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TWOPENCE

## STOP THE LOT

By J. T. MURPHY

**A**T last! After seven long weeks of weary isolation the locked-out engineering and shipbuilding workers are reinforced by the workers of the 47 unions. All the revolutionary workers of these unions, along with the Communist Party, have worked unceasingly to break down the isolation from the beginning of the struggle until now. The move has come at last not through the fighting efforts of the leaders of the Unions, not even as a direct consequence of the efforts we have made, but in spite of every possible effort of the union leaders to avoid the struggle. It has come because the engineering and shipbuilding employers are determined to smash the unions.

Nothing could be clearer than the manifestations they have made of their deliberate purpose to destroy the power of unionism. After seven weeks' manoeuvring of the union forces the notices of lock-out were posted. And immediately they are up, the final card of the open shop is thrown upon the table.

Gentlemen of the Federation, you have moved too quickly. You are not good tacticians after all. You should have waited a little longer until the labour leaders who have your interests at heart had demoralised the new forces you have thrown into the streets. Now your actions have given an impetus to those who are willing to fight against you, and even the labour leaders have become nasty tempered.

### Union Smashing

On May 2 the lock-out extended. Since May 3rd the open shop waits for the scabs. We are convinced they will not be forthcoming from the ranks of the unemployed. We are convinced they will not be forthcoming from the ranks of the unions involved. From district after district come demands, not for a slackening of effort, but for a greater unity in action. A more determined leadership and a wider and wider front.

The demands are healthy demands and we wish that the same healthy spirit and purpose animated the leaders. For the unity which is coming into the movement is coming in spite of them and not because of them.

Let us face the situation in all its realities. Not a single person in the labour movement to-day can dispute the fact that the employers are *union smashing*. That is obvious. There are very few indeed who will attempt to make a case to the effect that the engineering unions can defend their position alone.

**None can deny that the non-federated firms are allies of the federated firms receiving orders from them and intensifying production whilst the other firms are idle.**

It follows as night the day that so long as the employers operate in this way the union's resources are being depleted with very little inconvenience to the employers. The logic of the situation is clear—without the unions *pull their full weight*, and stop

production in *all the engineering and shipbuilding industry* at the very least, their efforts are valueless.

At the moment there is no indication that the union leaders are prepared to give the lead in this direction. They claim they have no quarrel with the non-federated firms, just as the 47 unions claimed they had no quarrel with the employers about managerial functions.

### The Non-Federated Firms

They were compelled to have a quarrel. And it is now high time the non-federated employers were compelled to have an interest in this situation, and if they are opposed to the demands of the Employers' Federation to state their position openly.

Up to now they have simply played the policy of waiting, knowing quite well that they are helping the Federation to smash the unions, and will be prepared to impose the conditions which arise with the termination of the present lock-out if the terms are detrimental to the workers.

To allow the non-federated firms to prosecute this policy with impunity is nothing short of the blackest treachery to the masses. There is not a union organiser who does not curse the interminable separate struggles which have to take place to settle with non-federated firms. Why then this futile policy of consideration for the non-federated firms and the futile talk of "no quarrel with them?" We have a quarrel with them. So long as they are running their factories they are aiding and abetting the federated employers in their efforts to smash the unions.

Stop them! The call has come from the rank and file everywhere. And the Sheffield D.C. of the A.E.U. has gone one better. Now there can be no excuse.

**They have given the call for all the engineering workers in the non-federated firms to cease work on May 2nd.**

That is the way they propose to celebrate May Day. Who will follow their lead? All the leading industrial centres were represented at the unofficial conference in Sheffield three weeks ago and passed a resolution for general action. Will they translate their resolutions in practice? Resolutions which are not acted upon are of no avail. Now is the time to act. Stop the wheels and stop the work in federated and non-federated shops alike. That is the way to translate the fraternity of May Day. Along this path we can save the unions from destruction.

Separate action is futile. That has been demonstrated over and over again. But the leaders will not learn. They have not only failed to attack the non-federated

firms. The 47 have again made recommendations contrary to the mandate of the rank and file. Even during the week the employers are posting the lock-out notices for their rejection of the memorandum on managerial functions. They jointly recommend a compromise on wage reductions. A compromise which may prove no compromise at all, so far as the employers are concerned.

### The 47's "Compromise"

The full 16s. 6d. will be off by June 7th. The lock-out begins May 2nd. The compromise spreads the reduction over the period up to June 7, 10s. 6d. from March 29, 3s. in the middle of May, and a further 3s. June 7.

*What if the lock-out continues until June on the memorandum?* Then the whole of the 16s. 6d. comes down *at once*, with the immediate possibility of a further reduction.

