

THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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

No. 91

SATURDAY, APRIL 29th, 1922.

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

TWOPENCE

THE ENEMY TALKS

SOME months ago, the employers in the heavy industries, having "cut" their selling prices of coal, iron, steel, and other materials to something approaching the market levels established by their French, German, and Belgian competitors, having sacrificed the greater part of their profit balance for the time being or brought it down within limits that will not permit the payment of normal, let alone abnormal, dividends on inflated capital, and having concluded agreements with the unions, either by patient negotiations or the stern arbitrament of the "lock-out," sought how they might still further reduce their costs of production and of marketing. They turned to the railway companies and requested them to help matters by cutting railway rates.

In the end, the railway companies appointed a sub-committee of Railway Managers to interview the representatives of "the trading public," and to hear what they had to say. The members of the sub-committee were as follows:—

Chairman: F. Tatlow (Midland Railway Co.).
— Matheson (Caledonian Railway Co.).
— Speakman (Furness Railway Co.).
Sir Sam Fay (Great Central Railway Co.).
C. H. Dent (Great Northern Railway Co.).
— Mole (Great Western Railway Co.).
— Hunt (London and North Western Railway Co.).
— Wedgwood (North Eastern Railway Co.).
P. H. Price (Railway Clearing House).

The report of their interview granted to certain of the employers' associations, on February 21st, 1922, and which was not communicated to the "public," has come into our hands, and as the remarks there made are extremely frank and affected the interests of the working class most closely, we have much pleasure in giving to them the widest possible publicity.

First, we will present—

The National Gas Council of Great Britain and Ireland.

A certain Mr. Ogilvie, in the course of his evidence, remarked:—

As Labour has been mentioned, might I just add this: we are aware of your difficulties in that respect. We have had ours, too, but we do venture to think that we have done particularly well. In the last five weeks we have reduced wages by 15s. 9d. a week, and there will be further reductions in April. Our slide is almost double as quick as yours, ours is ½d. an hour for every six points. As we are dealing with very powerful unions, that has needed a very great deal of doing, but we have done it and we have got them to sign that agreement, and they are operating under it. Comments can be made, and justifiably if I may say so, on the high price of gas, just as much as we can comment on other high prices; but the only thing that we have control over is labour, and (of course this will not be published) we have been compelled to put the screws on, and it has been a very awkward position for us....

The Chairman: Your wages are pretty high as compared with a miner's wage or a steel worker's wage. They represent an increase of 30 per cent to 40 per cent or 40 to 50 per cent over pre-war.

Mr. Ogilvie: We cannot play the unemployment card.

There is frankness for you!

Next, we will record the reply of Mr. Tatlow—General Manager of the Midland Railway Co.—to Lord Gainford, speaking on behalf of the coke-oven and by-product operators:—

The Chairman: Of course, we have the right (and there is no doubt that we shall have to use it) to go to the (Railway Wages) Tribunal for a

decrease of wages, but, *speaking within the four walls of this room, we feel that we have to tread rather charily, because if we do anything violent, I am certain that the result would be a lock-out. There would be a strike, and once it starts, Heaven only knows where it would stop.* We might do more damage in a month through this than we should in a couple of years if we go a little slowly and discreetly.

Now, the delegation of—

The National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers, comes trooping in, to wit:—

Sir F. Mills (Ebbw Vale Sheet, Iron and Coal Co., Ltd.).

W. Simons (Guest, Keen & Nettlefolds, Ltd.).

A. Dorman (Dorman, Long & Co., Ltd.).

John Craig (David Colville & Sons, Ltd.).

H. C. Bond (R. Thomas & Co.).

A. F. Mason (Barrow Haematite Steel Co., Ltd.).

A. Read (Bolckow, Vaughan & Co., Ltd.).

R. Woods and M. F. Barnard (National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers).

Sir F. Mills, the ragged-trousered philanthropist from the stricken valleys of Monmouth, confessed:—

We recognise that you have been tied up by Parliament as to what you were compelled to do here, there and everywhere, and particularly with regard to labour. I would only say that *some of us have to deal with labour in a very drastic fashion.* I do not say for one moment that we have broken agreements, nor do we wish you to break agreements, but the crux of the whole matter is labour, and *if men in our collieries are able to live on 38s. a week, I do not know why it is going to be difficult to ask other classes of rough labour at all events to do the same thing.*

Put very, very nicely don't you think?

The silver-throated warbler of this band of "bosses" was, however, John Craig, the Chairman of the Scottish Steel Masters' Association and the Chairman, also, of David Colville and Sons, Ltd., the largest employers of labour in Motherwell.

According to our old friend, John Craig:—

Our men are working to-day for 40 or 50 per cent above pre-war wages. It is the average. Even so they are not getting full work, but if they were the wages would be 40 to 50 per cent above pre-war wages. Two years ago we were selling our goods at five times the pre-war price, to-day we are selling things at 50 per cent above pre-war price, and in many cases as low as 30 per cent above. I do not think we ought to ask our men to take less wages, but we are going to ask them. *The application of the sliding scale will mean reduced wages in the steel trade in a month or two.*

The Chairman: The wages question is one which we have to tackle and shall tackle immediately. We agree that the whole thing is uncommercial, and it is immoral (or nearly so), and it has got to be altered, but in the altering we are faced with this: If we do anything at all rash, or if we hurry over the matter, the inevitable result will be trouble and a strike. If a strike was once started it would take a considerable time, and we do not want, if we can possibly avoid it, to bring that about, because we should do more damage by the three or four weeks' strike than the loss that would be sustained under the present circumstances in six or nine months. You may accept the assurance of the General Managers that the wages question is the question in their minds, and they intend, somehow or other, to deal with it as quickly as they can.

One of our troubles to-day is this, that we have not got a bank balance.... I just mention that in passing in order to show you that we really start with nothing in the bank. We have simply got what we earned in 1913.

Obviously, that being the case, the unions should stand firm, conscious of the fact that

the railway companies are afraid of a fight at this juncture.

Mr. Matheson, the General Manager of the Caledonian Co.: "the true line" and, by the sound of things, in very truth, "the blue line," then butted in to:—

suggest for your consideration that the steel manufacturers might help the railway companies in the matter of wages.... The Chairman has quite properly said that we are going to do our utmost to get wages down. We have been doing our utmost already, but with only a modified measure of success. However, as the Chairman has said, we have not stopped, we are going on again. When I tell you that our wages are 170 per cent higher than they were at the beginning of the war, you will appreciate how much they have got to come down before any real relief can be given by a reduction of wages.... I am one of those who think that the National Wages Board will never reduce the wages sufficiently, and what I suggest, at least for Scotland, is that public opinion should try to get the wages down. The railway companies of Scotland will never get the wages down sufficiently, low, otherwise.... *I am told, for example, that the colliers are determined that railway wages shall come down.* The colliers say that they are subsidising the railway men, and no doubt there is some truth in it. *I think that if public opinion was stirred, and public opinion demanded that wages should come down, their wages would come down.*

John Craig: I do feel that there is a great deal in what Mr. Matheson says with regard to the Railway Board. The railway companies have to make up their mind. *They should say, for example, that on the 15th March 16s. 6d. or £1 is to come off the wages of every man, and that this is the decision of the railway managers, and then they should let the Wages Board and the Government do what they like.* What is going to happen? You will have the sympathy of the big steel works unions, you will have the sympathy of the miners. They object to working for 28s. and 30s. a week, which is what a surfaceman gets to-day in Lanarkshire, while the porter on the railway gets double that amount.

How does Mr. Craig know that they object to this?

Does he not think that, if they knew, they would object a hell of a sight more to David Colville and Sons, Ltd. pleading poverty after having distributed surplus profits out of reserve of—

£300,000 in 1917, and
£1,800,000 in 1920?

Let them "live on their savings!" Let them live on their investments in War Loan—the bosses' equivalent for "going on the burro!"

Speak on, John Craig!—

The Railway Companies have to face the matter boldly and say to the Unions that they are going to take off 16s. 6d. or £1 to enable the steel works to get going, and if the Railway Companies do that, they may take it that they will have the sympathy of the Unions behind them.... I suggest to Mr. Matheson that if he cares to come out with a suggestion in Scotland of £1 a week less for every railway man, he will have the public sympathy behind him.

John went on to say:—

You should go and ask for £1 a week reduction.... *You have to adopt a bold policy as we have done.*

Thus and thus, the "bosses."

Here we have caught them talking, "Privately and not for publication."

Let us flatter them by emulation and, also present—

THE UNITED FRONT!

THE MEANING OF GENOA

By C. M. ROEBUCK

WHAT can the workers of the world hope for from the Genoa Conference? What place does it occupy in the process of the transformation of capitalist society? These questions are of vital importance to the class which is interested in making that transformation serve its own ends, and particularly to the vanguard which one day must also supply the general staff—the Communist Party. May Day—an occasion on which the world working-class is accustomed to take stock of its forces and cast up accounts—is here to add force to these questions.

We shall answer them best by another: "What do the robber States hope to do at Genoa?"

FRANCE's position is determined by the fact that nationally she is bankrupt, thanks to the colossal and unchecked speculation permitted by her ruling clique of bank managers. She cannot permit any revision of the Versailles Treaty which would lighten the burden of reparations due from Germany: even though the German workers may be goaded by the weight of that burden (it is passed on to them, of course), into a revolt, which would prove an infectious example for the French workers, who are in much the same position. The French bank managers hope that their trusted allies, the jackboots of the General Staff, are sufficient to cope with any such danger.

Her attitude towards Russia is determined by much the same consideration: her capitalists are desperately in need of money. The Radical and Socialist idealists who explain French reactionary obstinacy by such phrases as "militarist obsession" and "anti-Bolshevik mania" are too kind. French industrialists and bankers *individually* have shown themselves ready to deal with Russia without fear of contagion: so has the French Government. But—they *must* have the money: the creditors are knocking loudly at the gates. And, for the Russians to explain to the French that they must have a long term industrial loan of perhaps another thousand millions before the first loan can be repaid, does not meet the case at all. The French bankers have no money to sink in long term investments: they must have short terms and quick returns. Consequently, it is much more profitable for them to give small loans, partly in war material and partly in cash, to the Border States: the military interest against presumptuous Soviet Russia is thoroughly satisfied, while the banking interests have no reason to grumble, with textile factories in Poland and timber works in Finland mortgaged to them up to the hilt.

In the case of GREAT BRITAIN, we must look outside Europe for the explanation of capitalist policy. The direction is determined by the continued pressure of the United States for repayment of her loans to Great Britain, who, during the war acted as the counting house of the Allies. Lloyd George's furtive attempts, during 1921, to get a private assurance from America that the debt would be cancelled if he forgave the European allies their debts to Britain, failed miserably. The American banker does not wish to lose such a marvellous chance of enfeebling his British rival and buying up three-quarters of bankrupt Europe for a song. Lloyd George, realising this, has gone otherwise to work in 1922. His aim is to get capitalist Europe to present an united front to capitalist America, so that, backed by the solid corporation, "Europe, Limited" (with plenty of Colonial raw materials and black soldiers in reserve), he can talk in a different tone across the Atlantic. Hence the "Cannes conditions," which represent the "formula"—those who know the Premier's role in industrial disputes, will know the phrase—on which he hoped all parties, somehow, would come together at Genoa.

"A Change of Heart"

Those who, their wish fathering the thought, see in the Genoa manoeuvre a genuine "change of heart" on the part of Lloyd George, and urge him to be "courageous," miss the point. Is it a "change of heart" when he refuses to set up an industrial enquiry in the engineering industry, and bludgeons Egypt, India and the labour movement in a hundred other

ways? He must know that, even if the ruling class in Britain is strong enough at present to hold out by such methods, it is not so in other parts of Europe, and "Europe, Limited" is sure in the long run to be blown up most unexpectedly from within. But before that happens he hopes to have got clear of America.

These considerations must explain to us his dealings with Soviet Russia. Why is it that, all through the negotiations previous to and during the Genoa Conference, in spite of newspaper talk, he has always on matters of principle given way to France? As we write comes the information that, while expressing himself to the journalists as extremely annoyed with France, he expressed his annoyance at the Conference table by handing yet another "ultimatum" to Russia—because France objects to the wording of a memorandum issued to the press by the Russian delegation! That is the form that Lloyd George's "annoyance" has taken again and again. "God send us more annoyance," says Poincare. And if Lloyd George really thinks of Europe as an economic harmony, in which by some means Ally and Bosche and Bolshevik must all learn to roar for peace and plenty in unison, why is it that, at the request of France, he has allowed the Big Ten of Versailles to reappear as the "inner council" at Genoa?

Lloyd George wants the united front in Europe, and he thinks such a thing is conceivable even with Soviet Russia, with whom Britain has been trading for eighteen months. But France is closer, and so is the Conservative Party, which does not run the Coalition for nothing—certainly not for the beautiful eyes of comrades Chicherin and Krassin. And Lloyd George will not break with France, and thereby with his hopes of an anti-American front, and possibly with his office.

The other capitalist powers show their objects pretty plainly. America has steered clear of European politics, but economics are a different matter. Directly there was word of an international financial arrangement, she pricked up her ears, and talked of sending over a delegation of experts. She cannot lose the chance of playing off the European rivals one against the other.

GERMANY and ITALY, the two bankrupts, are plainly out for what they can get: Germany has already shown us how she means to get it, by concluding a separate treaty of recognition with Russia, and Italy may yet give us a no less pleasant surprise.

Our May Day Task

Such, in broad outlines is the picture of Genoa: all hope of a European "settlement" (on the lines laid down by our Russian comrades time and again) is merely self-deception, but, on the other hand, Soviet Russia may achieve solid partial successes.

Over here, however, our task is still to be carried out. The workers must see clearly that the way to freedom is to foil Lloyd George's plans for establishing the unchallenged rule of capital from one end of Europe to another, and thereby preparing for a new war with the U.S.A. His front must be broken. The way to do it is to unite in a gigantic demand for unconditional and immediate recognition of Russia, separately if necessary, and in any case on the lines laid down in the recent Russo-German Treaty. That is the immediate task of the Labour movement in foreign policy on this May Day and during the weeks that follow.

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* * *

A word or two about the bargain parcel of books we are advertising at 2s. 6d. (carriage paid 3s.). Only the great need for space has impelled us to make the really amazing offer of nearly 9s. worth of books for such a small sum.

Lenin's two books on "The Proletarian Revolution," and "Left Wing Communism," are in themselves worth much more.

In addition, there are two other booklets dealing with Soviet Russia, containing invaluable information. One, "Laws of the Russian Republic," is a complete answer to those poor creatures who still assume, in their ignorance that Russia is a land of unmitigated chaos, and that licence of all kinds is rampant. The other "Trade Unions in Soviet Russia," should be useful to those who are interested in industrial organisation in new forms and under new conditions.

Bela Kun's "Revolutionary Essays," Desliniere's "Coming of Socialism," and Gorter's "World Revolution," have a wider scope, but all are interesting.

F. W.

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The fight is on in the above constituencies. Tremendous meetings have been held in Motherwell, Gorton, Coventry, Dundee, and Tradeston, and valuable spade work done.

The work must be continued and the campaign intensified. We are out to win these seats for Communism.

This requires Cash.

Every reader of the COMMUNIST can help.

Send along a contribution to-day.

