.H.H. and J.B., 5s.; Southend-on-Sea Labour Party Bazaar, £38; N. Waugh, Gateshead, 10s.; M. Cohen, 7s. 6d.; A.H.K. and Friends, Brixton, 8s.; Bromley Br. P.O.E.U., per A.S., £1 1s.; A Few Guildsmen, Walthamstow, per P.W.R., 15s.; Peckham C.P.G.B., 8s.; "The Rothwells," East Boldre, 5s.; Miss J. M. McKenzie, 10s.; J. Black, per Tranent C.P., 5s.; Cyrus, 5s.; S. Bielyph, 9s.; Llwynypia Coal Lodge No. 25, 14s.; Greenfield's, Ltd., £1; Bury Clarion C.C., 9s.; G. H. Edwards, 2s. 6d.; Shop Fitters, S.S. Council, per T.J.D., 4s. 4d.; A Poor Socialist, 3s.; Greenock C.P.G.B., £5; Crayford A.E.U. No. 6 Branch, £1 5s.; N.U.G.W., Edmonton Branch, £7 10s.; S.S. Ibis, 6s.; Goffin and Friends, of Highgate, 12s.; Porth "Empire" Collection, per Porth C.P., 16s. 7d.; Jack, £2; Manchester C.P., per Comrade Barnofsky, 16s. 6d.; Building Guild Job, Ponders End, 2nd Sheet, 4s. 4d.

Manchester C.P., £1 3s. 6d.; Edmonton C.P., 9s.; East London United N.A.F.T.A. Br. 15, £7 6s.; Harlesden C.P., 11s.; Brighton Socialist Centre, £1 6s.; J. Molland, 4s.; G. Glass, £1; J. Clifford and Friends, 11s.; "Lostock Hall Rebel," 5s.; J. Reynolds, 4s. 7d.; Gorbals Branch, Y.C.L., 7th Con., 9s. 3d.; A.S.L.E.F., Nine Elms Branch, £3 12s. 9½d.; Nottingham C.P.G.B., £2; J. Farrell, 10s.; Four Women Workers, 14s.; Openshaw Branch C.P.G.B., £2 8s.; Sheet 1560, per Samuel Farrant, £3 5s.; Sheet 2526, 11s.; Stella Browne, 1s. 6d.; Tom Edwards and Friends, G.C.G., 10s.; W. Davies, G.C.G., 3s.; Kircaldy C.P., Recital Collection, £1 4s.; G.W., Frome, £1; Rochdale C.P., Sheet 2550, 10s.; Rochdale C.P., Sheet 2548, 12s. 6d.; Rochdale C.P., Sheet 573, £1; Rochdale C.P., Collection S.S.S. Anniversary, £1 9s. 7d.

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Miss J. Mayall, 10s.; G. L. Jones, 2s. 6d.; Farsley C.P., £3 3s. 6d.; A Few Walthamstow Guildsmen, per P.W.B., 17s. 6d.; S. Stephens, 5s.; Mrs. W. Pengelly, 2s. 6d.; Five Red Sailors, £1 5s.; R. McA., £1; Twickenham C.P., No Smokers' Donation, 12s. 6d.; A.B.C., Chesterfield, 13s.; Officers and Crew, S.S. Cormount, £2 15s.; Greenock C.P., Prize Draw, 10s.; Com. Gillis, S.W. Ham, 5s.; Per Annie Chappell, Cardiff, Collected at Stall, £1 11s. 6d.; Per Annie Chappell, Cardiff, Draw for Book, 12s.; More Conscience Money, R.G., Plumstead, 5s.; Lithuanian Com. Fed., 21st London Br., £1 2s.; East London United N.A.F.T.A., Br. 15, £6 18s.; Ealing C.P., £1; Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Muirhead, per Ealing C.P., 5s.; Goffin and Friends, of Highgate, 10s.; Derby Sympathiser, 10s.; A Working Miner, J.D., 10s.; Miss A. Thorpe, 2s. 6d.; Consett I.L.P., £1 10s.