To recommend these terms at this stage of the fight is the height of imbecility. It is even worse than the action of the A.E.U. leaders who have refused to discuss wages, etc., at this juncture. Liverpool has already rejected the compromise. The London workers have shown their resentment against local settlements and compromises of this character. We urge the shipbuilding workers to turn down the proposals with the same spirit and purpose with which they rejected the first proposals. More. We urge the unions of the engineering and shipbuilding industry to get together at once and formulate uniform national wage rates for the whole industry and determine to stand together for a united settlement. Driven together by the force of circumstances, now is the time for a united effort on a united programme.

The Court of Inquiry has come. It has entered the arena ignobly. It will go out achieving little indeed. The most it can do is to give publicity to what we already know. It cannot take away the need for the development of our power. It will not be the publicity campaign which will determine the result of this struggle. Everything depends upon the magnitude of the forces we can muster and the determination we display to inconvenience the forces opposed to us.

Let them talk and enquire. The task of the union leaders is to marshal the big battalions of labour into the arena, to create the united front in action. That task they cannot escape without betraying the masses.

The task before the masses is as clear as that which lies before the leaders. Pious resolutions are as useless to one as to the other. *Unity in action* is the slogan of the hour, and its immediate application is summed up as follows:—

Stop the non-federated firms. Tie up the industry, whether the employers are federated or non-federated.

### STOP THE LOT

One and all they are out to keep us under their rule. Divided we are defeated. Together we can lay down the terms of settlement.

# WHAT COMMUNISM MEANS

A Fifth Article by T. A. JACKSON

**T**HAT things as they are can no longer be borne is agreed on all hands. That the World must undergo some process of economic re-adjustment is admitted, even by the statesmen responsible for the upkeep of the existing order. That, somehow or other, the world process of producing goods must be brought under control and direction, lest the group and national rivalries and antagonisms developed by that "order" bring the whole world to a state of collapse accompanied by universal misery—this, too, is generally admitted.

Communism—a system of society in which production would be controlled and directed by the workers in the interest of the workers—is a conceivable alternative to the existing system. Apart from tolerating this existing system in the hope that by patching and mending, wangling and contriving it can later on be made somehow or other to work—apart from a surrender to the evils that are, in the hope that somehow or other they will become less and less unbearable—apart from this, Communism is the only alternative before the workers. And (as we saw) Capitalism by its nature has engendered and is engendering in the workers a will to its overthrow—and by its exactions is driving the workers to make an attempt thereat.

## Revolution

The concrete forms in which this Will of the Workers is made manifest are (a) the trade unions and their transformation (of late) more and more into industrial unions and finally One Big Union for the (ultimately) united Working Class—One Class, One Foe, One Fight and One Victory. (b) the entry of the workers first as individuals, then as groups (trade union and other) finally as a mass into political action designed, more or less consciously, to bring the direction of public affairs and the exercise of public authority under their control.

In a word—in the growth of a vigorous trade-unionism and of militant workers' politics, each growing more and more revolutionary in spirit and in aim we see before our eyes in this and in every other land the growth of the Workers' Will to establish a New Order—a state of Communism.

Now, I may be told at this point that only a tiny minority of these workers call themselves Communists. That a majority of them are not even Socialists. That a good many of them won't even vote for a Labour Candidate, let alone strike, strive, or fight for a Communist Republic.

This is true but it makes (as you will see) little difference. It matters little that the workers refuse to call themselves Communists—it matters much that every day they are either driven to do the things that the Communist says they should and must do or suffer defeat and hardship from refusing to take that course.

The essential thing is the *direction in which things are moving*, and that clearly is *towards a Workers' Revolution*.

What is a Revolution?

When the power and authority—the ability to give orders and get them obeyed: the responsibility for public policy and the power to carry that policy into effect: the ability to decide that in this or that country such and such things shall be done and such and such things *not* done, with the power to see that things are done as has been decided—when this "State" power and authority passes from the hands of one class into those of another which up to that time has been a subject and *ruled* class, then a "Revolution" has been accomplished.

A Revolution is a capture of the means and authority of Government by a subject class from a ruling class—the subjected becoming rulers and the rulers subjected.

*Note.*—A Revolution does not depend upon the amount of blood spilled—any more than upon the number of windows broken. Much blood could be shed—as in war—and there be no Revolution: contrariwise there *might* be a great Revolution with no blood shed at all. The amount of noise, anger, damage, and violence does not decide whether a given social change is to be classed as a revolution or not. What does decide is the nature of the alteration effected in the relations between *classes*.

A word as to our use of that term "classes."