All monies to—

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A MAY DAY MESSAGE

The Editor welcomes contributions from any member of the Party, or from sympathisers, on any industrial or other subject of interest to the Party. The return of these cannot be guaranteed unless they are accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. They should be sent to 16, King Street, London, W.C.2. They cannot be paid for at the present.

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

NOTES OF THE WEEK

May Day and Russia

This number of the COMMUNIST being the May Day number, we have increased our size to 16 pages, in order to give adequate space to appeals on behalf of the victims of the Russian Famine.

Russia is more—much more—than one state among many. It is the workers' emancipation struggle incarnate. It is every workers' country—the one Proletarian State.

On this day—of all days—we should remember that the Red Flag of the World Proletariat is the Flag of the Soviet Republic. While it flies in Moscow it says to all who toil—"in this sign shall ye conquer!" He who aids the famine-stricken gives help and hope to the workers of the world.

* * *

The Promise of May Day

The First of May differs from all other days in that it has been set apart by International Labour as the one day of the year on which it renews its faith in the world-wide solidarity of the workers. It is the only day of festival that the workers have fixed for themselves. May Day, Labour Day, depends not upon the whims or wishes of priests, nor upon the vagaries of the moon, but solely upon the wish of the world proletariat to set aside one day to itself.

Through the ages, the common people have used May Day as the time of rejoicing—rejoicing that the long dark days of winter had passed and that the springtime, the season of hope, had come. We must keep May Day sacred to the hopes and aspirations of the toiling masses. No movement in the world goes from strength to strength but the Labour movement and in that is the hope of the people of all lands.

"Then come let us cast off fooling,

For this at least we know:

That the dawn and the day are coming,
And forth the banners go."

—William Morris.

* * *

The Programme of the United Front

The following section of the adopted resolution at the Berlin Conference of the Three Internationals should be noted, quoted and emphasised at every May Day demonstration:—

The present Conference declares it a necessary duty to give immediate expression to the united will of the international class-conscious proletariat, in an international mass-action against the offensive of international, imperialist capitalism. The Conference therefore calls upon the workers of the world to powerful mass demonstrations, if possible unitedly, on May 1st:

For the eight hour day!

For the fight against unemployment, which is rising beyond measure due to the reparations policy of the capitalistic powers!

For the united action of the proletariat against the capitalistic offensive!

For the Russian Revolution, for the famine-stricken in Russia, for the establishment of political and economic relations of all states with Soviet Russia!

For the creation of the proletarian united front in every country and in the International!

This, it must be remembered, was agreed to by the representatives of all three Internationals.

The A.E.U. Up to date, the aid which and the Russians the A.E.U. has received from the International Federation of Metal Workers has been absolutely negligible. Nevertheless, they had a right to expect some, and in this connection the following telegram from the Russian Metal Workers Federation is of importance:

To I.L.G. Secretary of the International Federation of Metal Workers.

Since the English workers, locked out by the employers, are fighting desperately to save their organisation from being betrayed and the working masses from their condition being catastrophically worsened, we propose that all the forces of the metal workers should be united in support of the British comrades. Inform us at once of the concrete measures which you are prepared to undertake.

The Central Council of the All-Russian Metal Workers' Federation.

LEPSE, Chairman.

It was sent nearly three weeks ago, and no reply has been received. Nor have we heard of any "concrete measures" being taken. It would seem that the only likely aid for the A.E.U. from abroad will be the result of Russian intervention.

* * *

Relief

Tadcaster (Castleford, West Riding) Guardians have taken action against a miner, E. Gough, which is extremely grave, and which may easily spread, unless such

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cases are fought. They supplied Gough with certain relief during the lock-out, apparently nominally on loan, as is frequent nowadays. Now they are trying to recover it, but instead of proceeding against Gough, they have got an order instructing the company to deduct 5s. a week for this purpose from his wages.

The summons was signed by Cyrus Anson, a "Labour" J.P., and was heard in Gough's absence, we having been misinformed by the police as to the time of hearing. Frequently, of course, summonses to recover relief have been successfully issued against workers, but the practice of deducting it from his wages through the company is a grave and doubtfully legal innovation, and one which, moreover, as being of use in further binding the worker as a serf to his employer, is likely to spread.

* * *

Ireland

We would be better pleased with the stand taken by the Irish Labour Party if the organs of British Imperialism were less enthusiastic in its favour. To pronounce against military dictatorship is quite all right from the point of view of orthodox

DEBATE—Ex-Lieut. Roche v. W. McLaine, at Fairfax Hall, Harringay Park Station, on Sunday, April 30th, at 7.30. Under auspices of N. and E. Islington Branch (late Finsbury Park Branch). W. Savage, Sec.

C.P.G.B. GREENOCK BRANCH.

Russian Famine Fund Gift Draw postponed till 12th May. Results will be published in the COMMUNIST May 20th. Unsold tickets and duplicates to be returned not later than 6th May.

democracy, and nobody wants a state of civil war (in Ireland or anywhere else) if it can be avoided. But to demand that the military forces of Ireland shall be subject to the civil power means at the present stage no less than that the I.R.A. should surrender to Michael Collins and the Free State.

We are sure that this is not what the rank and file want, nor is it desirable in the interest of the Irish working class that the coercive power of the Irish Bourgeoisie should be made absolute in this way. On the other hand the lack of proper understanding between Rory O'Connor and De Valera and their respective adherents, leaves the prospect all but hopeless.

Perhaps the success which has attended this effort of the Irish Labour Party will embolden them to realise that a Workers' Party inspired by revolutionary zeal and courage, is the only party that can bring unity and independence to Ireland.

* * *

The I.L.P. Conference

The I.L.P. is (as we are) committed to the policy of presenting a united front against the capitalist offensive. The action of their representatives was duly confirmed at their Nottingham Conference during Easter—in some quarters with a very bad grace. A section of the Conference seemed troubled with the thought that the very conception of a united working-class front, implied an acceptance of the "dogma" of class war, and hence made their peace with their souls by orgies of pacifist sentiment. "No armies, Red or Khaki," was the note struck by Ex-Private Simmonds.

We can assure him that so long as he will aid them in discrediting the "Red" Army, the Boss Class will not mind what he says about the "Khaki" one.

* * *

France and the Pacifists

The I.L.P. Conference—urged by this pacifist paroxysm, passed a special resolution denouncing French Militarist Foreign Policy.

Suppose that this policy—as it well may—leads to war, and war between the denounced French militarism and the Soviet Republic (which Macdonald says is an Imperialist State). In that case will the I.L.P. remain pacifistically neutral? And if the war extends and includes Britain on the side of the Soviet Republic—or Britain alone against France, will they still be neutral?

Surely even the I.L.P. can see that the pacifist pose is a camouflage under which can lurk concealed the most contemptible of reactions. A section of the Liberals want war with France—as usual the I.L.P. pacifists take a roundabout road to the Radical Rump

* * *

I.L.P. Love

The pacifists in the I.L.P. have a strange way of showing their "love" and "brotherhood." Mention of the Communist Party called forth from the peaceful ones ejaculations that would have gladdened the heart of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (who, by the way, objects to the Red Army nearly as much as Ramsay Macdonald and Ex-Private Simmonds). One delegate complained of the branches selling Communist literature. Another was angry because somebody admired the "kick" in the articles given in our columns. Yet another affirmed that the Communist Party served as a "sewer" to drain away the less solid elements in the I.L.P. Well, Well! After all a sewer can be cleaned, but a "cesspool" stinks for ever.

* * *

Shinwell Lies

Emanuel Shinwell (in the course of opposing a resolution, urging the Labour Party to accept the Communist Party's application for affiliation), made play with what he represented as a quotation from the speech of our Comrade T. A. Jackson. He asserted that the C.P. wishes to "take the Labour Party by the hand as a preliminary to taking them by the throat."

This is, as Shinwell ought to know, a monstrous lie. What Jackson said had reference to the Second International and those morally responsible for the murders of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and James Connolly. If Shinwell is willing to number himself among these it refers to him—and not otherwise.

WHAT COMMUNISM MEANS

A Fourth Article by T. A. JACKSON

[This is the fourth article in a series of simple expositions of Communism for those who have not previously studied it. Back numbers containing previous articles can be obtained from the Circulation Manager, 16, King Street, W.C. 2.]

WHERE there's a will, there's a way. If there were a general will to establish a state of Communism a way would be found. Is there any likelihood of such a will arising? Are there not forces at work that will, even if they do not dissipate it as fast as it arises, at any rate succeed in postponing indefinitely the day when it becomes general enough to be effective?

The history of the working class gives the answer—the development of Capitalism itself has created in the working class and is rapidly bringing to maturity a will to establish Communism. And doing this even with the very men who either have never heard of Communism or think themselves its enemies.

* * *

The working class—the people without property who in order to live must from lack of alternative sell the use of themselves in the labour market—this class appears originally as a despised and miserable mob. To-day they are the vast majority in every country of political and economic importance. Originally a mob of outcasts—discarded feudal retainers, runaway serfs, absconding apprentices, dispossessed peasants, and unfrocked priests—they have become in every land a power and a portent. Every statesman is forced to concern himself with "Labour" questions, every Government includes a Ministry of "Labour," every politician angles for the "Labour" vote, "Labour" politicians are the guests of Kings, and every newspaper expresses the common anger and dread of "Labour Unrest."

By what process has this transformation been achieved? What are the possibilities consequent upon its achievement?

* * *

Wherever a wage worker confronts an employer the possibility of strife and conflict is born. The worker lives by selling the use of his body—the employer lives by buying that use. It lies in the nature of things that the buyer should on instinct struggle to buy cheap and the seller to sell dear. Hence it was a foregone conclusion that the history of the relations between Employer and Employed—between "Capital" and "Labour"—should be one of constant enlarging and intensifying conflict between these two interests. A constant battle over the price of the commodity labour-power—over wages, hours, and working conditions—such is the history of the relation of Capital and Labour once Capitalism appears.

At first the conflict will be between individuals—the worker wants more money, the boss refuses, the worker throws up his job and seeks another—in this simple and innocent way is ushered into the world the germ of what is destined to grow until it becomes the World Including Class War between the Working and Capitalist Classes.

* * *

There are still to be found fools who believe and Boss-paid touts and pimps who assert that the relation between worker and boss is one of equality because "if the worker doesn't like his job he can throw it up and look for another." True he can. Nothing is easier than the operation of throwing up a job, and as for "looking" for another nowadays he can look, and look, till his eyes drop out, and still have need for looking. Even in the days when jobs were easy to find the "equality" existed mostly in the imagination of the observer, since the worker, however often he changed his boss, never by that means freed himself from the need to find somebod, to Boss him. Rather did he by his single-handed struggles reduce himself to the need of tolerating exactions of which he had never dreamed.

Single-handed the worker is powerless. Only when his private grievance is felt as a general infliction by the mass of his fellows is there any possibility of redress. And then it can be gained only by the concerted action of all concerned.

Early in the history of Capitalism we begin to read of strikes—of "turn-outs"—of the concerted refusal of a body of craftsmen to tolerate any longer a miserable wage, intolerable working day, or oppressive factory conditions.

At first these struggles were spontaneous and local. They were confined to particular shops or to single towns. They were directed against particular bosses or at most a small group of bosses. And as in those days travel and inter-communication was laborious and slow—there were neither telephones, telegraphs, motors, steamships or railways, and the roads were vile beyond belief—these spontaneous uprisings were, as often as not, successful.

It is difficult at the best of times for any worker, however gifted, to force his wage much above the average paid to his mates working in the same shop—even though their craft may be different. Similarly it is difficult, and in the pre-trade union days was impossible for the workers in one factory to drive their price much above that paid generally in their town.

On the basis of this fact arose the first trade unions—combinations of workers in a given town to maintain and, on occasion, to raise the general wage standard.

With the development of industry, the improvement in technique, in the means of transit, and in mechanism this trades unionism underwent a transformation.

At first it seemed likely that all the local unions would federate into one Grand National Consolidated Union. This, however, broke down because the specialisation of industries had begotten a gradation of workers into skilled and unskilled and each with differing outlooks and placed differently in relation to the labour market. For a time the "skilled" men were relatively scarce. They could therefore enforce demands unattainable by the unskilled mass, and it suited the bosses to give way to them, recovering the cost by an extra squeeze upon the unskilled.

The general Trades' Union which the local crafts had federated thus broke up and gave place to National Craft Unions, and these grew and extended until they became the wealthy and dignified bodies with which the world had grown familiar by the end of the 19th century.

For all their wealth and notwithstanding their dignity these powerful craft unions by no means had things their own way. Competition among the bosses led to the rise of some firms into large companies and the extinction of others, and economics in management resulted in spells of unemployment for an increasing number of the members of even the wealthiest and most powerful unions. Commercial crises, too, intensified these spells into periods of general distress, and the gains of the union were neutralised by a steady contraction (relatively) of the market for their special craft skill.

With the turn of the century this tendency was intensified into a rapid movement by the wholesale application of science to industry in one form and another, which begetting an entirely new organisation of the work-process accompanied by the introduction of innumerable "labour saving" devices, rendered one craft skill after another either obsolete or of vanishing importance.

At the beginning the working class was a general unskilled mob, this became differentiated into a number of special crafts, these in turn were developed more and more into a general class of machine and process operators.

In the first stage sprang up local unions; in the second national craft unions; in the third stage unions of all the workers in an industry irrespective of craft and then a demand which every day grows louder and more insistent for One Big Union for the whole working class irrespective of craft, industry, race or nationality.

* * *

The moral of all this is obvious. As capitalism grows and the boss class draws together into closer and closer union so grows the workers' need to struggle against the ever magnifying power of the Boss. And with the need grows the wish, and finally the Will.

* * *

But—it may be said—the will to struggle to keep wages at a decent level is one thing: the will to establish Communism quite another. That the workers have learned to act together for an industrial object by no means proves that they can or will act together for a political one.

Here again the answer is to be found in the history of the working class struggle. Broadly speaking, as Marx notes, we can distinguish three periods in the development of that struggle. At first the workers, newly cast down from a position of tolerable comfort into one of dejection and misery, struggle frantically to win back the position they have lost. Then accepting the inevitable after drastic punishment they set to work to make the best of things as they are. Then finally, learning from bitter experience that the best that Capitalism has to offer to the worker is not worth having, they turn their thoughts, their hopes, and their habit of struggle to the task of bringing in a state of things more to their liking. At first they fight to bring back the past; failing in that they strive to make the utmost of the present; that failing them they turn their hopes to the future.

In the first stage the workers are violent allies of every reactionary attempt to thwart the growing

capitalism in the interest of the obsolete feudal order, in the second stage they make their peace with capitalism, accept it as inevitable, take up its mottoes and its watchwords, emulate its "respectabilities," and applaud its political partisans. In the third stage they cast off these illusions one by one until they stand up consciously to do battle for a system of society that will supersede Capitalism even as it had superseded Feudalism.

The type of trade union official with which one was familiar 30 years ago was the type produced in the second or conservative phase. He had lost the savage truculence of the older period and had acquired a knowledge of politics and economics which those his predecessors had lacked. But with them he had picked up all the favourite illusions of the bourgeois epoch. The Trade Union was no longer a conspiracy of desperate men driven by necessity to strike terror into the heart of a greedy mill owner or a cowardly scab. It was a recognised institution serving its purpose of regulating the price of labour-power and offering to the employing class a means for minimising friction and facilitating the settlement of all but the greatest disputes. They were (these Trade Unionists of the third quarter of the 19th century) keenly concerned about a "fair day's wage," and they were as keenly concerned to give a "fair day's work." Outside of their craft they thought and reasoned as did the normal prosperous individual in the "lower-middle class"—and the political creed of Liberal Individualism fitted them like a glove.