There's a Good Time Coming, Boys

Is Trade Unionism Sound? By J. H. Bunting. Benn Brothers. 2/6.

IF ever you, dear reader, pick up a book with a title like the above, you may be pretty certain that the answer to the question will be No! Especially if, as in the present case, there is a Foreword by the Right Honourable John Robert Clynes explaining that "moral considerations cannot be separated from what is mutual industrial interest," and another by Sir Peter Rylands, Past President of the Federation of British Industries. What Sir Peter doesn't know about the unsoundness of Trade Unionism isn't worth knowing.

Yes; you are quite right. Trade Unionism is unsound. Now let us see why, and what Mr. J. H. Bunting, who is nothing if not constructive, considers a sound alternative.

Mr. Bunting means very well. He has observed that a very large proportion of the national income, compared with what goes to the remuneration of Labour, goes to the remuneration of capital, in spite of the fact, which he duly remarks, that capital is nothing but conserved labour. A redistribution must then be effected. Capital must get less and labour more, and this can only be managed when the causes of the present state of things are understood.

This is not so difficult as one might imagine. Wages are low because labourers are competing for jobs; interest on capital is high because investments are competing for capitalists. Therefore the simple remedy is: Multiply jobs so that there are more jobs than labourers; then every labourer will be able to get a high wage.

Increase "safe" investments without fear of strikes in the home market, and multitudes of fresh investors will appear; the rate of interest will drop to 2 per cent or less, and ultimately almost to zero. And this is all to be done—how? By Trade Unions and Trade Unionists adopting an entirely new policy, that of *accepting willingly the highest wage they can secure without striking*.

You see the process, do you not? All workers announce that they will accept work at the highest wages employers will offer them—shall we say, 10s. per week? This means that each worker has 10s. available for the purchase of commodities, whereas if he went on strike he would have nothing available (strike pay being for the moment ignored). Thus he transfers his 10s. worth of demands to other industries, which immediately get busy producing. They boom to such an extent that their supply of workers gives out; wages have to be raised to attract new workers; these can only come from other industries which in turn have to raise their own wages; up goes the purchasing power and the effective demand of the workers in those industries; and so we go round the virtuous circle. Meanwhile trade booms; money is cheap, as always in a trade boom; there are no strikes, and investors return to the home markets which labour disputed had previously rendered unsafe; every investor rushes to invest, and capital is as cheap as water off a goose's back. (I should have added that once the workers have shown themselves "willing sellers" of their labour, it immediately becomes possible to sell British goods in every corner of the universe, and foreign products flow back in a beneficent stream, to be purchased by the immensely increased purchasing power of labour).

It is certainly a fine scheme. The only drawback is that it has already been tried. Undoubtedly some Trade Unions during the past year have endeavoured to withdraw their labour in order to get a better price for it. But undoubtedly most have not. The *Labour Gazette* records in 1921 six million pounds a week lost in wages, and only forty odd strikes in resistance to them. I think Mr. Bunting ought in honesty to admit that the Trade Unions, even if they did not read his book, have done their best to follow his advice. But where is the boom in trade? Where is the startling demand for British goods on the Continent? Where is the greatly increased purchasing power and the competition among employers to secure workers at any price? Coming, coming, coming. . . .

I have not space to deal with most of Mr. Bunting's remarks by the way, such as his reflection that competition between employers drives the unbusinesslike employer out of the market, his entreaty to employers generally to be altruistic and to introduce profit-sharing, and his attractive suggestion that Labour Exchanges should "remove" workers from firms whose conditions are unfair. I have concentrated upon explaining the core and essence of his suggestions, and can only echo Mr. Ayres that "there is so much agreement upon the necessity for a different treatment of industrial problems that means should be discovered for applying new methods to meet necessities which new industrial conditions have revealed." Ear. Ear.

H.O.N.K.

Booze and Bolshies

Labour and the Liquor Traffic. By Vero W. Garratt. Foreword by Philip Snowden. International Bookshops, Ltd. 20 pp. 2d.

"Drink is a dope, a subtle anesthetic that fosters ignorance and denies the intellectual and moral development of the individual."