All men are, in some few respects, alike. All men in some other respects differ. In some respects men can be separated into groups having some quality or characteristic in common which distinguishes them from the rest of the community. Mankind can, for example, be classified according to religion, race, language, nationality, and habitation; according to the shape of their heads, the

colour of their skin, their matrimonial habits, and their political prejudices.

These classifications are all of them purely *mental*—things convenient for the purposes of an argument or a particular scientific inquiry. They are of little or no importance in every-day life and practice. A man's income, for instance, does not vary because his head is long or broad. Religion, of itself, has a different bearing upon a man's material interest from place to place and time to time, and most important of all, men separated by either of these classifications are in practice united to one another by their community of interest, and separated from the rest of the community by an antagonism of interests.

When we speak of "classes" we mean those sections into which a nation falls under pressure of divergent and antagonistic economic interest—sections which tend to possess a common mentality prompted by a likeness in their mode of life, a freedom of intercourse arising from this likeness, and a need to support each other against the encroachments of other classes.

The old feudal aristocracy, for instance, were bound together by their titled status and their special privileges, material and moral, as against the Crown, the burghers, the free tenants, and the serfs.

In modern times the capitalist class—originally regarded with contempt by the aristocracy—has after centuries of struggle displaced them from their position of rulers and stripped them of those *material* privileges which made them function as a distinct class. We have in Britain now no aristocrat *class*. What we have masquerading in their titles and uniforms is a section of the Bourgeois or Capitalist Class with a taste for the ritual and mummery of antiquity.

The capitalist class rules. Their rule is effected through instruments which (having a long history) look as though they were something quite different from what they are. We have laws, Statute and Common; we have Houses of Lords and Commons, a King, a Prime Minister (i.e., "First Servant") of the King, and a number of His Majesty's Secretaries of State, and Presidents of Boards, who, together with the Prime Minister, constitute His Majesty's Government and (in theory) administer His Majesty's affairs. They raise His Majesty's Revenue in the form of taxes, and imposts. They (theoretically) control His Army, His Navy, His Air Force, His Civil and Consular Service, His Ambassadors, and His Prisons.

All this machinery of Government you see is (leaving aside for the moment the Houses of Commons and Lords—except as constituting His Majesty's Parliament—the "Chief Council of the State") nominally a machine subject to the sway and direction of THE KING.

In theory every single man, woman, and child in this country is "subject" to the King and His Laws. In practice, if the King were to start King-ing in earnest—like a King in a fairy tale, he would lose his job because he would be "unconstitutional."

There are, you see, certain rules that have been laid down from time to time saying that the King *must not* do this and *must do* what he does do in *such* a way and no other.

He may, and *in theory* does, pick out whom he pleases to be his "First Servant." In practice he always picks out the accepted leader of the Party having a majority in the House of Commons. He does this because although the taxes and customs duties are levied in the King's name and by the King's authority he can only give this authority when the House of Commons says he may. The Prime Minister is, therefore, for all practical purposes, nominated by the Party having a majority in the House of Commons. And the King is little else than an instrument in the hands of that majority.

## The "Democratic" Fallacy

This has led to the rise of the theory that if we want to alter the Government we need only take the course required to attain the necessary Parliamentary majority, with the counter-part of that theory—the claim that this country is ruled in accordance with the will of the electors.

During the period (which lasted till quite recently) in which only a very few people had votes all discontent among the poor, the working and the lower middle classes was diverted, sooner or later, into a demand for a vote at Parliamentary elections. So much so that the extension to the "common people" of the right to vote seemed to be the one thing necessary to make possible a heaven upon earth. And the first sorts of Socialism grew up as an extension or qualification of this "Democratic" theory.

Elect a majority of Socialists—said these people—and you will have a Government which will be able to establish Socialism. Because the people have not elected a majority of Socialists (said the friends of the existing order) it is clear that they do not want it. And, as they must be supposed to understand their own business, because they do not want it, they do not need it either.

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This "Democratic" superstition made several great assumptions which actual experience has shown to be not only unwarranted but positively false. It supposed that a mere Government decree was all powerful—so that the House of Commons majority had but to issue an order and the thing was settled—and it supposed that at an election every elector would vote in the calm of a dispassionate logical conclusion from all the relevant facts. It also supposed that the difference between things as they are and things as the workers need them to be is only one of *detail* administration—capable of introduction without any drastic interference with the normal habits of the mass of the population.

On all these points the "Democratic" and "Reform" Socialist theory has proved false. Not only is a Government decree *not* all-powerful; a Capitalist Government, however big its majority, cannot carry on for a week without the active support of the financiers. It cannot enforce a single law without a whole hierarchy of coercion—police, military and naval—and even then its success requires at least the passive consent of the mass whose life conduct is affected by the decree.