That notwithstanding, they were compelled to concern themselves with politics to an ever-growing extent. The old legislation which in its first period had penalised trade unions as "seditious conspiracies" had been repealed in such an ambiguous fashion as to create a constant need for watchfulness lest his status should be lost. The Factory Acts, the Inspection of Mines Act, the Truck Acts (forbidding the payment of wages in "truck" or goods)—on all these points the unions were compelled to take steps to force their point of view upon the legislators. While only a few of the workers had votes this could be done only by terrifying or cajoling the elected members of the wealthier classes. Thus the Trade Union official grew to spend more and more of his time in the Lobby of the House of Commons and the rank and file of the Union to learn progressively how important for his status was the monopoly of legislation in the hands of the upper classes.

Gradually the vote was extended to the workers and still more gradually there appeared "Labour" members on the floor of the House of Commons.

At first they were (as in the case of Thomas Burt, who died last week) men primarily concerned with one industry—in his case mining). On anything concerning his craft Burt would put up a fair-enough sort of fight for his fellow-workers; on any other question he relapsed into the ordinary orthodox middle-class Liberalism.

At a later stage attempts by the employing class to use the legal machinery to penalise trades unions in damages for a strike roused a general concern among British Trade Unionists, and the result was the formation of a distinct "Labour Party," whose function was intended to be that of representing the interest of the Working Class in opposition to that of the Capitalism and Landlordism.

Whether the Labour Party in the House of Commons has or has not lived up to that ideal its existence was made possible by the consciousness of the need for an Independent Working Class Political Party—and its failure must be attributed to the fact that its spokesmen and theoreticians are men who belong to the middle or conservative and not to the third or revolutionary period in the development of the British Working Class.

* * *

Industrially and politically the workers have been transformed in the course of a century of conflict from a demoralised and brutalised mob of outcasts into a coherent whole that grows every day more conscious of its strength and of its antagonism to the interests of the Boss Class and its State machinery.

Every industrial dispute nowadays brings the State into play as part of the machinery for keeping the workers in subjection to capitalist exploitation. And every such happening brings nearer the day when the workers will be driven to make themselves masters of the State as the only conceivable means of securing to themselves anything like the lives of men.

Capitalism itself is endangering in the workers the will to its overthrow—and by its onslaughts is driving the workers to make the attempt.

TO LET.—Two Furnished Rooms, suit two single young men or family; S.E. district; close to City. Apply, G., 16, King Street, W.C.

MAY DAY: Remember the Famine

HELP FOR RUSSIA

Proletarians of all Countries! To the aid of Russia!

WORKERS! In the entire world capitalism is going over to an imminent attack against you. The more the capitalist world decays, the higher the wave of unemployment and crisis arises, and, like an avalanche, rolls from country to country, the more impudently capital attacks your organisations, the louder it trumpets forth its strength and its power. Its chief heralds and troubadours, however, the ministers and presidents, the bankers and kings, are preparing a new war for humanity, and are working out new armament programmes. They want to plunge all the countries of the world into a war more destructive, inhuman and horrible than its predecessor. It will leave no stone upon another, and will kill and cripple millions of human beings—workers and peasants, the productive population of city and country.

Comrades! All of you, without distinction of party, must realise this. You must all understand that the only guarantee for your victory is your own strength, *your own proletarian power*. Who at the present time holds in check the insanely foolish plans of the capitalists? Who fills them with terror and fear?

Your Soviet Russia! For every capitalist government fears the armed Russian workers. For every capitalist government understands that Soviet Russia is to-day the chief instrument, the *main weapon in the hands of the world proletariat*.

Imagine that Soviet Russia has fallen. Then the wave of bloody reaction would overwhelm the entire world. Capitalism would then stride in a triumphal march over the skulls of the working class. It would consolidate its positions for long, long years.

THEREFORE HELP SOVIET RUSSIA.

Help its workers which have borne the brunt of the combined blows of the capitalist governments.

IN YOUR OWN INTERESTS HURRY TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FIRST SOVIET STATE.

The Russian workers have only now obtained the possibility of building up their economic life. Only now is production beginning to grow, are the chimneys of its factories beginning to smoke.

But the drought is clipping the wings of the Russian proletariat. In the rich Volga region the grain has been completely withered. Millions of human beings are dying under horrible tortures. Sickness and death by starvation are mowing down old and young, and little children are dying with the cry for assistance on their lips. The situation is serious. The misfortune is great.

Workers! Hurry to Aid Russia

A number of workers' organisations have already made efforts for the Russian workers and peasants. The Workers' International Famine Relief Committee has raised £300,000. Other workers' organisations have also aided considerably in providing food for the famine victims.

However, that is not enough. For ourselves, workers of Britain, who have not yet gone through the bloody battle with capitalism, who have not yet been drawn into the final conflict, we see that the capitalist monster is already grasping us by the neck. It is already throwing millions out of work. It is ready to deal us a final blow and degrade us to the level of coolie labour.

Let us hurry to the assistance of our chief fortress, Soviet Russia.

Help it to grow strong and consolidate. It will return our aid one-hundredfold. Together, in serried ranks, let us enter the struggle against the famine in Russia, enter the struggle to rebuild the economic life of the Workers' Soviet Republic.

Long live the solidarity of the workers who will not sell their brothers in distress and misery.

British Section, The Workers' International Famine Relief Committee, 35, Gray's Inn Road, W.C. 1.



This youth, 16 years old, ate part of his father's corpse. He had been driven mad by hunger

he Workers' International Famine Relief Committee

THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE IS THE LARGEST LABOUR ORGANISATION WORKING IN THE FAMINE AREAS OF RUSSIA.

IT HAS BEEN FEEDING OVER 200,000 FAMINE VICTIMS SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER.

IT HAS SENT THIRTY-SIX FOOD SHIPMENTS TO THE FAMINE PROVINCES

IT HAS ITS OWN STAFF OF MORE THAN FIFTY WORKERS FROM ALL COUNTRIES WORKING INSIDE RUSSIA.

WORKERS. SEE THAT YOUR RELIEF EFFORTS FOR THE STARVING IN RUSSIA GO THROUGH WORKING-CLASS CHANNELS AND NOT THROUGH CAPITALIST RELIEF AGENCIES.

SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF EFFORT OF THE WORKERS.

ALL DONATIONS TO THE

SECRETARY,

Russian Famine Fund,
35, Gray's Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1.

Tools for Russia A MAY DAY APPEAL

The Week, May 1st to May 7th has been fixed as the Tool Week.

The Russian Workers' Republic has achieved victory over all her enemies on the military front only at great cost to her productive power. All tools are needed to help rebuild the economic life. There is nearly as great a famine of Tools as of Food.

Help the Russian Workers and Peasants to rebuild their economic life by giving them the tools they need.

Let each worker give one tool.

Take a tool to the May Day Demonstration and place it on the wagon. That is better than voting for any resolution.

Tools may be handed in for shipment to Russia at the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee, 35, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. 1.

HELP TO FIGHT THE FAMINE

BY BUYING OUR GOODS

Small Flags for sale on Flag Days and at meetings, etc., 15/- per 1,000 for quantities up to 5,000. 10/6 per 1,000 for larger quantities. All proceeds after purchase price are credited to the Fund.

Russian Famine Fund Badges. One Penny each.

Scent Cards Assorted Perfumes. One Penny each.

Pictures of Russia, Eight subjects. One Shilling each.

THE FAMINE IN THE UKRAINE

From our representative in the
Ukraine

THE streets of Ekaterinoslav are filled unceasingly with howls of starving children—and adults—who no longer ask but who cry in heartrending fashion for help. The children, with corpse-like faces and exhausted to the last degree, have an appearance that is impossible to describe. It is difficult to believe that they really are living children, and not wandering children's corpses.

On the snow a man sits. He asks no longer. He cries no longer. He only howls. It is the famine howl. A peasant woman lies there without crying and without howling. All effort has left her and death is near.

From early to late these lost souls totter around in the impossible hope of finding some relief until they fall down from exhaustion and die in the same place.

Should a horse collapse in the streets, a mass of starving people throw themselves upon it before

the beast is quite dead, and they hack at the corpse with knives, eating the pieces raw on the spot. In the villages the situation is no better. Here, not only are the corpses of horses and dogs eaten, but also the hides and hoofs. Madness is on the increase. One madman had gnawed at the corpse of his father. Another one ate his own child. This I find in official Government reports.

In the three southern districts of the Government of Zaporoshje are 190,000 starving people, a quarter of whom have no longer the power to walk. The population appears to be condemned to death. All dogs and cats have long since been devoured. The stores of dried weeds are coming to an end. All is eaten up. The skins of dead animals are cut into pieces and boiled down, and the glue-like mess eaten.

In the village Blagoveschen, a family ate their two children, a lad of 9 and a girl of 7.

* * *

Of the working cattle only 10 per cent remain. But from this remainder hardly any are able to work. In some districts not a single horse remains.

In autumn, the area sown was much smaller than in former years. In the Government of Zaporoshje 700,000 people are starving. This is the number that never have oil cake to eat but only very bad substitute food made from bark, straw, etc., the eating of which is followed by all sorts of diseases. About 100,000 people, mostly children, are in a state of collapse and can only lie down. At least 13,000 cwts. of corn are necessary monthly to ration this area, and even then the greatest care must be exercised.

The people must at the same time be nourished and medically treated. In addition to all sorts of stomach and bowel diseases, there are a great number of cases of pernicious anæmia, all sorts of skin diseases, eczema, and boils.

In December, there were in this area 937 cases of spotted typhus and 1,554 cases of hunger fever. The number in January was double. The working animals have nearly all gone. Medicaments, corn for the spring sowing, tools, and new cattle must be immediately brought in, otherwise the population is condemned to death.

(Translated by E.T.W.)

SOME LETTERS WE GET

Here are some specimens of letters that come in to the Famine Fund:—

Cwm. Lodge, S.W.M.F.

Dear Sir,—The Committee of the above Lodge have decided to send £2 to your Funds, with a recommendation that this be added to by the forthcoming general meeting of the Lodge.

Yours fraternally,

W. HITCHING, Secretary.

N.B.—The general meeting decided to grant a further £3, which I will send on immediately—W.H.

Dear Sir,—Enclosed please find cheque £15 11s. 2d., making the sum raised through our medium £40 17s. 2d. Glad to think our little effort will have helped, if only to the extent of the widow's mite.

A. WAIGHT,

Editor, Assurance Agents Chronicle.

The children of the Douglas Water S.S.S. decided to give a special collection for the Russian Famine victims. Enclosed please find £2, the result of this effort, which was a very big sacrifice by the children, especially as on that Sunday nearly half were laid up with the fever.

Yours fraternally,

W. KNOX, Secretary.

I am sending herewith P.O. 5s., and am sorry I cannot send more money, but in connection with your Tool Week I am willing to give a plough, a really good horse hoe, and three single harrows. They would last our Russian comrades ten years. Please let me know to what address to forward them.

Yours, etc.,

FARMER, Essex.

"I am unemployed but send 2s., but wish to Christ I could send more."

UNEMPLOYED, London.

All donations to the Workers' International Famine Relief Fund, should be addressed "The Secretary, Russian Famine Fund, 35, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1." All amounts are acknowledged by post and a listed acknowledgement in these columns.

Acknowledgments

Carried forward, £5,920 19s. 10d.

H.J.T., 2s.; T. Carpenter, 1s. 7d.; W. Owen, 15s.; N.A.F.T.A. East London United Branch 15, £7 8s.; J. Clifford, Collected at Home and Cadbury's, Bournville, £1 17s. 6d.; J. Goffin, 15s.; M. Macnamara, 10s.; College Socialist Sunday School, 12s. 6d.; Wee Jimmie Shand, 12s.; Edgar, 3s.; L.B.T.W.C.M., 2s.; Brown, Islington C.P., 10s.; Segal, Islington C.P., 5s.; Islington C.P., Lecture Balance, 4s.; Barking C.P., 5s.; Raffle of Eggs, per Mrs. Lynch, Nottingham C.P., 12s. 6d.; Reformers' Bookshop, £3 10s.; James Craig, £5; Little Charlie Phillips, 2s. 6d.; Gorbals Y.C.L., 7s. 6d.; Mary Place, 10s.; David Harper, £1 15s.; Topsham Co-operative Members, £8 10s.; Workers' Circle, No. 10 Branch, £1 7s. 7d.; A Few Matelots, Woolwich, 19th and 20th, 18s. 6d.; Honk, per R.W.P., 5s.; M. L. Jameson, £1 10s.; Ajax, 3rd, 2s. 6d.

A. W. Noakes, 8s. 10d.; S. Stephens, 15s.; Fred Preece, 2s. 6d.; Croydon C.P., 13s. 9d.; St. George Co-operative Society, Ltd., £5; From Friends at Unity House, £2 10s.; Guild of Builders, Higham Hill Site No. 1, £1 15s. 8d.; Plymouth Branch C.P., £20; Collection at A.E.U. Mass Meeting, £1 8s. 2d.; From a few "Sparks," Devonport Dockyard, 15s.; Mr. Penwell, per Plymouth Branch, 5s.; J. Rushton, 3s.; Springburn Unemployed Committee, per Joseph Rogers, £12 4s.;

Liverpool School Soc. Y.C.L., 5s. 6d.; Paddington C.P., £1 6s. 6d.; East London United Branch 15 N.A.F.T.A., £3 3s.; C. Harris, 10s.; "Glasgow William Morris Choir," Concert Tickets, £18 8s. 6d.; "Glasgow William Morris Choir," Sale of Programmes, £1 15s. 3d.; Capt. B. Dodds, Casdenden Whist Parties, £14 2s. 9d.; Association of Wireless and Cable Telegraphists, £3 1s. 10d.; Methal Branch of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan Miners' Association, £2 1s. 6d.; A few Walthamstow Guildsmen, per P.W.B., 16s.; Stoneyburn Comrades, £1; Workers' Union, Newdigate Branch, 15s.; Denaby Main Miners' Branch, £5; H.J.T., 2s.; J. Lax, 2s. 6d.

A.C., 12s. 6d.; A Few Blooming Foreigners, £1 3s.; J. T. Evans, 10s.; C.P.B., 10s.; Y.T., 2s.; T. R. Dickinson, 2s.; Anon., 6d.; F. Neuwrith, 3s. 6d.; J.R.W., 5s.; W.S.W., 15s.; W.K.F., 10s.; J.R.W., 5s.; J. B. Friedman, 5s.; East Islington C.P., £1 1s.; Greenock C.P., 1s.; Tom Davies, 2s.; St. Helens C.P., 17s.; J. Clifford and Friends, £1 7s. 6d.; Renfrew Unemployed Committee, £2 12s.; Anon., Registered, Leigh, 10s.;

Taylor, 4s.; "Chock," 7th and 8th Subscription, £1; Tom Davies, 2s.; F. Blake, 1s.; Assurance Agents Chronicle, £15 11s. 2d.; A. Leasnell, 4s. 6d.; Laurie Nicholson and Thos. A. Sinclair, 10s.; Friends at Unity House, £3 10s.