"The Drink Traffic is a tremendous asset of the capitalist system, for its chief supporters are the very people whom it most injures."

THE above are key notes of this very readable and earnestly written 20 page pamphlet. The writer claims to "discuss the question purely as it relates to the aspirations and ideals of the Labour Party," but his discussion is just as apposite to the practical organisation of a revolutionary Communist Party.

It is quite time Communists brought themselves to face this matter squarely. In order to lay the foundations of a successful revolution, it is necessary to have a band of determined, clear-thinking fighters, whose vitality has not been lowered or intellect sapped to any greater degree than is unavoidable under Capitalist conditions.

A man who is in the habit of firing himself with drink in order to face a situation, will probably fail at the time of trial when swift decisions and prolonged endurance are required.

The writer brings ample evidence to bear on the harmful physical effects of drinking; and statistics revealing the millions of pounds handed over by the working man to the brewer, who is incidentally one of the most powerful of capitalists, and eminent member of that dope ring of Drink, Press and Cinema.

He reviews the various movements towards Prohibition and makes various practical suggestions for breaking the coils of that spider, the Drink concocting fraternity. Incidentally he exposes in a delightful manner the sly character of the "high-souled" "Fellowship of Freedom and Reform." The whole of his argument is summarised at the end of the pamphlet in a series of pithy "Conclusions."

I must, however, quarrel with his statement on p. 13 that "whenever the State finds that the conduct of an individual or a group of individuals prejudicially affects the interests of other members of society, the State claims jurisdiction over it. Without this there could have been no improved sanitation, abolition of slavery, and child labour; no Factory Acts or better education. . . ."

Students of the Materialist Conception of History need hardly be told that a Ruling Class never gives way to public agitation for any reform until the abuse has become either an economic hindrance or a danger to themselves, though the issue may be obscured by the protests and opposition of the less far-sighted, because immediately interested, members of that class.

Apart from this slip, and in spite of P. Snowden's blessing on the pamphlet, the writer's attitude is one with which no Marxist need quarrel.

I am not here concerned in commenting on the question of Prohibition in general, but I am anxious to see the highest degree of efficiency secured in the Party, and the writer's suggested Labour Social Clubs, run without beer, has a direct bearing on the subject.

Hitherto, I am afraid, it must be admitted that few and far between have been the cases where a successful social club and a disciplined and active Party branch have co-existed side by side. It has always been regarded as axiomatic that for a Club to be successful it must run on dancing, card playing, billiards and beer—especially beer. Admitted there are certain advantages to be obtained from this purely social side, but up till now such advantages have been almost entirely counteracted by the loss to the Party of serious, disciplined, educated members.

But that such clubs can be run and be centres of discipline and Party expansion is evidenced by the success of similar clubs in Ireland, a country in which the consumption and ill effects of liquor were much more widespread than here.

In the meantime, I recommend all comrades who are not afraid of plain speaking and logical argument to invest in and read this 2d. pamphlet. It has a place in Socialist literature and should open up the discussion of a very serious matter.

L. MADELEINE WERTHEIM.

Denikin

In Denikin's Russia. - By C. E. Bechhofer. B. Collins, Sons and Co., 48, Pall Mall. Price 10s. 6d.

WE don't know . . . Who knows? . . . God knows. This reply given, according to the author, by one of Denikin's army to an enquiry concerning the whereabouts of a White official at Novorossisk is the fit and proper reply also, we imagine, to any query as to

why anybody should deem it worth while to write a book about that unmitigated blackguard General Denikin, K.C.B.

However, this book is brightly written, and that is some justification anyhow. Here and there some interesting sidelights are thrown. We are told, for instance, that in the very first week the British troops occupied Batum a Russian White General was shot dead in the street by a drunken Scotchman. Drunk or sober that Scotchman deserves well of his country.

And this will interest Ramsay Macdonald.

"The free and independent social democratic state of Georgia will always remain in my memory as a classic example of an imperialist 'small nation.' Both in territory snatching outside and bureaucratic tyranny inside, its chauvinism was beyond all bounds."