The extent to which Governments can rely upon the automatic obedience even of their coercive agents is again (as was shown in 1914 by the officers at the Curragh) sharply limited. When the change contemplated is one that involves the loss of privileges and possessions by a class that hitherto has had a full and free enjoyment of all the best that life has to offer, and a class, too, that has access to the chief departments of State and the chief materials of warfare, it stands plain to sense and reason that such a decree, however big the Parliamentary majority giving it sanction, will be resisted in such a way and by such a favourably placed class as would make civil war an inevitable preliminary to the re-establishment of Government authority and the effecting of the desired alteration.

Let it be remembered that in the change contemplated by the Communist is involved the complete alteration of the object of wealth production, the spirit of workshop management, the nature of the Government machinery, and the practical social relations within the community. That the workers as a class will come to desire this change is easily supposed—in fact, the surprising thing is that they have not done so sooner. But that they will be allowed to come to that decision in peace and quietness and to express it in the form of a parliamentary majority with the class whose privileges are threatened doing nothing to obscure the issue, or to obstruct and stifle the propaganda in favour of Communism, can be supposed only by those totally ignorant of real life and actual experience.

## Counter Revolution

In short—apart from anything else—the Boss class who now rule can be trusted to delay the day of their dispossession (a) by the spreading of misinformation tending their glory and the discredit of the Communists; (b) by active legal and social coercion of the Communists—aimed at the extinction of their propaganda; (c) by faking the election issues in such a way as to stall off a clear mandate; (d) by the cessation of elections—as during the war; (e) and, when all else fails, by every sort of sabotage culminating in civil war.

\* \* \*

Such is the state of the world: so great and so widespread the misery, so complete seems the economic collapse of Europe that no man can be sure that a crisis may not be upon us in which millions literally starving clamour for the satisfaction of their needs.

Already strikes and lock-outs bring masses of workers within sight of conflict with the armed forces of the State—reinforced by armed volunteer bands of upper and middle-class enemies of the workers' class aspirations. Even now it is with difficulty that conflicts are avoided between the unemployed and the police.

Nothing is more certain than that any alleviation of the workers' lot involves the capture of the State Power and authority by the Working Masses (or by some organised party acting in their name and with their backing) determined upon the suppression of all rights and privileges that block the way to the enjoyment by the workers of life, security, and happiness.

A Class War culminating in the establishment of a Workers' State is inevitable.

# WHO'S WHO IN CHINA

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

**W**HILST all eyes in the West are directed towards Genoa, anxiously watching the turn of events, there are happening in China a series of manoeuvres, some political and some economic, which threaten to embroil that country in civil war.

But a few months ago and there was sitting at Washington another of these world assemblies, wherein the States there represented were endeavouring (under the pretence of settling outstanding difficulties and ensuring at least a decade of peace), to over-reach each other in the scramble for fields of exploitation. That Conference had to do primarily with the question of naval disarmament and the problem of the Far East, of China and of the Pacific.

Great were the expectations which it excited, considerable were the hopes with which it concluded. It presented an opportunity for the Government of the United States, with characteristic uncton and under the guise of promoting international reconciliation, to present to Britain and Japan what was in reality an ultimatum. There, and in that setting, was naval abdication forced upon a Power, traditionally the Mistress of the Seas, but now, actually, the bond-servant of the usurers of Wall Street. There was concluded an amiable but almost meaningless pact governing questions affecting the Pacific, questions which are unlikely to arise except as sequential to questions concerning China.

There was much talk about China, its status as a Power and its future relations with the great capitalist nations. The hold upon its resources and its rulers obtained by Japan was in some measure relaxed, but the whole position was left in an altogether indefinite and unsatisfactory condition.

## What Wall Street is After

The United States is not, officially, represented at Genoa. This greatest of the capitalist States is holding aloof, unwilling to entangle itself in the difficulties of a Continent with its capitalist future too obviously in the past. The United States is more concerned with a Continent just entering upon the phase of capitalist development, with proportionately inconsiderable burdens of indebtedness weighing down its governments and draining the productive energies of its peoples, with its social system not yet riven and blasted by the antagonisms of nationalist factions and economic classes. The United States intends to be in a position to avail itself of whatever opportunities the course of affairs in China may take. The United States intends to permit the jealousies of the European States still further to aggravate their economic deterioration and to prevent them reinforcing their commercial activity by political support in the markets of the East.