Cwm. Lodge, S.W.M.F., £2; Workers' Social Committee, Twickenham, £1 3s.; N.A.F.T.A. East London United Branch 15, £3 14s.; Joint Workers' Famine Fund Sale, Brighton, £12; Brighton C.P., £1; A Few Walthamstow Guildsmen, 10s.; Y.T., 2s.; Islington Organised Unemployed, 10s.; A. Nickson, Preston, 10s.; Methal Picture Palace, per Methal C.P., £3 16s. 6d.; Douglas Water S.S.S., £2; Joe Brown, 5s.; A. E. Rose, per Collecting Sheet 2458, 15s.; Eustace J. Hale, 6s. 9d.; Mile End C.P., 18s. 3d.; Per Collecting Sheet 2740, £2 5s. 6d.; 21st London Branch of Lithuanian Com. Fed., Weekly Levy, 15s. 6d.; Mrs. Housden, £1; L. Farrant, £1; T. W. Wilkinson, 3s.; Yeovil I.L.P., 10s.; Women's Mardy Labour Guild, £3; Mardy Branch C.P., £2; N.U.G.W. and Labour Party, 17s.; Building Guild, Ponders End, per Collecting Sheet 2754, £1 2s.; Leeds District Committee (Workers' Union), £5; Guild of Builders, Higham Hill Site No. 1, £1 18s. 4d.



This is a picture of a cellar of corpses of victims of the famine in the Kazan area

Liverpool Workers' Russian Famine Committee (4), £1 10s.; T. Rosenthal, £1; Birkenshaw C.P., 15s.; Chepstow and District C.P., 2s. 6d.; Mr. A. McKenzie, £20; Miss Florence Haughton, 10s.; Mr. Thomas Morgan, £1.

J. Goffin and Friends, 10s.; H. Owen, 10s.; M. A. Lobley, £7; Tooting Y.C.L., £1 6s. 3d.; F. J. Soper, £1; Oldham C.P. Branch Levy, 10s. 8d.; Oldham Famine Lecture, 12s. 10d.; Kymro, 10s.; Fulham N.C.F., £1 18s. 11d.; Carmel • Chapel, Gwan-cae-Gurwen, £4 10s.; Manchester Central C.P., £1 13s.; Manchester C.P., 7s.; Wire Room Staff, "Yorkshire Observer" Office, £3; 30 Girls, Hansen Secondary School, 5s.; Collecting Sheet No. 1013, per Cruttenden, Hastings, £1 3s. 6d.; Merthyr and Dowlais Branch, per S.J., £1 13s.; From an N.U.C.F., 8s.; Collecting Sheet 1088, per Mrs. Burns, 15s.; Twickenham Branch C.P., 7s. 6d.; The Merthyr Tydfil Trades Council and Labour Party, £48 14s. 9d.; Mrs. Fletcher, Collecting Box, per T.

HOUSE TO HOUSE APPEAL

Local Committees desiring supplies of our new appeal leaflet for house to house distribution should apply at once. These special leaflets are intended to be left at houses and called for in two or three days. Envelopes are supplied for the return of the money collected.

Address for Leaflets — Russian Famine Fund, 35, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1

THE BUTCHERY OF SOUTH AFRICA

[We print to-day the first direct news that has come through from South Africa since the conclusion of the slaughter. It is a letter from the Cape Town C.P. to the British Party.]

Before the war, the whole of Great Britain protested against Botha's deportation of South African labour leaders. Will the British workers allow this vile atrocity of Smuts' to pass without protest?]

Dear Comrade,

I am writing to acquaint you with the serious position which our Party is now in as the result of the recent Civil War on the Witwatersrand, certain details of which you have probably gleaned from the British Press—in any case an unreliable source of information.

The opening of the present year saw a strike on the coal and gold mines of this country, as a result of an ultimatum from the employers in those industries notifying the almost immediate termination of the hitherto existing conditions of employment, which meant the lowering of the standard of living of the workers. The strike commenced on January 10th, and on that day about 23,000 workers had downed tools. Several conferences were held between the Chamber of Mines and the South African Industrial Federation, representing the strikers, but they one and all proved abortive. The miners determinedly refused to knuckle down, and the Chamber was equally adamant. A deadlock ensued which lasted some time, when the Federation again offered to meet the Chamber to see if some settlement could not be arrived at. This offer met with a flat refusal, the Chamber stating that in future they were not prepared to recognise the Federation for any purpose whatsoever.

This arrogant attitude on the part of the Chamber combined with a persistent pressure from the rank and file of the striking miners, compelled the Federation to call a general strike throughout South Africa. In Johannesburg and right throughout the Transvaal province the general strike was completely successful. In Natal partially. The Government had made elaborate preparation for the general strike and large numbers of police and military were rushed

to the Rand. The commencement of the miners' strike, however, possessed some unique features. Profiting by their experience of 1913, when unarmed strikers had been shot down by the forces of the Government, the commencement of the strike saw the miners organising themselves into military units.

These military units were termed "Commandoes." The ultimate declaration of martial law on the Rand, which almost immediately followed on the declaration of the general strike, was the signal for a general military attack on the strikers, and fierce fighting commenced between the police and defence forces and the strikers' "Commandoes" all along the Reef. All the available military forces were brought to bear. Bombing aeroplanes, tanks, heavy artillery and machine guns were all brought into play. Benoni Trades Hall, with 750 workers inside, men and women, was completely demolished by an aerial torpedo, with terrible loss of life. The suburb of Fordsburg, where a fairly large number of workers were concentrated, was shelled by heavy artillery for 75 minutes, with tremendous casualties. After this event, the "gallant" troops marched in and took the residue prisoner. The courage, the determination, the almost unbelievable heroism with which the workers defended themselves has excited great admiration, but with all this, the Government forces being far superior, they were, of course, ultimately beaten. To-day over 10,000 prisoners await trial. Full details of the whole affair are not yet available. Correspondence between this branch and Johannesburg has been strictly censored and we have had to rely almost solely on the capitalist press for what information we succeeded in getting.

Naturally the Communist Party has suffered very heavily. A number of our best comrades who were in the firing line have been killed. Right from the commencement of the strike on January 10 the Communists were to be seen in the forefront. The declaration of martial law signalled an attack on the offices of the Party in the Trades Hall. These were completely ransacked and all books and documents removed to police headquarters. The furniture was smashed, and those comrades found on the premises were placed under arrest.

With this, of course, a "Red Plot" rumour was set afloat. The "authorities have documents to prove. . . . etc., etc." and then, with the membership book in their possession, the police commenced a policy of "combing out," with the result that practically every member of the Party was arrested. The Party's printing press had been completely smashed.

The position to-day is that the Party headquarters in Johannesburg are almost completely decimated. Many comrades killed, the rest in jail, offices and plant wrecked. We fear that those comrades who took a leading part in the strike, and who are now in prison, will receive very heavy sentences—possibly hanged or deported. If the sentences already meted out to some of the comrades for so-called "minor" offences are any criterion, this will certainly be the case. One comrade, for selling "What Means This Strike?" by Daniel De Leon, and "The Development of Socialism from Science to Practice," by Karl Radek, was sentenced to six months' hard labour without the option of a fine. One, for wearing a red ribbon, three months' imprisonment. Another for saying "It is not necessary to go to Germany to find baby-killers—we have them here," four months' hard labour.

It is urgently necessary to start an intensive and extensive agitation for the unconditional release of the prisoners, and we have no printing plant and no funds. Will our English brother Party assist us? The South African Section of the Comintern, not yet a year in existence, has received its baptism in blood. But, nevertheless, those of us who are left are more than ever determined to carry on. The bitter feeling of the Rand Workers at their bloody and brutal defeat will prove fertile soil for Communist propaganda in the future. And, next time, the workers will win. But, in the meantime, we must have financial assistance—at once. Our Party must not sink. I will post per next mail a more detailed account of the Civil War, but you have my permission to publish this letter in the meantime. Thanking you in anticipation of every possible assistance, and as speedily as possible, and with fraternal greetings,

THE SECRETARY.

Cape Town Branch C.P. of S.A.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF GENOA

An Answer to Ellen Wilkinson

DEAR COMRADE,—The article of Comrade Wilkinson touched very important questions, and may easily lead to a number of misunderstandings. There are also points on which many of us will disagree with the attitude expressed in the article.

As to the question whether we have the right to criticise the policy of other Communist Parties, I only point out that the Third International was always in theory and in practice for a full right of such criticism, and therefore no intelligent Communist can accuse Comrade Wilkinson with blasphemy, whatever tactical difference may exist between them.

But I do not understand what Ellen Wilkinson means by the statement that there is now room for an "official Communist opposition in Russia." I presume that she combats the policy of the so-called workers' opposition led by Alexandra Kolontay which caused some disagreeable incidents in the past months and which is now, we hope, satisfactorily settled. If Comrade Wilkinson thinks that there must be a Left Wing in the Communist Party of Russia claiming a more radical policy from the Party Executive, but obeying the official Party decisions, then we may easily endorse her opinion. But if she desires a separate organisation of "the radical Communists," thus breaking up the unity of the Communist Party of Russia, then we must flatly reject any such suggestions. It is not the first time that the Russian revolution is compelled to make concessions and to go into a temporary retreat. During the negotiations in Brest Litovsk some "radical" Communists opposed the policy of peace with militant Germany. That policy later was proved to be the only correct revolutionary policy, which, in spite of the temporary concessions, has strengthened and not weakened the world revolutionary movement. To-day Russia is compelled to come to a similar arrangement with the capitalist world, as she was compelled to conclude with the Central Powers in the beginning of 1918.

If the whole Communist Party of Russia is prepared to back the Government in this inevitable

action then we are convinced that the new arrangement will not have a longer life than the Brest Litovsk agreement, however great the dangers of such compromises are. But if the question of Genoa breaks the unity of the Communist Party—the only guarantee of the successful continuance of the Russian revolution—then the proposed "official Communist opposition in Russia" would do the greatest harm to the cause of revolution.

Whatever the agreement between Russia on the one side and the Capitalist world on the other side be, there cannot be any doubt that Russia will still remain the stronghold on proletarian revolution. There is not, and there never was, any question of the Communist International being tied to the Russian Government, whether it made a compromise with Capitalism or not, but who can deny that the cause of the proletarian revolution can not be separated from the cause of the first and single proletarian state?

Supposing the capitalist states are compelled to make an agreement with the Soviet State, even then I do not see the reason why we should change entirely the relation of the Communist International to Soviet Russia.

We have complete confidence in the present leaders of the Third International and do not see why the "Opposition" should take over the leadership. The present leaders have never confused the movement in the post-revolutionary countries with that in the pre-revolutionary countries. On the other hand some heated extremists cannot understand at all the great difference in Communist tactics in a country where the revolution has already been accomplished and it is the task to stabilise the workers' power, from the Communist tactics in other countries, where the undermining of bourgeois power and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship is the primary task. But if these different tactics are fixed unitedly, they can work in the best harmony for the furthering of the world revolutionary movement.

The demand that the leaders of Soviet Russia should cease to be the leading members in the Third

International may easily come from the bourgeois countries if they succeed to come to an agreement with Soviet Russia, but we Communists must oppose this demand in the most energetic way because we realise that the interests of the present ruling class of Russia, whatever concessions they are forced to make, will be the same as the interests of the oppressed class of the bourgeois countries.

Our duty is to enlighten the workers of all countries as to the inevitability of the concessions to be made by Russia and as to the temporary nature of this policy. And instead of dividing the C.P. of Russia and the Communist International into two groups we must demand to-day more than ever complete unity in the Communist Party of Russia and in the Communist International.

Yours fraternally,

A WORKER.

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BETWEEN RED & WHITE

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

This is the fourth instalment of the serial which Trotsky wrote for the COMMUNIST and of which certain extracts have appeared in the *Daily Herald*. In the first three numbers he dealt with the myth of peaceful neutral democratic Georgia, invaded unprovokedly by Soviet Russia. He pointed out that the rulers of Georgia were Tseretelli, Tcheidze and the rest of the main directors of the internal Russian war against the Soviets, and that it was only the force of circumstances that caused them to select Georgia as

their ultimate basis of attack. He detailed the manner in which "neutral" Georgia made itself utterly subservient first to the Germans and then to the Allies in their war upon Russia. In the next chapter he began to deal with the part the Georgian Mensheviks themselves had taken in endeavouring to pull down the struggling Soviet Republic. After describing these in detail—we have not space here to summarize this part—he went on to deal with the internal "democratic" regime. He explained

how this group of self-appointed Mensheviks kept their power by a fierce White terror against the peasants and detailed the savage punitive expeditions and burning of villages. He went on to show how, in conjunction with the British these democrats stamped out the only opposition—the Georgian Communists—and it is on this subject he is now writing.

Back numbers containing the previous instalments can be obtained from the Circulation Manager, 16 King Street, W.C.2—price 2d. each

"What do we mean by morality? We do not say that one must not deceive and be cunning, that one must love one's enemies, etc., for such exalted morality is evidently only accessible to such deeply religious statesmen as Lord Curzon, Lord Northcliffe, and Mr. Henderson. We hate or despise our enemies, according to their deserts; we beat them and deceive according to circumstances, and, even when we come to an understanding with them, we are not swept off our feet by a wave of forgiving love. But we firmly believe that one must not lie to the masses and that one must not deceive them with regard to the aims and methods of their own struggle. One may play a double game with the enemies of the proletariat, but not with the proletariat itself."

(Trotsky's statement of the Soviet attitude)

CHAPTER III.

THE INTERNAL REGIME

(continued)

On the 18th of February, General Walker gives the following order, No. 99/6 to the Georgian government: "All Bolsheviks entering Georgia must be imprisoned only in the Makhet (the jail of Tiflis), and put under a strong guard." The reference is to those Bolsheviks who sought refuge from Denikin. But, already, on the 25th of February, in order No. 99/9, Walker wrote: "Arising out of the conversation I had on the 20th inst., with His Excellency M. Jordania, I have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary in the future to prevent the entrance of Bolsheviks into Georgia by the main road." The imprisonment of the Bolshevik refugees in the Makhet at least for a time preserved their lives. Walker had "come to the conclusion" that it was best to bar their way of escape, thus throwing them back into the hands of Denikin's executioners. If Arthur Henderson has a few moments to spare from his labours in exposing the cruelties of the

Soviet Government, and from his Brotherhood services, he should have an exchange of views with Forester Walker upon this subject.

The matter did not stop at conversations and correspondence between Their Excellencies. Already on the 8th of April, 42 people, including the Soviet Commissary of the Terek Republic, their wives and children, Red Army men, and other refugees, were held up by the Georgian guards at the Daryal Fortress, and after being subjected to insults, assaults, and blows under the direction of Colonel Tseretelli, were driven back into Denikin territory. Jordania afterwards tried to put the blame for this harmless incident upon Colonel Tseretelli; yet the latter only fulfilled the secret agreement between Jordania and Walker. It is true that order No. 99/9 makes no mention of beating with rifle butts and with sticks over the chest and head, but in what other way could one chase away exhausted and fear-stricken people, driven to madness by despair, and seeking refuge from certain death? Colonel Tseretelli no doubt had learned the lesson taught him by his more famous namesake, that "timidity and hesitancy of democracy" in the struggle against Bolshevism may lead to the ruin of the State and the nation.