General Holman, head of the British Mission, is described by the author as being as rabidly anti-Bolshevik as Denikin himself. He had been, no doubt, specially selected as a fitting instrument of the Churchillian policy.

Two good maps illustrate the book. The historian who writes the history of the Russian counter-revolution should be able to select from its pages quite a number of facts which will be interesting and useful.

FRED WILLIS.

All Power

ALL POWER, the organ of the Red International, brought out a special number for the lock-out, with an excellent cartoon upon the front, and stirring appeals to the workers inside. Since then the regular April number has appeared: a real fighting number in defence of the engineers.

R.W.P.

The April Communist Review is Now Ready

IT IS A POWERFUL NUMBER

The New Issue of the COMMUNIST REVIEW

contains the complete Famine Report of the American Mission to the Far-East.

This official statement, by a non-Labour Committee, has been ignored by the press because it supplies damning evidence regarding the destructive work of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, etc., in the famine regions. This is just the sort of thing for members of the Labour movement to use against the reactionaries who say that the Soviet Government is responsible for the famine.

Other Important Articles are—

German Trade Unionism Since the War

By J. WALCHER

This is the first history of the struggle between the Communists and the Moderates inside the industrial organisations of Germany that has been published in this country.

The Engineering Crisis and the United Front

By J. T. MURPHY

What must we do during the present crisis? Murphy points the way.

The Struggle in the Scottish Coalfields

By A. RITCHIE

An interesting survey of the tremendous difficulties confronting those who are trying to reorganise the broken power of the miners.

Special Report of the Moscow Conference on the United Labour Front

Giving an outline of the great debates and the ideas of the leaders of international Communism on this great tactic.

Theory as a Guide to Action

By R. M. FOX

Many other valuable articles and all the well known features which make the *Communist Review* indispensable to every active worker in the Labour movement.

Price 6d.

TOO CLEVER BY HALF

By R. W. POSTGATE

HAS anybody ever seen a dead donkey? I know one man who thinks he has and that is J. F. Horrabin. Some weeks ago he told me "The W. Hee-Haw is dead," for that is his improper method of referring to the Workers' Educational Association, or W.E.A. But the old saw that donkeys do not die is still true, for although this Hee-Haw is extremely weak in the knees, it is not yet dead, but hiding, in the approved fashion, under a lion's skin.

The lion's skin is labelled "Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee," and underneath it is the old W.E.A., and, as ever, when it tries to roar, it brays.

§ Suffered Under Pontius Pilate

For some time past the W.E.A. has been feeling off colour. In the old days, when the working class were mostly fools, it was doing very well. Its object was to hand out to the enquiring worker the educational dope that the employing class wished him to have. Much money was forthcoming from capitalist circles for this end. Sir Ernest Cassel, the late King Teddy's friend, gave some thousands of pounds—I cannot remember the exact figure. Some of the money came from circles now very closely connected with Lloyd George. A. L. Smith, the able and reactionary Master of Balliol, is and was closely connected with it.

Money for jam? Not likely. That money was paid because the W.E.A. gave a certain type of education that the employer wished. "But we are impartial," the defender of the W.E.A. always claims. "If a class wants a lecturer on Marx, it can have it, if it insists and takes the proper constitutional means to that end." And very nice too. But just think how it works out in actual practice. A class which is sufficiently independent, not merely to insist on being taught the essence of Marxism, but also to insist that the lecturer be a genuine teacher and not one of the usual W.E.A. duds who will tell the class that "Marx was such a dear old man, but quite superseded now, of course," such a class will get its lecturer. Very true—and thank you for nothing. Such a class is hopeless already from the employers' point of view. What *did* happen, of course, was that all over the country, half-awakened workers, anxious to comprehend the capitalist system and to provide themselves with the weapon of knowledge of the class war, applied innocently to the W.E.A. for instruction in "economics" or history. Then they received automatically a University gentleman, who handed them out the mind-murdering dope of official economics. And that was the end of many a good potential rebel.