Thus, whilst Britain, France, and Germany wrangle and intrigue, negotiate and threaten each other at Paris and at Genoa—squabbling over the fate of Turkey or the future of Russia—whilst they deliberate concerning the salvage of Europe, the stabilisation of the exchanges and the reform of the currencies—they have little or no time to give to the momentous issues of the impending civil war in China.

## The Rift Within the Loot

France is not as much concerned about the East as is Great Britain. The former has traditions and aspirations which cause her to seek political advantage and economic gain rather in Eastern and Central Europe than in Eastern Asia. The progressive deterioration of the economy of Germany and Russia presents her governing class with a prospect of foreclosures and of subsequent compulsory liquidation and administration of the bankrupt countries by themselves as official receivers. France does not desire so much to trade with Germany or Russia as to loot them by systematic and merciless exploitation. France is dominated by the notions of the bondholder, the creditor of states burdened with debts.

Great Britain would restore Europe in order that the merchants of the one might

exchange commodities with those of the other and to obviate the danger of the products of Europe being used to undersell British commodities in the markets of the world. Great Britain would patch up a peace sufficiently stable to permit her to give the greater part of her attention to the problems of Imperial expansion in the East.

Thus, the news that there is a Marshal Chang-Tso-Lin and a General Wu-pei-fu, who are likely soon to come into open warfare in the neighbourhood of Peking, is not something having no relation to the Conference at Genoa. It has a very intimate relation indeed.

Marshal Chang-Tso-Lin, the military leader of the Northern faction, having the support of Japan and of Sun Yat Sen, whose government at Canton has the general encouragement of the British, would, if his arms were triumphant, give concessions to the Japanese and to the British. General Wu-pei-fu, the army commander of the democratic party, in control of the Middle Provinces, has, needless to say, the goodwill of the United States. If he establishes himself, there will be contracts for American railway concessionaires, orders for American equipment, openings for American banking houses.

Two days before the Press chronicled the imminence of battle between the two leaders, Lord Northcliffe, personally, made an attack on Japan, wrote an article in the *Daily Mail*, in his best, "Hate the Hun" style, entitled, "Watch Japan!"

Just at that precise moment, Albert Edward, etc., etc., better known as "Our Young Man," was being accorded an official welcome by the Imperial Government of Japan and the respective royalties were exchanging felicitates and decorations.

## Morgan and Alfred, Thy Servant

But the Northcliffe Press is a Pro-French Press. Latterly, Lord Northcliffe has swung round to promote the cause of friendship and co-operation, not only with the national executive of the Credit Lyonnais and the Banque de Paris, but with the official organ of Morgan, Harjes and Co., of Paris, Morgan, Grenfell and Co., of London, and J. P. Morgan and Co., of Wall Street—to wit, the U.S. Government.

The Wilson administration was a "Democratic Party" Administration. It was Pro-French. The Harding administration is a "Republican Party" administration. It is, therefore, traditionally favourable to the clients of J. P. Morgan and Co. and Drexel and Co., viz., to the British governing class.

Since the "Grand Old Party" came back to power in the United States, there has been an official swing over towards Great Britain, just so far as this country's policy is inspired by Northcliffe and subservient to the interests of J. P. Morgan and Co., and Schneider-Creusot.

Northcliffe has laboured against the Japanese Alliance, which is a menace to the United States, and keeps Japan in another camp from that of France.

There are two currents of policy running in Britain, France, and America. There is a policy favourable to the interests of the French bondholders and the American bankers. There is a policy favourable to the interests of the old financial oligarchy of London and Frankfurt-on-Main. The protagonists of these policies are sometimes in different groups and then the groups fight each other. They are sometimes inside the same group, and then the fight goes on inside the group.

This entanglement is visible, not only in Europe, but in China. There, over a quarter of a century, the financial dog-fight has been going on unceasingly and with a continuously new orientation of partners and new complications of antagonists.

## Money Talks—and gets Tongue-tied

Last year, one of the French groups got into serious difficulties and, for one reason

or another, the *Banque Industrielle de Chine* failed.

The President of the Bank and the Permanent Secretary to the French Foreign Office were brothers. After the one fell the other. Moneys had passed from the former to the latter, and Poincare, the creature of another group, righteously demanded (and secured) that an example should be made of the culprit. Berthelot fell, and then fell Briand. To secure that was one reason why Berthelot was attacked so furiously.

The *Banque de l'Indo-Chine*, and its group of supporters, are supreme in French finance, at home and abroad, and now not only supreme but unchallenged.

The interests, very considerable in extent, that pertained to the *Banque Industrielle de Chine*, have now either been forfeited to the other group, or have come under the control of the British partners in the Peking Syndicate, Ltd.—a coal mining and railway property concern, operating in or about Peking and Tsientsin.