Thus from the very outset sworn war against Communism was placed at the very foundations of the Georgian Republic. The party leaders and the members of the government made "the ruthless suppression of Bolshevism" an essential plank of their programme. To this task were subordinated the most important organs of the State: the Special Detachment, the National Guards and the Militia. The German and then the English officers—the real rulers of Georgia during that period—fully agreed with this part of the Social-Democratic programme. Communist newspapers were suppressed, meetings dispersed by gunfire, revolutionary villages led by Bolsheviks were burnt down. The Special Detachment conducted wholesale shootings of leaders. The Makhet was crowded with imprisoned Communists, Bolshevik refugees were handed back into the power of Denikin. During the one month, October, 1919, in Georgia, according to a statement by the then Minister for the Interior, over 30 Communists were shot. In every other respect, as we learn from the lips of the pious Kautsky, the Communist Party in Georgia enjoyed "the fullest liberty of action."

THE ULTIMATUM

It is true that at the time of Kautsky's visit to Tiflis, the Georgian Communists had their legal publications and enjoyed a sort of liberty of action which could by no means be termed "the fullest." But here it must be added that this temporary regime was instituted after our having defeated Denikin, and as a result of the Soviet ultimatum which led to the conclusion of the peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Georgia on the 3rd of May, 1920. During the entire period between February, 1918 and June, 1920, the Georgian Communist Party had to remain underground.

Hence it follows that the Soviets in 1920 intervened in the internal affairs of "democracy" and a "neutral" one at that. Alas and alack, this cannot be denied. General Von Kress demanded that the Georgian nobles be given the liberty of counter-revolutionary activity. General Walker demanded that the Communists be imprisoned in the Makhet or beaten by rifle-butts and handed back to Denikin. We, on our part, having smashed Denikin, approached the boundaries of Georgia, demanded that the Communists be given liberty of action in so far as it was not directed towards an armed rebellion.

This is a very imperfect world, on the whole, Mr. Henderson! The Menshevik government felt itself constrained to acquiesce in our demand, and, according to their own official statement, at once liberated from their prisons over 900 Bolsheviks.(1).

Not a very imposing figure, after all. Yet one has to take into consideration the number of the population. If for the purposes of justice—even our hearts are not deaf to justice, oh, Mistress Snowden—one were to apply the Georgian proportion (900 imprisoned out of a population of 2½ millions) to the Soviet Federation, it would mean that we have the right to put into prisons of the Soviet Republic somewhere about 45,000 Mensheviks. I think that at the most acute and trying moments for the revolution, which were always accompanied by intensified hostile activities on the part of the Mensheviks, we never attained even a tenth part of this very imposing number. And since within the Soviet boundaries one could not collect as many as 45,000 Mensheviks, we can safely guarantee that our practice will never exceed the rate of repression which has been established by Jordania and Tseretelli and approved by the luminaries of the Second International.

Well, in May—by methods of civil war—we forced the Georgian government to legalise the Communist Party. Those that were shot could not be resurrected, but the imprisoned ones were released. If democracy became slightly more democratic, it happened, as we see, only beneath the fist of the Proletarian Dictatorship. "The revolutionary fist as a democratic weapon"—here is a fine theme for a Sunday address, Mr. Henderson.

Does this mean that the Georgian policy since the middle of 1920 made a new departure, in the sense of a rapprochement with the Bolsheviks? Not a bit. The Menshevik Government passed through a period of acute fear in the spring of 1920, and it gave way. But when it became convinced, not without surprise, that the raised fist was not going to descend upon its head, it came to the conclusion that it had over-estimated its danger, and it began to withdraw all along the line.

First of all there was a renewal of repressions against the Communists. Our diplomatic representative, by a series of notes, which make tiresomely monotonous reading, protested against the suppression of newspapers, the arrests and seizures of Party property, etc. But these protests were now unavailing: the Georgian government had become exceedingly stubborn, co-operating with Wrangel, building hopes on Poland, and thereby accelerating the end. . . .

To sum up: wherein did the Menshevik "democracy" differ from the Bolshevik dictatorship? Firstly the Menshevik terrorist regime, while copying many of the Bolshevik methods, aimed at preserving the institution of private property and the alliance with imperialism. The Soviet dictatorship was and remains the organised struggle for the socialist reconstruction of society in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat. Secondly, the Soviet dictatorship of the Bolsheviks will find its vindication in its historic mission and in the condition of its existence, and is acting openly; whereas the Menshevik regime of terrorism and democracy is the unholy fruit of cruelty wedded to hypocrisy.

(1) Note by Georgian Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 30th of June, 1920.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD OF CAUTION

The overthrow of the militarism of the Central Empires and the revolution in Germany brought about a great change in the world situation. The Tiflis politicians were looking for a new orientation. They adopted cringing before the Allies as its simplest form. Nevertheless they were uneasy about the future. The vassal alliance with Germany had for a time provided safe guarantees for Georgian integrity, in view of the fact that Germany was throttling Soviet Russia by means of the Brest-Litovsk noose, and that the latter's downfall seemed inevitable. But such a vassal subjection to Great Britain did not promise any such guarantees; Soviet Russia was in a state of war with the latter, and independently of the final result of the struggle, Georgia might easily receive its death blow at one of the sharp turning points. An Entente victory meant a Denikin victory, and consequently the liquidation of the Menshevik rule. In the meantime, in 1919, the Denikin campaign was making great progress. The victory of the Soviet Power was in jeopardy, and in 1919, the Soviet forces were driven out of the Caucasus. The Tiflis politicians became more cautious and more anxious to conceal their connections with the counter-revolution, but not more far-sighted nor more honest. Moreover the trend of the whole Labour movement could not but be somewhat disgusting to Menshevik minds. 1919 was a year of stormy revolutionary outbursts. The thrones of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs had been overthrown and the much more powerful throne of the bourgeoisie was tottering to its fall. The parties of the Second International were cracking in their seams. The Russian Mensheviks, while not ceasing to denounce and to lecture the Communists, began to talk of the Period of Social Revolution, renounced under some plausible pretext the watchword of the Constituent Assembly, and condemned their Georgian followers for their political alliance with Anglo-American imperialism. These alarming symptoms also demanded greater caution.

Except in the beginning of that year, the Georgian Mensheviks in 1919, did not hasten to Denikin's support on their own initiative, nor indeed did he stand in need of their help as much as before. Neither did they boast of their support to the Whites. On the contrary they deliberately made this support appear as if given under the great pressure of the British officers. This, however, did not give their co-operation with the Entente the character of a business compromise between two hostile parties. It completely retained its character of spiritual and political bondage and dependence. They translated the liberating rhetoric of the "Western democracies" and the stale Wilsonian commonplaces into the language of Georgian Menshevism and bowed down before the grandeur of the idea of the League of Nations. In practice they became more cautious, but not more honest.

We have a strong suspicion that Mrs. Snowden is burning with curiosity to know what we, who deny God and His commandments, understand by "honesty." We even suspect that Mr. Henderson puts this question to us not without irony, that is if irony can be at all compatible with piety.

We confess that we are not acquainted with the Absolute Morality of the Popes, either of the Church or of the University, of the Vatican or of the P.S.A. The Categorical Imperative of Kant, the Transubstantiation of Christ, and the artistic virtues of a religious myth, are as unknown to us as the old hard and cunning Moses who found the treasure of eternal morality on Mount Sinai. Morality is a function of living human society. There is nothing absolute in its character, for it changes with the progress of that society, and serves as an expression of the interests of its classes, and chiefly of the governing classes. Official morality is a bridle to restrain the oppressed. In the course of the struggle the working class has elaborated its own revolutionary morality, which began by dethroning God and all absolute tenants. But we understand by honesty a conformity of words and deeds before the working class, controlled by the supreme aid of the movement and of our struggle; the liberation of humanity through the social revolution. For instance, we do not say that one must not deceive and be cunning, that one must love one's enemies, etc., for such exalted morality is evidently only accessible to such deeply religious statesmen as Lord Curzon, Lord Northcliffe, and Mr. Henderson. We hate or despise our enemies, according to their deserts; we beat them and deceive according to circumstances, and, even when we come to an understanding with them, we are not swept off our feet by a wave of forgiving love. But we firmly believe that one must not lie to the masses and that one must not deceive them with regard to the aims and methods of their own struggle. The social revolution is entirely based upon the growth of proletarian consciousness and on the faith of the proletariat in its own strength and in the Party which is leading it. One may play a double game with the enemies of the proletariat, but not with the proletariat itself. Our Party has made mistakes, together with the masses which it was leading. We have always quite openly acknowledged these mistakes to the masses, and, together with them we have made the necessary changes. What the devotees of legality are pleased to call demagoguery is merely truth, too plainly and too loudly expressed. This, Mrs. Snowden, is our conception of honesty.

The entire policy of the Georgian Mensheviks has been a series of roguish tricks, petty cunning devices and sharp practice, which

were not only intended to deceive the enemy, but also to dope the masses. Bolshevik tendencies were prevalent among the workers and peasants, and even among the Menshevik workers. They were forcibly suppressed. At the same time the masses were being demoralised, by making them believe that their enemies were their friends. Von Kress was represented to them as their friend, and General Walker as an upholder of democracy. Accommodation with the Russian White Guards was arrived at, now quite openly to please the Entente, and now secretly in order not to alarm the masses.

1919 was for the Georgian Mensheviks a year of extreme caution and secrecy, but for all that their policy was not any the more honest.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGIA AND WRANGEL

During the last month of 1919, a radical change took place in the military situation of the Soviet Federal Republic. Yudenich had been annihilated and Denikin had been first driven back to the South, and then completely defeated. Towards the end of the year Denikin's forces had been broken up into several demoralised groups. The Entente seemed to have cooled down towards the Whites. The extreme wing of the Anglo-French interventionists had transferred its attention to the border States. Poland was to be given first place in the periodical attacks on Soviet Russia. This new plan allowed Anglo-French diplomacy to steer clear of the imperialist pretensions of the Russian White Guards, and enabled it to recognise the independence of Georgia.

Under these circumstances, the Soviet Government proposed to Georgia an alliance against Denikin. There was a two-fold reason for this proposal: firstly, to make the Georgian Government understand, that in the event of altering its international orientation, it need not depend on the military support of Von Kress and General Walker, but would have the support of Budenny. Secondly, to hasten, with the help of Georgia, the liquidation of the remnants of Denikin's forces, in order to prevent them forming a new front.

This proposal was categorically rejected by the Georgian Government. After all we have learned about the relations of Georgia with the Germans, Turks, Denikin, and the British, it is hardly necessary for us to pay too much attention to the too-ardent Kautsky, who explains this refusal of Georgia, by her concern for neutrality. All the more so as Jordania himself, who in those days was doing his utmost to obtain recognition by the Entente, and sufficiently divulged the main springs of Menshevik policy.

On Jan. 14th, he declared in the Constituent Assembly: "You know that Soviet Russia has proposed a military alliance with us. We have *point blank* declined. Our answer must be known to you. What would this alliance mean? It would mean that we severed our connections with Europe. . . . Here the ways of Georgia and Russia part. Our way leads to Europe. Russia's way to Asia. I know that our enemies will say that we are on the side of imperialists. Therefore I must say here most emphatically: *that I prefer the imperialists of the West to the fanatics of the East.*" These words from the lips of the head of the government certainly cannot be considered ambiguous. It means that Jordania was not only too delighted with the opportunity of not only stating, but shouting at the top of his voice, that in the new military campaign of the "imperialists of the West," Georgia would be whole-heartedly on the side of Pilsudsky, Take Jonescu, Millerand, and the rest of them. No one can deny Jordania the right to "prefer" imperialist Europe which attacks, to Soviet Russia, which is defending itself. But in that case, we, the fanatics of the East, must also not be denied the right to smash, when necessary, the counter-revolutionary heads of the middle class servants of imperialism. For we can most "emphatically state" that we prefer an enemy with a broken head to an enemy who is able to attack us and do us harm.

The least disorganised remnants of Denikin's army, had taken refuge in the Crimea. But what is the Crimea? It is not a fortress, but a trap. In 1919 we ourselves escaped from the trap in which Denikin, from the Ukraine, was endeavouring to bottle us up there. Nevertheless Wrangel established himself in the Crimea, and began to build a new army and a new government. He was only enabled to do so because the Anglo-French fleet was entirely at the disposal of Wrangel. But the Entente war ships, as such, did not solve the question. They supplied Wrangel with clothes, arms, and a certain amount of food, but it was men he needed most. And of course, he got them in sufficient numbers from Georgia. Even if there was no other sin to the account of Georgia than this, its fate should have been considered sealed. It is no use referring to the pressure of the Entente, as Georgia did not resist the pressure, but met it half way. But, from the political point of view, the question is much simpler and clearer. If the independence of Georgia consists only in the fact that at the demand of the Turks, Germans, Englishmen and Frenchmen, it is compelled to set fire to the house of Soviet Russia, we certainly cannot expect to become reconciled to such independence.

Wrangel had entered the Crimea with not much more than from 15 to 20 thousand soldiers. The mobilisation of the local population was not very effective, for the mobilised did not feel inclined to fight, and many of them went into the mountains forming detachments of "greens" (peasant brigands). Owing to the

limited character of the *place d'armes* and his resources, Wrangel stood in need for first rate fighting elements. These were the White officers, the Volunteers and the rich Cossacks, all of them irreconcilable enemies of the Soviet Power, who had already gone through the school of civil war under the command of Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich. The ships of the Entente were bringing them from every direction, but their chief nest appeared to be Georgia. The right wing of Denikin's defeated army fled into the Caucasus, pursued by our cavalry, and sought refuge within the frontiers of the Menshevik Republic. This, of course, did not take place without the inevitable performance of some rites of so-called international law. As a "neutral" country, it received the retreating White forces, and naturally, interned them in "concentration camps." But in its capacity of a country which claimed greater kinship to the Western imperialists than to the fanatics of the East, it arranged the "camps" in such a way that the Whites could reach the Crimea without any loss of time.

According to a preliminary agreement between the agents of the Entente (the documents proving this are in our possession), the Menshevik Government carefully seized the healthy members of Denikin's forces who were capable of bearing arms, and concentrated them in Poti on the sea coast, where the ships of the Entente fetched them. And, in order not to do any damage to the reputation of "neutrality" of Pilate Jordania, the agents of this government demanded from the captains of the British and French steamers, written statements to the effect that they were taking the refugees to Constantinople. And so, if they were taken to Sebastopol (in the Crimea) this was entirely due to a breach of faith on the part of the captains of those steamers.

Not less than 10,000 such picked Denikin men were transferred to Poti. Among the documents found in Georgia, are some very illuminating minutes of the Government committee on military refugees. The Governor of the Concentration Camp, General Ardivanidze reported: "The camp is at present unoccupied in view of the fact of the departure of the Volunteers from Poti." It was resolved "to accept the report."

Several months later, 6,000 Cossacks were brought back, under similar conditions from Gagry to the Crimea, after an unsuccessful military occupation. The chief of the Gagry district village militia, the Menshevik Osidze, and a minor official, who was not initiated into the secret of the Tiflis Government, reported with some amazement to his chiefs: "We have allowed Wrangel's agents a free hand in arresting the Bolsheviks in Gagry." These two important events happened in June and October, but already, at the beginning of the year, the liberation of the interned soldiers of Denikin's army and their despatch to Batoum was in full swing. This was borne out by the Tiflis documents dated January, 1920. Wrangel's recruiting agents were acting quite openly, and there was a large influx into Georgia of White officers, eager for engagement. Here they found a well-organised White agency, and were transferred to the Crimea with the greatest ease. Whenever necessary the Georgian Government lent financial aid.