The function of the W.E.A. and its successor, the W.E.T.U.C., can be seen by turning up a chapter of forgotten history of the English working class—from about 1845 onwards. On the shelves of Mr. G. D. H. Cole (and I beg him to look them up), are numbers of books of this date and later, bearing such titles as "The Advantages of Machinery explained to working men"; "Thoughts on Supply and Demand"; "Trades Clubs and the Industrious Producer"; by Charles Knight and others. These publications, financed often by the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, were distributed through Mechanics' Institutes and Working Men's Clubs, and were successfully pressed upon the attention of the serious-minded workers.

The result was that the mind of the working class froze hard. The revolutionary sentiments of the Chartist and Owenite periods were killed, and in the ensuing thirty years the workers were completely under the domination of capitalist economics. Most of us with any experience in the Trade Union movement, can recall for ourselves examples of the products of those years—honest old men who were more fanatically afraid of Socialist or semi-Socialist proposals than the rankest Tory employer, and who fought against strikes and for friendly benefits as savagely as though their lives were at stake. We all recognised when we met them that there was no cure for them but churchyard mould.

The W.E.A., in effect, if not intention, has been attempting to repeat in this generation

that victory of the employers. Of recent years, however, it has met with a check.

§ The Third Day it rose again

Ever since the revolt at Ruskin College against the pro-capitalist bosh served out in that establishment, there has been a steady and firmly-rooted movement for independent working class education. This movement, whose propagandists have been united since 1908, in the Plebs League, aims at the formation of Labour Colleges and educational classes up and down the country for the teaching of the true and actual facts about the class struggle, the realities of economics and history, as opposed to the irrelevances of boss-class propaganda, served out by two-thirds of the W.E.A. tutors.

Fourteen years the struggle has gone on. And it has ended in victory. We may as well note it down—it is rare enough we can—here is one case in which truth and self-sacrifice alone have defeated Money. The W.E.A., in the thirteenth round, showed such obvious signs of distress and was so short of wind and spirit, that its seconds threw in the towels.

Not, indeed, that the Plebs alone can claim credit for the victory. One contributory cause was the reluctance of the governing class to continue subsidising an institution of doubtful utility, especially since the policy of talk of co-operation, a new world, Whitley Councils and all has given way to the policy of open violence against the workers. When they have chosen to use force why should they spend money on fooling?

So the W.E.A., down and out, tried a last resort. It tried to pretend to be the Plebs League. This isn't an inferior jest, but a statement of fact—Prominent members of the W.E.A. got hold of members of that most advanced and enlightened body, the E.C. of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, and began negotiations, as a result of which the best and liveliest part of the activities of the W.E.A. were to be taken over by a body called the W.E.T.U.C. This body (same old gang), was to be "under Trade Union control" and "practice independence as understood by the Labour College"—in short, to look as like the Plebs movement as humanly possible.

That is the fair face of the scheme. But the back side of it is the old W.E.A. "The practice is for a member of the confederation to be appointed as chairman and for the W.E.A. district secretary to be appointed as organising secretary," for each district.

Just so. Add to that that the personnel was taken over from the W.E.A., that the organisation done under the auspices of Mactavish, the W.E.A. secretary, and that the education was the same, and there you have them.

§ And sitteth at the Right hand of John Hodge

But the camouflage was inadequate. So last year the Plebs League was astonished to receive a letter from the same people announcing that they had constituted themselves a Commission of Enquiry into Trade Union Education, and desired to cross-examine the Plebs E.C. (Just as Jackson and I might constitute ourselves a Commission of Enquiry into the Personal Morals of Trade Union Leaders and demand to cross-examine—never mind who). The answer from the Plebs League and the Labour College was Buzz Off, Napoo, or some other form of words indicating displeasure or refusal.