The greater of the British interests is not however this Peking Syndicate, but the *British and Chinese Corporation, Ltd.*, whose agents are, and whose promoters were the all-powerful Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank, and Jardine, Matheson and Co., the great China merchants. The British and Chinese Corporation, together with the Peking Syndicate, Ltd., promoted and control the *Chinese Central Railways, Ltd.*

The Corporation operates in the South, the Peking Syndicate in the North, and the Central Railways concern was formed to link them together, eventually, into one railway system.

Amongst the financiers and contractors involved in the British and Chinese Corporation are:—

The Rothschilds,  
The Erlangers,  
The Sassoons,  
The Hambros,  
Armstrong-Whitworths,  
Vickers,  
Jardine Mathieson and Co.  
The Cassels,  
The Seligmans,  
The Montagus,  
The Samuels (Shell group).

In the Peking Syndicate are:—

Lord St. Davids,  
The Sterns,  
The Swiss Bank Corporation.

In the Chinese Central Railways are:—

The Societe Generale de Paris,  
The Banque d'Outremer de Bruxelles,  
The Imperial Ottoman Bank,  
The Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas,  
The Banque de l'Indo Chine,  
The Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris,  
The British and Chinese Corporation,  
The Peking Syndicate.

## Where the British Boodle is

The preponderance of capital is, however, British.

Here we have an instance of an internal conflict of interests, a conflict of interests that came together in 1904, in evident antagonism to other interests now eliminated and by their elimination releasing new forces for discussion.

In the South the interests are British; in the North, British; in the Middle Provinces, British and French.

In the North, a British, French, and Belgian concern runs the Kailan Mining Administration, in conjunction with native capital. There, the interests are the same as those upon the Rand—with Armstrong-Whitworths added.

In the Hankow and the Manchurian regions are Japanese mining and railway concessionaires. On the Yellow River and elsewhere in the centre are such Americans as the Siems Carey Company, in the American International Corporation. These are coming in but—have not secured a firm footing.

That is, the cause of (much of) the trouble.



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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## NOTES OF THE WEEK

**International** We noted last week that the Red International of Labour Unions had asked the Amsterdam International to assist it in aiding the A.E.U. It has also sent a wire to the A.E.U. announcing this and wishing the A.E.U. good luck. Now the Amsterdam International has replied that it "does not find it possible to take the proposed action" because—priceless impudence!—it is concentrating "all its energies on the reconstruction of Russian economic life."

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**South Africa** Over 800 prisoners were taken by General Smuts' forces in South Africa. Eight hundred workers taken in fair fight. Jan Smuts is going to murder those men.

He has announced in the South African Assembly that he will not try men by statute law, but by old Roman-Dutch law. That means that every man who can be proved to have fired a gun in the Rand war will be tried for murder, and if convicted, hung.

There is only one way to stop this.

Labour is broken in South Africa. They cannot save them there. But over here we can. Smuts has a European reputation, of which he is very fond.

A real vigorous protest over here will stop his hand. Get to it!

\* \* \*

**The Open Shop** As the engineering struggle goes on, the employers become more violent and more outrageous. It is not clear whether this is necessarily a sign of confidence. Violence of this kind is sometimes a sign of uncertainty and weakness.

Be that as it may, the new attack of Sir Allan Smith and his colleagues can only be answered by fiercer fighting by the rank and file.

The decision of the engineering employers is that the shops shall be opened and they will negotiate individually with the men. An excellent decision, for now we know where we are and there is no possibility of error. Not merely do they wish to defeat the A.E.U. and the other unions. Henceforward for them the unions will have no existence. They must be smashed—wiped out of existence.

"We will negotiate with each man individually."

We know what that means. It means the destruction of every defence the engineering worker has. From a body of men, badly organised, it is true, but yet organised and capable of self defence, they are to be turned into a helpless defeated crowd of scammers for jobs, like the unfortunate flotsam and jetsam which not so many years ago used to fight at the gates of the London Docks. And to those who are most servile, who will promise, cap in hand, to work longest for least wages, jobs will be given. For the rest, there is always the House, and therefore there can be no hardship.

This has been done in the U.S.A. In the States the steelmasters have broken just such a union as the A.E.U. They have forced the "open shop," and in none of the shops of the great Pennsylvania area

will you find a shop steward, a working agreement, or any sign of independence. Every worker there is a battered, cringing, broken thing. Gary and the other employers are autocrats and, soul and body, their employees are their property.

\* \* \*

**Not so Fast!** To this wretched state Sir Allan Smith and his friends hope to reduce the engineering workers of England—those workers who have seventy and more years of traditions of organisation behind them. They hope to crush as easily and completely the Society of Newton and William Allan as finally and as easily as they would the Clerk's Union of yesterday.