The Social Revolutionary Chaikin, the chairman of the Black Sea Liberation Committee (an organisation which organised the rising of the local peasants against Denikin), described the policy of Denikin in an official communication, addressed to the Georgian Government in the following terms: "It is self-evident that such facts as General Brdéli's free departure from Georgia, the arrival from the Crimea of Denikin's recruiting generals, who were not interned on their arrival in Georgia, and finally the propaganda and recruiting campaign in Poti of General Nevadovsky, and others, most certainly constituted an infringement of Georgian neutrality in favour of the Volunteer Army (Denikin's forces), and was a hostile act towards those forces which were in a state of war with the Volunteer Army." This was written on April 23rd, 1920, and consequently before the mass transference of the picked followers of Wrangel from Poti to the Crimea. On September 6th, the Georgian General Midivani reported to the chief of the French Mission that the Georgian authorities did not only hamper the removal of Denikin's men, but were even giving the "widest possible assistance, including financial aid to the refugees at the rate of one to fifteen-thousand roubles per head." There were on the whole from 25 to 30 thousand Cossacks and about 4,000 Denikin Volunteers in Georgia. A considerable number of them were transferred to the Crimea.

Georgia's support to Wrangel was not limited to men, but also included in providing him with the necessary war materials. From the beginning of 1919 and right up to the defeat of Wrangel, Georgia provided him from his own stores with coal, oil, aviation benzine, kerosine and lubricating oil. Even the treaty with Soviet Russia in May 1920 did not put a stop to these activities. They were only conducted more secretly through the medium of so-called "private individuals." On July 8th, Batoum, which was to all intents and purposes in British hands, was transferred to Menshevik Georgia. But even after that the Port of Batoum continued to be at the disposal of Wrangel.

Our Mission reported at that time in full detail on all these events, and its report is now before us. (1). The documents which

(1) As an example we quote from one of these reports dated July 14th: "At the beginning of last week the following vessels, laden with war material, left for the Crimea: "Vozroshdenie," "Donetz," and "Kiev." On the 7th the "Margarita" left with ammunition and motor cars, the "Zharki" with cartridges, and a submarine "Utka" also left. These vessels had on board over 2,000 volunteers and the official representatives of the Volunteer Army, headed by General Dratsenko, etc."

were subsequently found in Batoum, in Tiflis, and in the Crimea, fully bear out this report, giving the names of the steamers, the nature of the cargoes, and the names of the agents (for instance the well-known Cadet Paramanov). The most important part of these documents have already been published, and more of it will be published in the near future.

One might endeavour to reply to the above that Georgia did not aid Wrangel with its own army. But it could not have done this in any case, as the purely Menshevik guards were not numerous enough, being hardly sufficient to maintain even public order. As to the National Army, it was to the very last a fictitious unit, as its badly organised detachments were politically unsound and not in fighting trim. For this reason the Menshevik Government did not do for Wrangel what (as this became known later), it could do for its own defence, viz., put an armed force into the field. But evidently Georgia did everything for Wrangel that it could possibly do. One can say without exaggeration, that *Menshevik Georgia had created the Wrangel army*. Those 30,000 picked officers, non-commissioned officers and fighting Cossacks, who were transferred from Georgia to the Crimea, burned their boats and sold their lives dearly. Without them Wrangel would have been obliged to evacuate the Crimea already during the summer months. With them he carried on a stubborn fight until the end of the year, and at times dealt us very heavy blows. The liquidation of Wrangel exacted heavy sacrifices. How many thousands of workers and peasant youths fell in the wider sector which runs out from the narrow Isthmus of Perekop?

If there had been no Georgia, there would not have been a Wrangel army. Without Wrangel, Poland would not have perhaps taken the field, and even if it had done so, we should not have had to split our forces, and the Riga Treaty would have borne a different aspect. In any case it would not have given millions of Ukrainian White and Russian peasants to the Polish landlords.

The Crimea for the Georgian Mensheviks was a connecting link with the imperialists of the West—against the fanatics of the East. This link has cost many thousands of lives. It was at that price that the Jordania Government bought their recognition *de jure* of the independence of its Republic. We consider that they have given too high a price for such shoddy goods. During 1920 the Soviet Federation, with its face to the South-West, was striking with its right fist to the West at its chief enemy—bourgeois Poland, and with its left fist at the South—at Wrangel. Being fully aware of the above-mentioned facts, was not Soviet Russia justified in kicking the Menshevik head of Georgia? Was not that a legitimate act of revolutionary self-defence? Is the right of national self-determination equivalent to the right of doing harm with impunity? If Soviet Russia refrained from dealing a blow at Menshevik Georgia in 1920, it was not because it had any doubts about its "rights" to strike at the wicked, irreconcilable and treacherous foe, but because of political expediency. We did not want to make it easier for Millerand, Churchill and Pilsudsky, who were endeavouring to drag the border states into war against us. On the contrary, we were endeavouring to show to these latter, that under certain conditions they could live in peace side by side with the Soviet Republic. In order to win over the small republics, governed by petty bourgeoisie with thick skulls, we were prepared more than once during these years to make enormous concessions, and show very great leniency. To take a recent example, has not the Karelian adventure of the Finnish bourgeoisie given us every right for an armed invasion of Finland? If we did not proceed with it, it was not because we did not have a perfect right to do so, but because, by the very nature of our policy, we only resort to armed force when there is no other way.

CHAPTER VI. DENOUEMENT

While supplying Wrangel with men and war material during 1920, Georgia was at the same time a conspiracy centre for the various Russian and especially Caucasian White Guard groups. It served as an intermediary between Petlura, the Ukraine, Kuban, Daghestan and the counter-revolutionary mountain tribes. After their defeat all these people took refuge with the Mensheviks, and there established their general staffs from which they conducted their operations. From Georgia they directed the counter-revolutionary divisions to the territories of the Russian Soviet Republic by the following routes: (1), Sukhum-Kale, via Marukh, and then into the Upper Kuban and the River Laba. (2), Sukhum-Kale—Gagry—Adler—Krasnaia Poliana, via Aishkha—the upper reaches of the River Laba. (3), Kutais—Cni—Nalchik.

They acted more or less secretly, but only to the extent necessary for preserving a certain amount of diplomatic decorum, while all their movements were perfectly well-known to the Georgian Special Detachment. "My presence in Georgia," wrote the White Guard lieutenant of the Special Detachment on November 12th, 1920, "will not create any difficulties whatever with the Soviet Mission, as my work will be carried on with still greater secrecy. If any guarantors for my reliability should be required, a sufficient number of prominent Georgians will be ready to come forward." This document was found among others in the Menshevik archives by the committee appointed by the Communist

International. The secret White organisations were closely connected with the Entente Missions, and especially with their Intelligence Departments. Should Henderson have any doubts on this matter, he could find full information in the archives of the British Intelligence Department. We sincerely hope that his reputation for patriotism may prove an Open Sesame to this holy of holies.

At that period Batoum was the most important centre for the intrigues and conspiracies of the Entente and its vassals. In July, 1920, Great Britain handed over Batoum to Menshevik Georgia, which at once found itself compelled to find the way to the hearts of the population with the aid of artillery. In evacuating Batoum, after first destroying its naval defences, the British command proved its complete confidence in the good-will of Georgia as far as Wrangel was concerned.

The annihilation of the Wrangel army brought about a complete change, for the Entente generals and diplomats were too well aware of the true character of the relations between Georgia, Wrangel and the Soviet Republic, to have any doubts concerning the desperate position into which the liquidation of Wrangel had placed the Georgian Mensheviks. One may also take it for granted that the Georgians themselves did not remain silent, but demanded "guarantees." The British governing circles raised the question of a renewed occupation of Batoum, under the guise of a "lease," "open port," or some such label, of which the diplomats have as many as a cracksman has skeleton keys. The leading Georgian press mentioned this occupation with demonstrative satisfaction, rather than with alarm. It was self-evident that the creation of a new front against us was contemplated, and we declared that we should consider the occupation of Batoum by the British as an act of war.

LOVE IN THE FRENCH MANNER

About that time the fate of independent Georgia began to awaken the interest of the acknowledged protectress of the weak, M. Millerand's France. On his arrival "The Trans-Caucasian High Commissioner," M. Avel Chevalier, hastened to send the following message through the Georgian Telegraph Agency: "The French have a fraternal affection for Georgia, and I am very glad to be able widely to proclaim this. The interests of France are absolutely identical with the interests of Georgia. . . ." The interests of that France which encircled Russia by a hunger blockade and let loose a number of Tsarist generals against her, were "absolutely identical" with the interests of democratic Georgia. It is true, that after a few lyrical and rather silly speeches about the ardent love of the French for the Georgians, M. Chevalier, as fitted a representative of the Third Republic, explained that "all the world powers at the present time were craving for raw materials and manufactured goods, and Georgia was an important and neutral route between the East and the West." In other words, the sentimental friends of M. Millerand were attracted to the Georgians not as much by love as by the smell of the Baku oil.

Almost on the heels of Chevalier there arrived in Georgia the French Admiral Dumesnil. The man of the seas was as emphatic as the dry land diplomat in his declarations of ardent love for his fellow-countrymen of Noah Jordania. At the same time the Admiral declared that as France "did not countenance the seizure of other people's property" (who would have thought it?), he, Dumesnil, being on the territory of "Independent" Georgia, would not allow the Soviet Government to seize the Russian ships which were then in the Georgian port, and which were destined for Wrangel or his successors. The path of justice is indeed strange and devious!

The co-operation of the representatives of French democracy with the Georgian democrats assumed large dimensions. The French torpedo-boat "Sakiar" fired on and burned the Russian schooner "Zeinab." The French Intelligence Department in conjunction with the agents of the Georgian Special Detachment, attacked the Soviet diplomat courier, and robbed him. The French torpedo-boats screened the removal to Constantinople of the Russian steamer "Printship," which was stationed in the Georgian port. The organisation of groups in the neighbouring Soviet Republic's territory was carried on energetically. The importation of arms into Russia from Georgia increased enormously. The hunger blockade of Armenia, which by that time had become a Soviet Republic, was continued, but Batoum was not occupied. Perhaps at that time Lloyd George had given up the idea of a new front, and perhaps also the ardent love of the French for Georgia deterred the British from manifesting similar feelings. Our declaration concerning Batoum did not remain without effect. Having at the last moment paid Georgia for all its past services by an ephemeral recognition *de jure*, the Entente resolved not to build anything on the hopeless foundation of Menshevik Georgia.

After the relentless struggle which the Georgian Mensheviks had conducted against us, they, even in the spring of 1920, had no doubts whatever but that our forces, having beaten Denikin, would march on Tiflis, and Batoum, and sweep the Menshevik democracy into the sea. We, on our side, not expecting any important revolutionary results from the Soviet revolution in Georgia, were quite prepared to tolerate by our side the Menshevik "democracy" provided it formed a united front against the Russian counter-revolution and European Imperialism.

(To be continued)

THE CALL OF MAYDAY

By Fred Willis

IF ever the spirit of May Day was needed it is now. Never within living memory have the workers of Great Britain been faced by such a powerful combination of capitalist forces; never have those forces been so openly and ruthlessly determined to assert their power—that power they lost for a brief space in the full bloom of the munitions period. Mean and unscrupulous, as a class, the capitalists have always been, now, like all mean men in the hour of triumph, they have become arrogant. Nothing will satisfy them, but a working class, broken in organisation, and deprived of every spark of independence or manhood.

"Slaves you are; slaves you will remain," is the insolent ultimatum they issue to the workers, and, though the workers may and do resist, it is only weakly, because not yet has the lesson been learnt that this challenge is in very truth one that can only be met by a fight to the death, in which no quarter will be given on either side.

Let Us Exaggerate

Let us not minimise the extent to which the workers' forces are being broken. Let us rather exaggerate, so that here and now we may begin to rally the ranks, and line up in new order of battle. So that another May Day may see us prepared, not to defend, but to attack.

Surely, the present position of the miners is the most significant sign of the disaster that has befallen us. The flower of trade unionism in Great Britain lies trampled in the mud. That Miners' Federation, which in other days was held up as an example to all the world, is now something to be toyed with and kicked about like an old football by jubilant mine-owners. The miners themselves work under conditions so shameful as to amount to a living insult. Or are not allowed to work and reduced to beggary. Verily, the day of the triumphant capitalist is here, and verily he knows it.

And now the turn of all other industries has come. The full price of the cowardly betrayal of Black Friday has to be paid. The engineers are fighting desperately to retain the shadow of rights formerly won; cotton operatives are being forced to drain the cup of shamefulness to the very dregs; vehicle workers, building workers, workers of all trades, are presented with demands

as dishonourable as a blow in the face. Even the professions do not escape, and school teachers, lambs though they be otherwise, are being goaded by the pressure of events to change their plaintive bleatings into a passable imitation of a snarl. In short, the workers are being beaten in detail, because they have not sense enough to act in unison as a class.

But there is Hope

All this would be downright disheartening if other things remained equal. But we Communists know perfectly well that the present set-backs are only a phase in an age-long struggle. Some of the capitalists sincerely believe they can reform their shattered world on the basis of a past dominance; but the best informed among them are as keenly aware as ourselves that theirs is but a desperate endeavour to make the ramshackle structure last their own time—and no long time at that. The virulence of their attack upon the workers is the measure of their overshadowing fear. They are aware, too, that they must, at all costs and by all means, keep the workers disunited.

Above all, they know that they must crush Soviet Russia. No really class-conscious capitalist can sleep soundly at nights with the dreadful menace of Moscow haunting his dreams. Therefore, since open warfare has miserably failed, peaceful penetration and diplomatic trickery must be tried. Leslie Urquhart, behind the scenes, and Lloyd George, very much in the limelight, combine at the Genoa thieves' kitchen to bring off (in conjunction with the finest gang of crooks ever gathered from Western Europe), the grand coup that shall disarm Soviet Russia, and deal a shattering blow at the International working class. The connection between our own struggles at home, and the attacks upon the workers' and peasants' republic is so obvious that only a child, or an innocent British workman, could miss it.

But what have these things to do with May Day? Why should an article roam across half the world in order to point a moral for Hyde Park or Glasgow Green? In truth, there is but one answer to these questions.

Capitalism in the nature of things means the class struggle; capitalism international, therefore, means the class struggle international. Every attack upon the workers' standard of life is an incident, an affair of outposts of you like, in a war that encircles the globe, and impossible to consider apart from the larger and more dramatic struggle of the Russian workers and peasants against world capitalism.

A May Day Cry

For May Day, therefore, one demand, expressed in different ways: "Hands off the workers, everywhere! Hands off hours of labour; hands off the workers' wages; hands off unemployed maintenance; hands off Russia." The national and international sides of a common demand, one and indivisible.

To us Communists falls a more difficult task. No mere demonstrations will weld together the shattered sections of the workers' army into a unified fighting front. A hundred difficulties, born of six generations of capitalism, bar the way. Yet, obtain that united front we must, lest capitalism, after all, stabilises itself for yet another generation. We hold no power outside the workers, but with them we are invincible. Small though we be in numbers, we are strong in our power to move the mass, if but a glimmering of our ideal reaches them as a guide towards the greater light. All that May Day stands for, we are. To those still outside our ranks, who, like ourselves, see no hope for the workers, except in the speediest possible overthrow of capitalism who believe in international solidarity and peace; who would fain see production organised for use on the co-operative basis of a world-wide Communist commonwealth; to all such we extend a hearty invitation to join with us in the fight for these things.