However, that did not stop the "Wets," if I may so call them. They were in deep water and were after safety. They could no longer control a golden stream from the possessing classes: they might get hold of Trade Union funds. The long and the short of it is that the General Council is now proposing to take over all working class educational organisations, Plebs League the Labour Colleges and all, and run them. And in the selection of the Committee to deal with this the "Wets" have been too clever, much too clever. The list reads:—A. Pugh (wet), J. W. Bowen (wet), A. H. Findlay (probably a wet—he addressed the N.L.L.C. deputation with tears in his voice),

C. W. Bowerman (Ruskin College), George Hicks, G. D. H. Cole (wet), J. Mactavish (wet), T. W. Burden (wet), A. Creech-Jones (wet), Mrs. Calthrop (wet).

Now, George Hicks is a believer in independent working class education. He is the only one, for Findlay and Bowerman are sure votes for the wets. So the wets have provided themselves with a trifling majority of nine to one. Too much of a good thing. They could safely have left another seat to a genuine educationalist and it would have looked better.

Besides, there is this serious question: How on earth can the W.E.T.U.C. make up a deputation to be "received" and "examined" by this committee? All the likely members of the deputation have already been put on the Committee.

In another way also they over-reached themselves. They attempted to divide the Labour College off from the National Council of Labour Colleges. They asked for a deputation from the first, and from the second a written statement. They reckoned that if they could get the Labour College Governors, sleepy Trade Unionists, by themselves without the militants, they could diddle them into a sleepy acceptance of all their proposals. But the N.C.L.C. got wind of this, and when the Labour College Governors arrived, there came with them, to the visible chagrin of some members of the Wet Committee, a representative of the N.C.L.C. and one of the Scottish Labour College. The delegations presented a united front, and to the question "Will you consent to be taken over by the General Council?" replied "Willingly, if our personnel and the character of our teaching is untouched and our liberty to continue hammering the life out of the W.E.A. and W.E.T.U.C. is left to us." Which was by no means that the Committee wanted.

§ Amen

This is a queer story of intrigue, and the moral of it is that the revolutionary movement in education is, like the revolutionary movement elsewhere, up against some people who may not be knaves but are certainly not fools. They hoped to nobble the London Labour College for the Ruskin College type of education. They thought that if they could do so the Plebs movement will collapse. And, apropos of that, though it may be giving a card to the enemy, I cannot refrain from telling them to look again.

AN OLD WOMAN

By N. VANE

SHE was a little elderly person, just a fragile bit of street dust blown into my ken by the blustering winds of early Spring. So frail did she look that one instinctively took care not to push her roughly in those crushes on the Labour Exchange stairs. Younger women would stand aside for her to pass. Commiserating glances followed her sometimes.

While standing in the queues we talked, she and I, and soon she had told me bits about herself, how she lived alone in a single room in some overcrowded tenement, how she had been employed as a packer in Messrs. So-and-So's factory until trade depression had lost her that job. The twelve shillings dole seemed to be her sole income; yet the brave little spirit of her made her add always that she was sure times would improve and she would get her job back again. One fine morning not very long ago she came as usual to receive the dole. But... there was to be no twelve shillings for my little old friend this time. Thus fell the thunderbolt. "You cannot get any more money here," said the autocrat behind the desk. "You are considered not able and fit for work. I'm sorry, but—Next, please!" And so the queue moved on and passed her by, and no one paid any sort of heed to the meek little soul who stood there, stammering her surprise.

She went away after a minute. She bumped stupidly into a large policeman and disappeared in the crowd, meek and submissive to the last, while I remained to meditate on the advantages of the Workhouse.

* * *

But I was wrong there.

A few days later a local newspaper announced that the body of an elderly and apparently respectable woman had been found in the river.

That was the manner in which she had solved the problem of superfluity.

THE ECONOMIC RETREAT

By N. LENIN

[We give below the substance of a speech delivered recently by Lenin. Portions of this speech appear in the current number of the "Russian Information and Review," and we accordingly omit those portions. Special importance attaches to his reiterated affirmation that no further economic retreat is contemplated—or will be tolerated.]

This speech should be read in connection with the various pronouncements to which we are being treated—from those who realise Europe's need for Russia's resources, and hope to gain advantage from the resumption of trade, and from those who are conscious of Russia's need for Europe, and who therefore look for gain in plundered lands and concessions.