Not so fast! Not quite so fast, Sir Allan! The A.E.U. man may be conservative, but he has not yet learnt to lick the foot that stamps on his face.

This last defiance of the employers should and will be the piece of impudence which will drive the rank and file of all the locked-out unions into fierce activity and bring a smashing, shattering return blow.

## STATEMENT FROM THE PARTY COMMISSION

*The Party Commission will issue its First Report to the full Executive Meeting on 13th May. The report will cover*

- 1 *Present position of Party Organisation.*
- 2 *Finance.*
- 3 *Headquarters' Staff.*
- 4 *Subscription Rates and Divisional Finance.*

*The Commission has been compelled by the urgency of the situation to concentrate so far on immediate needs of bringing down expenditure and facing the financial prospect of the Party. The Commission will proceed with all possible speed to the constructive side of its work with regard to local and district organisations and the development of the Party activities.*

*On the recommendation of the Commission the sub-E.C. has already made serious reductions in expenditure. The warning must be given that this is only a beginning, and Divisions and Branches need to be devising ways and means now to keep going the Party's activities in the face of the present adverse financial situation.*

*In order to place the position before the Party the members of the Commission are arranging to present their report personally before general meetings of members in as many districts as can be arranged.*

**Call out the Non-Federated Shops** Blow for blow. This attack cannot be left without answer. The struggle must be extended. Elsewhere in this issue is a strong lead on this subject by J. T. Murphy. We endorse his remarks.

The time has come to call out the non-federated shops.

We are aware of the arguments for keeping them in. The London Vehicle Workers, it is argued, recently won a strike by keeping in the taxi-men and levying them for support. Could not the same be done by the 5s. levy on the A.E.U. men working?

It could not. Even if we allow for the most enthusiastic response and support of the levy, the lock-out cannot be won by such means. The maximum amount brought in by the levy will not save the financial situation. It will be a mere fleabite. The Union cannot merely "fight on funds."

Not so far from this office, on the river-side, there is a non-federated shop. It is working now far into the night: the noise and clanging disturbs the neighbourhood as it has never done before. The owners are having the time of their lives, never have orders since the war rushed in like this.

To the non-federated firms has fallen the task of supplying the necessary day-to-day repairs of capitalism.

The non-federated firms are keeping industry going.

It is easy enough for the federated firms to watch the lock-out with a smile. The

market is poor: they are missing few orders. But it would be a different matter if the absolutely necessary engineering repairs that are required every day were stopped. The paralysis of the lock-out would creep relentlessly over the whole of industry once these were stopped. While they go on, the employers can afford to wait indefinitely.

Do not be deceived. The capitalists of this country are not fools. If they are keeping open these non-federated shops, they have their reasons. And that is enough for you.

Stop fooling! Call out the non-federated shops right away!

\* \* \*

**The Circular** We are able to print below the first copy of the "open shop" invitation, now being sent out by the employers:—

The Telephone Manufacturing Co.

Head Office:

Martell Road,

West Norwood.

Mr. —

Dear Sir,

You will doubtless be aware of the recent developments in connection with the Federation Lock-out.

This means that we can offer you employment in our Tool Room again, provided you accept as conditions of employment the terms set out on the attached form.

It should be further pointed out that since you were last in our employ, we have been compelled to make further reductions in hourly rates, to bring ourselves into line with other Federated Firms, although our rates are still above the recognised figures. In your case, we offer to reinstate you at 1s. 9d. per hour.

Please let us know per return whether or not you intend to commence work immediately.

The rate of members was 2s. per hour before the lock-out.

This is the notice posted by all firms under the control of the Federation:—

## THE ENGINEERING AND NATIONAL EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION.

On and after Wednesday, 3rd May, 1922, employment is available to a certain number of workpeople in these works on the following conditions:—

1. That the Employers have the right to issue instructions to which the workpeople undertake to conform.
2. That Employers agree that their instructions shall be subject to the provisions of any formal agreement in existence from time to time and consistent with the foregoing.
3. That subsequent opportunity will be afforded for discussion, if desired, of any question arising out of the operation of the instructions.

It is hoped that the final adjustment of the Working Conditions will be arrived at amicably between the Federations and the Trade Unions.

(Name of Firm) The Telephone Mfg. Co., Ltd.  
(Date) 29th April, 1922.