To the workers locked-out to make a capitalist holiday; to the workers unemployed to ensure the safe working of the capitalist machine; to all workers in field or factory in whose hearts revolt still lingers, we send May Day greetings, good cheer, and a Communist pledge to help with heart and soul in all the workers' struggles of the great days to come.

MAY DAY "RESOLUTIONS"

Industrial Notes

By John Ball

THE true function of May Day is to provide a definite landmark in the workers' year from which they can at once survey the past twelve months and look forward to the future. Experience is of no value whatsoever unless we are prepared to learn from it. An experience which teaches no lesson is a waste of time and usually an uncompensated evil. One striking thing about this present May Day is the similarity between the current industrial situation and that which existed on May Day twelve months ago. Then, as now, the whole working class was faced with a mass attack by the bosses, an attack which was cunningly directed through the medium of the Miners' Federation. They were selected as the first victims—and the penalty for their defeat was the depression of the whole of the workers' standard of life. They fought alone and they were beaten.

Have We Learned the Lesson?

This time the A.E.U. are the victims and again they are fighting alone. Last year May Day was celebrated in the shadow of "Black Friday" and the workers who crowded to the demonstrations and cheered the speeches—"fighting" speeches—were the people upon whose shoulders the ultimate burden of the betrayal of the miners must rest. This year it will be celebrated in the shadow of another betrayal—the betrayal of the Engineers by the Foolish Forty-Seven. We have not profited during the past twelve months by the experiences of "Black Friday" or we should not have allowed a repetition of that catastrophe.

The Way Out

It is not too late for effective action to be taken. If the workers will look upon May Day in its true light and pledge themselves to act in the forthcoming twelve months in the directions indicated by the experiences of the past twelve months we can save the movement. *Start with the A.E.U.* If you let them be beaten alone you will reap the same harvest as you did when the miners went

down after a single-handed fight. If you are a member of one of the Foolish Forty-Seven act on your own protest resolutions and see to it that your Executive are compelled by the pressure of their members to carry out the mandate given to them by ballot—and fight, damn you, fight!

Striking Engineering Unity

There is a big move on in the engineering world towards unity—but it is not on the workers' side. The Power Traction Finance Co. has just been registered at Somerest House, and its directors have large interests in the following firms:—

Cammell Laird's.
Sir William Arrol & Co.
Prudential Assurance Co.
English Electricity Co.
North British Loco. Co.
John Brown & Co.

These make a formidable combination, and the formation of the company at a moment when the engineers are fighting what will be a losing battle (unless the workers show similar unity) shows very clearly the tendency of our bosses. Whilst the General Council send out questionnaires and J. H. Thomas blethers of "industrial peace" the oligarchy is closing its ranks, the Trusts are dominating industry—and the Iron Heel is being prepared for the necks of the British workers.

A Reader's Grouse

I have received a grouse from a reader of these notes who is also a member of the Workers' Union. He thinks that I have unduly attacked them, particularly with regard to the statements I made on the subject of amalgamation with the other Unions catering for general labour. He alleges also that the officials of the National Union of General Workers who are also members of Parliament stood out for very generous compensation terms, in exactly the same way as the officials of the Workers' Union. This may or may not be true. I have noticed (incidentally) that in all my correspondence on

this subject no two members of the Workers' Union appear to have received the same explanation of the amalgamation position from their Executive. I have no intention of selecting any particular Union and conducting a vendetta against it; indeed the object of these notes is to try and offer constructive criticism. Most of the propaganda against the Workers' Union is done by the Union itself by its feeble resistance to attacks by the bosses, its unscrupulous poaching, its plethora of officials, and its attitude towards all advanced movements.

Pooh Bah of Golder's Green

Another correspondent in the same Union sends me copies of letters which have passed between himself and the Editor of the *Workers' Union Record* on the subject of the article which appeared in that journal some time ago which attacked the Communist members of the Workers' Union. My correspondent, who is an ex-Executive member of the Union, desired to reply to the attacks made, and his letter was rejected by the Executive, to whom it had been referred by the Editor. It is amusing to notice that this same editor is one Beard, John and an Alderman to boot, who appears from the official notepaper of the Union to be President and also Divisional Organiser in two Divisions. Surely the Union have one or two capable unemployed members who could relieve him of some of his jobs.

Lining up on the Clyde

Things are moving for the extension of the fight and the co-ordination of control on the Clyde. The Clyde District Committee of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation, augmented by representatives from the A.E.U., the General Workers, and the Foundry Workers, are functioning as a Central Dispute Committee, and steps are being taken which will have the effect of forming a Combined Dispute Committee fully representative of all the Unions and all the surrounding districts. The machinery side of the business will then be going along well, and so far as fighters are concerned there is a bit of a migration back to Glasgow from other parts of the country which will fill the gaps in the ranks of the "shock troops" of the one-time "Revolutionary Clyde."

THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE

By EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD

THIS organisation is the chief Workers Organisation for fighting the Russian Famine. It has sections in every country to which are attached all the active and class conscious elements of the working class.

Its headquarters are fixed at Berlin, the most convenient point for international meetings, and it is administered by an international committee containing one delegate from each main country.

Its International Secretary is Willy Munzenberg, Wicker Ufer 3 (1), Berlin, N.W. 87.

It has at present from fifty to sixty representatives in the Famine Area drawn from the working class organisations of all countries. It has its own kitchens, its own childrens' homes, its own distributive and administrative staff which affords famine relief to the starving workers, peasants, women and children, free from all political conditions, and in closest co-operation with the Central Famine Committee of the Russian Workers' Soviet Republic.

What it has Done

The Committee is continuously feeding 200,000 people. The work is done in six chief points, Kazan, Samara, Saratoff, Tsaritsin, Orenburg, and Cheliabinsk.

In the province of SARATOFF we are feeding 30,000 people.

At SAMARA 15,000 workers and their families, and 20,000 women and children.

In ORENBURG we are feeding 1,500 leather workers and 1,800 women and children.

In CHELIABINSK we are feeding 30,000 people, and have also our own childrens' home with 200 inmates, and from which rations are also issued for a further 5,000 children.

In TSARITSIN we are feeding 25,000 fishery workers and their families.

In KAZAN we are feeding 30,000 people.

The funds now amount to well over £300,000.

11. *Ebro* from Copenhagen. Food.
12. *Frida Horn* from Stettin. Food, Clothes, Tools.
13. Nov. 26th. *Alfred* from Stockholm. Meal.
14. *Nalle* from Stockholm. Food.
15. Nov. 29th. *Hortense* from Marseilles. Food.
- This ship was blown up and sunk off Malta. Thought to be the work of counter revolutionary agents.**
16. Nov. 30th. *Gasconier* from New York. Food.
17. Nov. 31st. Train of 15 wagons Sugar from Czecho-Slovakia.
18. Train of 30 wagons Corn from Sofia to Odessa.
19. New York. Food and Clothes.
20. Dec. 24th. *Eastern Coast* from America. Food.
21. *Skulda* from Christiania. Clothes and Food.
22. Jan. 2nd. *Terje* from Copenhagen. Food.
23. *Christian* from Stettin. Clothes, Food, Tools.
24. *Eastern Star* from New York. Food.
25. *Eastport* from New York again. Corn, Clothes.
26. *Etna* from Norway. Food.
27. Ship from Johannesburg via London, with Maize and Corn.
28. Feb. 18th. *Egil* from Sweden. Meal.
29. *Elzasier* from New York. Clothes and Food.
30. *Tober* from Copenhagen.
31. Two wagons of Food from Sweden to Helsingfors.
32. *Amilcare Cipriano* from Turin.
33. March 13th. *National* from Stettin.
34. March 14th. *Corvus* from London. £10,000 worth Queensland's gift of Condensed Milk.
35. March 29th. French train of nine wagons.
36. March 31st. Belgian train of fourteen wagons Brussels to Stettin.

stration in Hungary tells its own story, and though there is no reason to think British famine relief bourgeois agencies have any ulterior motive, it would be very difficult to prevent these organisations to an extent being used by active counter-revolutionary elements for their own ends. For workers therefore, the path is clear. They should insist on their relief being administered through genuine working class channels and under working class control. The Workers' International Famine Relief Committee is three times larger than any other labour organisation at work in Russia, both in results achieved and funds raised.

Production in Russia

The practical experience of our representatives in the famine area led them everywhere to the conclusion that with rationing and famine relief must be combined active organisatory measures to help the Russian workers to rebuild productive forces and raise production in every way. A beginning has already been made, and the representatives of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee are active in organising timber work, sack making, fisheries, tanneries, and other work among sections of the famine population.

It is expected to increase greatly the scope of this work in the near future.

The Need of the Future

What, then, is the actual position in Russia? Not only our own observers, but all other relief organisations agree that the need has not yet commenced to lessen, but that actually to-day there are more starving people than at any time before.

Not only have new districts been drawn into the ever widening circle of the famine, areas such as the Ukraine and Turkestan, but also in the old areas the greatest fears are being expressed for the new harvest, where in many places a very insufficient snowfall occurred during the past winter.

The facts of this position, coupled with the urgent necessity of rebuilding the productive forces of the country, make it essential that there shall be no diminution in relief work. Not only must we continue to feed the 200,000 people under our care, at least until the next harvest is gathered, but we must have the means to extend further our work. There are still wide famine districts where it has not yet been possible to render any effective help. The need is overwhelmingly greater than the combined means to meet it.

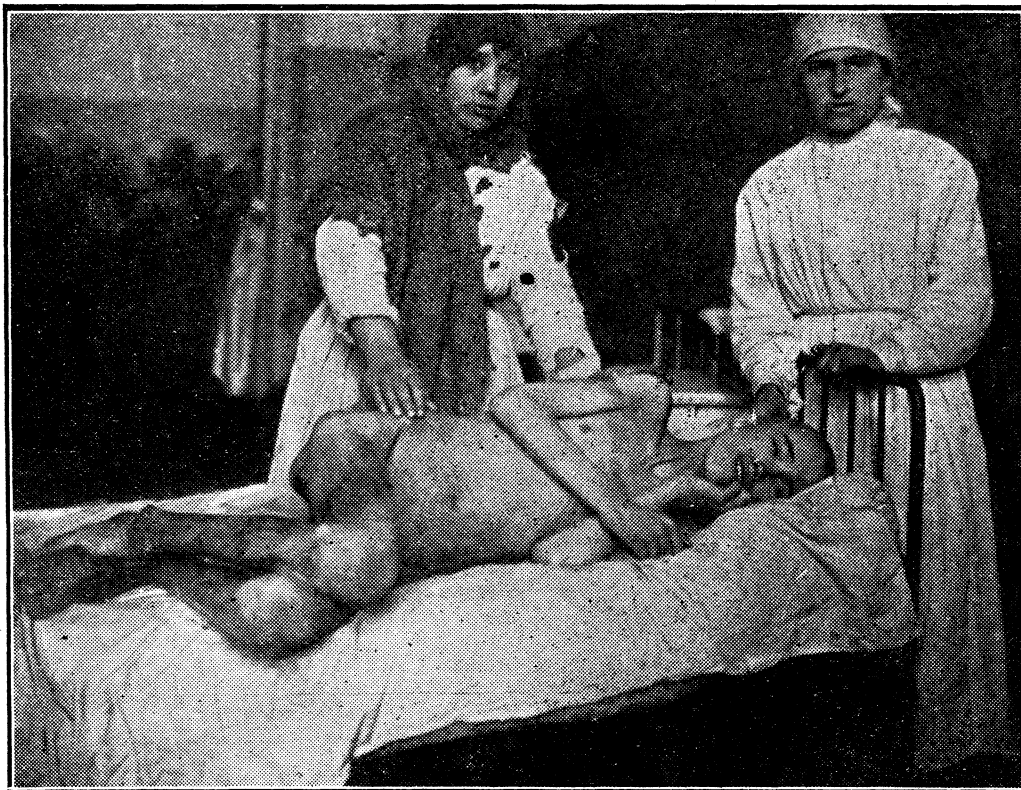
To clinch our work before the harvest and to ensure the complete carrying through of our programme, we have instituted a "Roll Call Campaign." This Roll Call book will contain the names of the workers subscribing to the Famine Fund, and thus it will be possible to preserve imperishably in the archives of the Workers' Soviet Republic a record of all those who have given to save the starving from Death. The sheets of this "Roll Call Book" are now ready and may be had on application to our office. These sheets, when filled up, will be bound and sent with food shipments to the famine areas as a record of the donors. The complete book will ultimately rest in the archives at Moscow.

This Roll Call Campaign, together with the continued regular efforts of all those sympathisers and organisations who have helped us in the past will, we hope, carry through our British campaign in the coming months so far as the necessary funds are concerned. This money effort to buy food is being supplemented internationally by gifts of goods of all kinds, and especially in the immediate future by a great "drive" for Tools.

The great need of tools of all sorts in Russia from a needle to an electric plough is so great that the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee has fixed the period beginning May 1st for a great international effort by the workers of all countries.

Tools of all sorts are needed, and will be used not only on those undertakings in which the Committee is interested, but also in other areas wherever they are needed. As our Committee works in closest contact with the Soviet Government this help for Russia is likely to be of the very greatest service.

Already this work has commenced in Germany and other countries, and on Good Friday morning a number of German workers were busily engaged in packing the collected tools into wooden crates ready for despatch to Stettin Harbour on their way to the famine areas. Tools of all sorts will be collected and packed by local committees and also may be handed in at our central office. Already we have received offers of valuable gifts of ploughs, harrows, and other useful farm implements. The central station for the tool collecting is at 35, Gray's Inn Road, W.C. 1.



This patient in one of our hospitals is in grave danger from eating a mixture of clay, bark and straw for food

Consignments

Now we append a list of the ships and consignments we have sent to the Famine Area:

1. Aug. 21st. *Egil* from Stockholm. Food.
2. Oct. 15th. *Magnus* from New York. Food.
3. *Miranda* from Stockholm. Food, Clothes and Machinery.
4. Oct. 15th. *Siegfried* from Stettin. Food, Machines, Medicines, Clothes, Kitchen equipment.
5. *Elzasier* from New York. Food.
6. *Bockland* from Hamburg. Food.
7. Nov. 3rd. *Venus* from Hamburg. Food.
8. Nov. 17th. *Frithiof* from Stockholm. Food.
9. *Delphinus* from Christiania. Food and Clothes.
10. Nov. 20th. *Eastport* from New York. Food.

In addition to these shipments four more are in preparation for the first days of May, two from American harbours, one from Scandinavia, and one from Stettin.

The Situation in Russia

All our representatives in Russia agree that the situation is progressively worsening, and that large areas which had quite good harvest, such as seven districts in the Ukraine, are now suffering frightful famine conditions. The famine area is widening in great circles, due firstly to those areas which had half harvests consuming all their food, and secondly to the influx of refugees and transport troubles.

The fact that the greatest part of famine relief is being administered by upholders of the capitalist order of society must in itself contain an ever present danger. The record of the Hoover admini-

WORK IN KAZAN

[This is a letter from O. Schulze, one of the fifty workers of the Workers' International Famine Relief. He writes from Kazan on the Volga.]