The Genoa Conference is of even greater historic importance than the meeting of the Peace Plenipotentiaries at Versailles. How far Genoa will undo the evil that Versailles has done remains to be seen.]

At a meeting of the fraction of the All-Russian Conference of Metal Workers held on the 6th of March, Comrade Lenin reported upon the internal and international position of the Soviet Republic. He was greeted with a storm of applause.

COMRADES, allow me to interfere somewhat with the ordinary order and touch upon other themes than those on the agenda of your conference, in order to share with you my deductions and opinions upon the question of the most important problem of politics. We address ourselves, as is our ingrained habit, to you who, although not the official representatives of the different government institutions, yet in fact bear a large part of the work of the state. You all know that the real work in the majority of our government institutions is being carried out by the representatives of the working class, among which the metal workers stand in the front rank.

This is the reason why I think, that in the present case, it will not seem out of place if I speak not so much of trade union and party questions, as concerning our internal and international position. For there is something in our home affairs, which looks like a change in policy, and which requires special attention on the part of every class-conscious worker, in order that this change in our policy should be entirely understood, and properly assimilated with the Soviet, party, trade union and other work.

Of course, you all know full well, comrades, that at the head of the international problem stands—Genoa.

With regard to Genoa one must be able rigidly to distinguish the important points from those newspaper fables which are being printed by the bourgeoisie. To the latter these fables seem infernal machines, but they do not scare us, for we have come across many of them before, and they are not even worth while wasting a faint smile over them. All attempts to impose conditions upon us as vanquished enemies are empty words, and it is not worth while paying any attention to these either.

As merchants, we have started negotiations with foreign firms, and know exactly what is owing us, as well as what we ourselves owe. We also know very well what their lawful profits may amount to, and what figures their extremely high profits may reach. We note the increasing number of propositions; the number of agreements is growing and will still grow, quite independently of whatever frame the figure of the three and four so-called "victorious powers" may shape itself into. They will be the losers from this postponement, for by this procrastination they will only prove to their own people that they do not know themselves what they want, and are suffering from a disease of the will. This disease consists of their utter impossibility to understand economics and politics, which we have been able to estimate more correctly and deeply than they have done. It will soon be ten years since we made this estimate while the ensuing destruction and devastation do not seem at all clear to the bourgeois governments.

We have already clearly defined our own situation, and only say with firmness that the retreat that we have started, can be stopped and will be stopped. Enough. We clearly see and do not hide the fact the new economic policy is a retreat. We went farther than we could control—but such is the logic of fighting tactics.

We carried on war amidst most difficult conditions, against an enemy exceeding 100 times our own forces; and naturally it was necessary to go very far in the application of strong measures, further probably than necessary, but we were forced by circumstances to have recourse to these, for our enemies thought that they would make an end of us. They were certain of being able to force us to submit to them. They announced that they would accept no compromises. We answered them: "If you think that we shall not have recourse to extreme Communist measures, then you are mistaken." We had decided upon extreme measures, and we succeeded. Now, we say that we cannot hold certain positions and we retreat, for we have conquered enough in order to secure the necessary positions. All the White Guard elements, with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries at the head, triumph and exclaim: "Oh! you are retreating."

Our answer to them is: "It is to our advantage when our enemy employs his time in self-consolation instead of hard work. Triumph! For you put us in a more advantageous position, by amusing yourselves with illusions. We have conquered difficult and important positions, and if 1917 up to 1920 we had not conquered these positions, we should now be left without space upon which to retreat—geographically, economically and politically. That is no mere boasting. It is merely stating facts—simply a reminder. If the capitalists had agreed to our conditions in 1917, they would now have five times more than they actually possess. You fought for three years. What did you get? Do you want to continue the fight? We know well, that not all among you are burning with the desire to fight. On the other hand, we also know, that in conditions of desperate hunger, with the present desperate state of industry all positions acquired since 1917 cannot be retained. We have given up quite a number of them. But now we can safely say, that retreats as far as the rights granted the capitalists are concerned, are at an end."

We have made a series of scouting movements in the way of signing agreements with Russian and foreign capitalists and now say, and I hope and am convinced that the Party Congress will state that fact officially on behalf of the governing party in Russia: "We can now stop our economic retreat. We shall go no further back. In the future we shall busy ourselves with the correct division and grouping of our forces."

When I say that we are stopping our economic retreat, it does not mean that I am forgetting those diabolic difficulties in which we are placed, and that I wished to comfort you upon the point. The question of the limits of the retreat, and whether we are ceasing our retreat or not, is not the same question as that of the difficulties before us.

We know perfectly well all the difficulties that lie before us. We know what famine means in such a peasant country as Russia. We know the meaning of a financial crisis in a country which is forced to trade, and in which the surplus of paper money has reached an extent which has never been seen by the world before. We are aware of all difficulties and know them to be tremendous. I am not afraid to say that they are infinite.

This fact does not scare us. On the contrary, we draw our force from the fact that we tell the workers and peasants openly: "Here are the difficulties which lie before us, here is the danger that menaces us from the Western States. Let us unite and work together and look at our problems in the face."

If we stop our retreat, it does not mean that we do not know of these dangers. We look at them in the face. We say: "Here is the main danger: the misfortunes caused by the war must be healed. We have not as yet got over our financial crisis. Therefore, the suspension of our retreat must in no way be understood to mean that we think that our foundation (the new economic policy) is firmly established, and that we may be calm upon that score. Nothing of the sort, the foundation has yet to be built. We are not panic-stricken at our economic situation."

If the capitalists think that we can be drawn further they must be told: Enough, for to-morrow you will not get anything at all. If the history of the Soviet authority has taught them nothing, then leave them to their own fate. The retreat is at an end, and with it we shall change the nature of our work.

There is much that cannot be taken away from this revolution which has finally conquered, and which the whole world recognises, but we should in no way be bashful and nervous.

I will sum up. The game at Genoa, the game of leap-frog which is taking place around it, does not make us waver. We shall not be deceived any more. We shall turn to the business man, making bargains, continuing our policy of compromises, but the limits are already set. What concessions have already been made to the merchants in our agreements are, so to say, a step backward in our legislation, and we shall not budge an inch more.

A LETTER ON WOMEN

DEAR COMRADE,—I am very much afraid that our Comrade Serner has entirely misunderstood the function of the Women's Department. At any rate, either consciously or unconsciously, she is spreading a false impression. There is no intention to create a separate women's organisation. As was very well explained by our Comrade Crawford at a London meeting on Friday before last, the intention is to develop the practical side of our work, to make ourselves efficient, to meet together and discuss how we are going to reach the masses of women outside our movement. We have a message for them; we have a message for the woman in industry; we have a message for the woman in the field; we have a message for the woman in the home. But the message we have for the woman in the home is not the message we have for the man at his work. In addition there are those questions which particularly affect women, such as the deplorable evil of prostitution. I wish Comrade Serner had been present on Friday to hear these things!

Our Comrade is very perturbed about the suggestion that the women run Speakers' Classes, Sewing Classes, Music Classes, etc.

With regard to Sewing Classes, all I need to say is that if you can get the men to join in so much the better; we in Hammersmith succeeded with two of our young comrades! But should the women refrain from sewing classes simply because the men do not sew? As a matter of fact, there is to be no attempt to exclude the men from taking part in any of our activities, but we stress the need for work among women.

With regard to Speakers' Classes, there is a special need for women speakers. The small proportion of women speakers in the movement make it necessary to concentrate on the training of women propagandists.

I must deny any danger of splitting the Party into two separate movements divided by sex. The Women's Department is a group within the Party under the jurisdiction of the Party. And it will function as will any other of our groups, Industrial, Co-operative, Unemployed, etc. And when our Comrade says that the women will have no time left over for "general branch work" (whatever she means by that) the same might be said of any other group in the Party.

Although every circular sent out to branches in London has contained an appeal for suggestions, we have received none from our critic. The movement of the past has failed to attract proletarian women. Has our Comrade Serner any alternative suggestion?

Yours fraternally,

MINNIE BIRCH.

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