MY own centre embraces the provincial towns of Spassk, Laisheff, and Schistopol, in the country of Kazan.

We are distributing in Schistopol 3,600 daily rations and a further 1,000 daily rations in the schools of this town, and a further 800 daily rations to the workers at the following establishments:—three estates, three peasant communes, one Nursery Garden and Seed establishment, one Bee Culture centre, and one repair shop for agricultural machines.

In addition to these rations we are further distributing rations to a home-industry co-operative association, amounting to 1,800 family rations. I have thirteen schools to look after, both elementary and technical, in the latter are being turned out capable farmers, tailors, leather and tannery workers, etc.

Each school has attached to it several acres of cultivated land, and the scholars learn both theoretically and practically at the same time.

Seven of the schools are at least forty miles away in the country, and other of my feeding centres even further away. The home-industry co-operative is producing tuns, vats, sacks, wooden plates, rugs made from rush, small parts for agricultural machinery, and very many other things. When I first saw the variety and quality of the products that were being made in the home-industry co-operative I was more than astonished.

The productive work of the home-industry co-operative workers is fixed on a regular recognised basis of output, for example, a blacksmith turns out 18 hatchets daily, a cooper makes 30 buckets, a weaver three shirts, a tub maker ten tubs, etc.

My own work does not only consist in supervising the rationing centres and helping to organise the orderly and regular distribution, but further in surveying the whole productive work of the district and finding out in what way it can be increased, looking after the better organising of the estates, seeing what machines and tools are most urgently needed, and so trying to be of the greatest possible help on behalf of the International working class to the workers and peasants in my area, and give them every aid in developing their industrial and economic life.

All the kitchens which we administer in Kazan bear the name "International Workers' Famine Relief."

* * *

I am making a collection of specimens of the articles that are produced, which I shall send to you, to show what clever artificers Russian workers can be when able to work freely. Possibly an exhibition could be arranged in one of the large capitals.

I have many letters, too, descriptive of the terrible misery and distress which prevailed before we came to the district, and in which the Russian workers give their heartfelt thanks to the workers of other lands for the help that has been sent them.

I have many plans in operation for further developing industry in this rural locality. On my suggestion, the planks of a carpentering establishment are now sawn and planed in connection with one of the industrial schools, and in this way a great deal of time was saved as the school happened to have a good band-saw, cross-saws, and planing machines.

The cattle and animals that remained on the estates were in very bad condition, and had all sorts of skin diseases. These are now treated with petroleum or carbolic solution, and their condition is greatly improved. There are practically no workers or peasants with any Western technical

TELEGRAM FROM SAMARA

"The first relief of the International Workers is now in Kazan, and we send our thanks in the name of the Province of Samara. This assistance fills us with hope for the complete solidarity of the working classes of the whole world in the battle between Capitalism and the Enslaved Workers."

**Signed: President of the Trades Council of Samara, SHACHNOVSKY.
Secretary, MOROTIEFF."**

knowledge in this area, and all help and suggestions is welcomed by them. The presence of foreign workers among them encourages them to fresh efforts and new hope.

In a few days, I have to make a trip to an estate more than 100 miles away. The whole country here is so vast and wide that the idea of distance is quite different from at home.

* * *

I will now describe as best I may something of the frightful misery which I have seen. In the streets of the town it is not so bad, but in the dwelling houses in the villages the distress is frightful. No food, no clothing, often no fuel—death grins from every corner. The authorities work with all their power, send representatives to distant districts to try to buy fodder, corn, etc.,

but everywhere is famine, and they come back with empty hands. Many people are in such a condition that they can only lie on their small ovens, bags of skin and bone.

Numerous children are sick with swollen thighs and stomachs from eating bread baked out of black earth, ground-up straw, and grass. Their mouths are green and black. In the station, in the waiting room, and in the gangways are a great crowd of refugees, many of them walking skeletons, many sick from typhus and skin diseases. The children wander round the houses, and hunt under the railway waggons to see if they cannot find a potato peeling or something else eatable. Most of them are in rags or half naked. In one peasant's hut where I spent the night, the wife was sick and unable to move, the children were skeletons and half naked, and the peasant was so weak that it was an effort for him to put the fire in order. In one little hamlet of forty people, more than half were sick with typhus and skin diseases. I saw sick people there with such a horrible appearance that it is impossible to describe them.

In this hamlet, a workshop for agricultural machines was still in a fairly good condition, but the people were absolutely too exhausted to work. The equipment of the workers in the home industry was in many cases very primitive, many of the tools being fashioned from old bits of band-saw. Files, which are so necessary, were altogether lacking.

In another parish of fourteen families, the situation was even worse, but there was a tannery, carpenter's shop and a cobbler's. These will function again as soon as the people are strong enough.

In one of the professional schools where moulder and machine smiths are trained, almost half the scholars were as thin as skeletons, and equally half naked. The professor was of the opinion that they ought to stop at home, but they were so keen to learn that they often came until they collapsed at their place. The machine equipment was good. Only a few special machines and tools were lacking.

On a stud farm, there remained only five stallions, one Belgian, one American, one German, and two Russian. The manager was of the opinion that even these would die if it was not possible to get further supplies of fodder. The people who looked after these horses, the workers and their families were in an even more pitiable condition than the animals. I saw their dwelling places and their children. It was frightful.

These are a few of the places which I have seen, each one more terrible than the one before. Tools are especially lacking, wherewith more can be produced. The Russian worker is a clever worker and only needs a chance. Further than that, one needs medicines, both for men and cattle, then fodder, so that in Spring we can carry through the Spring sowing. Hay seeds, clover seeds, vegetable seeds, and turnip seeds—all are lacking.

I beg you send the next transport of food stuffs as soon as possible. It will be necessary to feed the people right up to the next harvest. Let me have, too, all the latest news of how the collections are going on in the different countries, and what ships are being sent away. You cannot imagine how much this news strengthens the courage of the people who are suffering in this frightful catastrophe.

O. SCHULZE.

TELEGRAM FROM CHELIABINSK

"In the name of the Province of Cheliabinsk, of the Trade Unions and of the children, I am directed to express their thankfulness to the Workers International Famine Relief Committee for the work they have achieved in the relief of the starving in the Province of Cheliabinsk. Your work is not in words, but it proves the solidarity of the International Proletariat. All power to the Workers International Famine Relief Committee."

Signed: President of the Provincial Executive Committee, PARAMONOFF."



These five little famine victims were saved just in time by the Workers' Funds

AFTER SEVEN WEEKS

IT is now the end of the seventh week of the lock-out. Seven weeks the A.E.U. members have been on the streets. During all this period both the rank and file of the Union and the Executive Council have been fighting well, and sticking it. It is true that they could have shown more activity and more fight: they have lost opportunities and have not created the ferment they might have done. But at least they are standing firm—they are fighting indomitably and will not give way.

When we turn to the 47 unions, rank and file or Executives, we cannot give the same praise. Hot and cold by turns: threatening to fight and then scared at their own audacity, they have neither given effective support to the A.E.U. nor bettered their own position in the least. The officials have crawled on their bellies to the employers. They have betrayed their fellows of the A.E.U. They have publicly exhibited their own foolishness and irresolution. And, after it all they are in the same position as before, and might as well have shown a decent face throughout. The notices are up, and as far as can be seen at the moment of writing, it is likely enough that on May 2nd the rank and file of the 47 will be locked out.

In the last fortnight certain incidents of grave importance have taken place in the negotiations in London. Negotiations broke down originally on the 14th of April. On the 21st and 22nd conversations were resumed between the employers and the 47 and also between the employers and the A.E.U. The conversations between the engineering employers and the A.E.U. were held on the request of the Ministry of Labour and opened with a statement by the employers that, as they perceived the A.E.U. was adamant upon the question of "managerial functions" and the famous "basis of negotiations," they would make another proposal. This was for a conference without any basis of negotiations.

But on what subjects? What would it discuss? "Why," replied the employers, "overtime, the manning of machines, the apprentices question, wages, etc., etc." Everything that had ever been discussed between the workers and the employers was to come under consideration. All agreements, including the York Memorandum, were to "be in the melting-pot."

That is to say, every single gain which the engineering workers have made since 1907 was to be brought up and challenged. The employers attack has been widened to include every Trade Union protection and gain of every kind.

The COMMUNIST told you right at the beginning of the struggle that the employers were attacking the very fabric of Trade Unionism. They are out to smash the Union. Some of them for years now have been biding their time. Ever since 1917 they have been waiting to crush "the tyranny of Trade Unionism." On the 21st

of April they avowed the truth of what we had told you. They quietly dropped the pretence that there was a special trouble about "managerial functions." They have openly turned to a general attack on Trade Union conditions in an industry.

They are thus in fact, demanding a repetition of the 1907 agreement. It perhaps would be as well to recollect what this was:—

"Employers have the right to select, train and employ those whom they consider best adapted to the various operations carried on in their workshops, and to pay them according to their ability as workmen. Employers, in view of the necessity of obtaining the most economical production, whether by skilled or unskilled workmen, have full discretion to appoint the men they consider suitable to work all their machine tools, and to determine the conditions under which they shall be worked."

It is pleasant to record the fact that the A.E.U. Council, faced with these astounding proposals, turned them down without any hesitation; this ended the conversations as far as the A.E.U. was concerned, and on the 22nd, the 47 who were negotiating separately, also found themselves, much against their will, forced to break the negotiations off.

The Position Now

What will happen now? Well, two things are possible: Either Henderson and his sheep will yet succeed in negotiating a separate peace, or they will not. If they do, the lock-out notices are withdrawn. The Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation and the Federation of General Workers are both praying agonisedly for this. Henderson, in spite of the "united front," has learnt nothing of the dangers of a separate peace. He is working as hard as he can for a fresh collapse.

If he succeeds, the 47 pass out of existence for all practical purposes. As unions, they will have proved their inability to protect their members against the bosses. They will wait idly by till the A.E.U., which is fighting their battle for them, either wins or is beaten. If it wins, they may succeed in sheltering behind it; if it loses, they will meekly and whiningly submit to any reductions the employers may order.

One other minor consequence of a success of the Henderson negotiations will be to discredit the General Council as an idea. The old cry of "Keep the Labour Party out of it" will revive, and in the general and just discredit which will overwhelm the busybodies of both 32 and 33, Eccleston Square, it is only too likely that the idea of a General Staff for Labour will vanish altogether.

A May Day Message

That is one alternative, what is the other? The other is to fight.

With that easy insolence which characterises him, Sir Allan Smith has chosen May Day as the day on which to drive the rank and file on to the streets. He has chosen May Day. Very well, on May Day let us answer him. May Day is the symbol of the

solidarity of Labour. Let us then give a May Day reply to Sir Allan:—

"NO SEPARATE PEACE!"

The rank and file of the 47 must force their leaders to fall into line with the A.E.U. to follow the A.E.U., to stand or fall with the A.E.U. If they do not, the lock-out will last maybe a couple of weeks and at the end the 47 will crawl back miserably defeated themselves, and having in no way aided the A.E.U. Only one way they can avert this wretched disaster, and that is *rank and file action*.

It is true enough that in many of the unions there is little enough fighting spirit, particularly among the General Workers. But this is largely because there has been, up to now, little real effort put into the fight. Once the rank and file organisations begin to move, they will rally to anything that shows real fight.

A beginning in the linking up of rank and file organisations has been made by the Sheffield District Committee of the A.E.U., which has circulated the unofficial programme (printed in last week's COMMUNIST), with the following additional questions:—

1. What is the possibility of Joint Committee being formed in your district on above programme?
2. What is the possibility of District Council of Unemployed in your locality taking action with such Joint Committee when formed?
3. Will you take steps to ascertain the attitude of members of the "51" and A.E.U. in your district as to action without consent of the ex-Councils?
4. What is the strength of A.E.U. members locked out and Unemployed in your district?
5. What is the strength of A.E.U. members in non-federated shops in your district?
6. Will you also suggest a date for any action being initiated?

Only by such co-ordination of action can the fight be fought on a proper scale and the employers beaten. Until the rank and file shakes off its apathy, the retreat will continue. It is up to the rank and file to take up the fight. It is time it got a move on.

Now For It

This is no isolated crisis. It is part of a great international struggle. In seven countries the engineering workers are battling against the employers. The leaders of Labour have not attempted to connect these struggles and give an international lead. They will only measure up to their task when pressure comes from below. Bring that pressure to bear in an organised fashion.

May Day is here. It will bring together the forces of Labour in every district. Raise the banner once again of working class solidarity and translate your aspirations into practice.

Call the All-in Labour Congress by all means. But remember the General Council is weak, and can only be given strength by your pressure.

Push the Sheffield programme and practice the Sheffield resolutions of action.

Widen the front and widen the programme as the soundest possible means of victory.

The Implications of Genoa

A FURTHER REPLY.

DEAR COMRADE,—I am glad Comrade Ellen Wilkinson's article was published in THE COMMUNIST because much of it is a point of view I hear rather frequently brought forward, and which I believe requires meeting and opposing.

The position of the Russian Soviet delegation at Genoa towards the capitalist representatives of other countries does, as I see it, no more compromise the Third International than does a class-conscious Trade Union Delegation compromise the principle of the class struggle when bargaining with an Employers' Committee. The Trade Union leaders should use every tactic to gain their end, because the need of the men and women they represent is so overwhelmingly great, but they should always, when the opportunity arises, force forward their interpretation of the situation from the standpoint of the class struggle, and let the employers understand that they take at the moment what they can get, but will return as soon as possible with fuller and wider demands.

Surely Comrade Ellen Wilkinson does not seriously believe that Russia, by sending delegates to Genoa, "has taken any kind of place in the Capitalist comity of nations," and will therefore "cease to voice and work for the Communist ideal?" On the contrary, Soviet Russia will now have for the first time the opportunity to speak of her ideal to the whole world, and those of us who know the record and have measured the intelligence of Russia's Commissars, and of Russia's delegates to Genoa, realise that they understand to the full the wisdom of the gesture *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

Comrade Ellen Wilkinson appears also to postulate that "there is no immediate likelihood of the World Revolution happening." On what data, I would ask, does she base that opinion? Reaction and Individualism undoubtedly reign supreme in our small island; but the mighty and mysterious East on the further frontier of Russia responds to the Communist ideal in a way which the exploited slaves of Western "civilisation" cannot realise. The black and coloured men of South Africa, torn by modern capitalism from their primitive communism in order to make profits for white men, understand when the propaganda of solidarity in

face of oppression from wage slavery is preached to them, and are ready to rise whenever the white workers shall have learnt their lesson of solidarity. New and oppressive laws are being devised in the United States and in New Zealand to keep out Communist propaganda, because the governing class knows that "The Day" is not far off. Ireland, Egypt and India, they are all ready when the hour strikes. What does it matter making some economic adjustments, or granting a few trading concessions at Genoa or elsewhere, if, at the moment that gesture is made British Imperialism can receive a staggering blow?

World Revolutions are not made from one day to another, but I firmly believe that the astuteness of the Russian delegates at Genoa will set up one of the signposts that mark the way along which World Revolution is travelling.

Yours fraternally,

D. B. MONTEFIORE.

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, STEPNEY BRANCH.—Don't forget Grand Jazz Dance at St. George's Town Hall, Cable Street, E., on Saturday, April 29th, from 7.30 to 11.30 p.m. Jazz King's Band in attendance.