## Startling Offer!

Nearly 9/- worth  
of books for 2/6

In order to clear our shelves we are offering the following parcel of important books and pamphlets dealing mainly with Soviet Russia at 2/6 (carriage paid 3/-)

	Published Price	s.	d.
Proletarian Revolution by N. Lenin ...	...	2	0
Left Wing Communism by N. Lenin ...	...	2	0
Revolutionary Essays by Bela Kun ...	...	0	7
Coming of Socialism by L. Deslinieres ...	...	0	9
Laws of the Russian Republic ...	...	0	9
The World Revolution by H. Gorter ...	...	1	0
Trade Unions in Soviet Russia ...	...	1	6
		8	7

Only a limited number of parcels available. Orders dealt with as received. Send at once to

Publication Dept., C.P.G.B., 16, King St.,  
Covent Garden, W.C.2

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## CHAPTER VI. DENOUEMENT (continued)

But it was just this accommodating spirit, dictated by political expediency, which was interpreted in Tiflis as a sign of our weakness. Our friends in Tiflis wrote to us that from the beginning the ruling Mensheviks refused point blank to understand the motives of our pacific attitude. They, the Mensheviks, perfectly understood that we could occupy Georgia without a battle. They soon brought forward the fantastic excuse, that Great Britain insisted on our pacific relations with Georgia as a preliminary condition of any negotiations with us. Be that as it may, their original nervousness was turned into insolence, and provocative acts followed each other in rapid succession. During the period of our military failure on the Polish front, and of our difficulties on the Wrangel front, Georgia quite openly joined the ranks of our enemies. This miserable petty-bourgeois democracy, without any broad political and revolutionary outlook and prospective—one day cringing to the Hohenzollerns, and the next day ready to go on all fours before Wilson—supporting Wrangel, but ready to desert him when it suited it—entering into an agreement with the Soviet Russia with the intention of deceiving her, this cowardly "Menshevik Democracy" got itself into a hopeless tangle, and signed its own doom.

As we have already stated, we did not consider the military liquidation of Menshevik Georgia politically expedient, although such an act would have been perfectly justifiable. We were, of course, aware that the Menshevik politicians would raise a hue and cry in all the languages of democratic civilisation, if we were to tread on their corns. For they were not merely Rostov, Novocherkassk or Ekaterinodar workers whom Denikin's followers, aided by the friendly neutrality and practical co-operation of the Georgian Mensheviks, murdered in hundreds and in thousands, and who fell uncomplainingly and uncelebrated by Europe. Was it not clear from the first that the Georgian Menshevik politicians, being all intellectuals, ex-students at various European universities, and hospitable hosts of Renaudel, Vandervelde, and Kautsky, were bound to wring the hearts of all the organs of social democracy, liberalism and reaction? Was it not perfectly clear that this family of politicians, who had disgraced themselves by supporting the imperialist slaughter, these worn-out deserters of official socialism, would answer the complaints of their injured Georgian brothers by indignant howls, in order to show how ready they were to listen to the voice of Justice, and to show their devotion to the ideals of democracy, all the more so, as they could do this without any cost to themselves? We knew them too well not to have known that they would not let pass such a splendid opportunity for Resolutions, Manifestoes, Declarations, Appeals, Memoranda, Articles, and Speeches, all delivered with the most pathetic tremolo in their voices. Even for this reason alone,

only from the desire not to give any occasion for international "democratic" hysteria, we were prepared to leave the Menshevik leaders of the counter-revolution severely alone in their Georgian refuge.

We would have acted thus even if we did not have other more weighty reasons. We wanted to come to an agreement. We proposed to the Mensheviks joint action against Denikin, but they refused this proposal. We made an agreement with them, which interfered much less with their independence than the protectorate of the Entente. We insisted on the carrying out of the agreement, and we denounced the hostile attitude of the Georgian Mensheviks in a long series of notes and protests. Through pressure by the Georgian working masses, we were endeavouring to secure in Georgia a neighbour who could even be a useful intermediary for us between the Soviet Federation and the capitalist West. Such was our political orientation with relation to Georgia. But there was no longer any turning back for the Mensheviks. In studying to-day the documentary evidence of our relations with the Menshevik Government, I have often wondered at our patience, and at the same time I could not help paying a tribute of recognition to the gigantic bourgeois machine of falsifications and lies by which the inevitable Soviet Revolution in Georgia was represented as a sudden unprovoked military attack; as a descent of the Soviet wolf on the innocent Red Riding Hood of Menshevism. Ah! you poets of the Stock Exchange, you romancers of diplomacy, you mythologists of the big press—you servants of the boss!

Kautsky, with the penetration peculiar to him, has exposed the idealist mechanism of the Bolshevik revolution in Georgia, as follows: The rising did not have its beginning in Tiflis, as would have been the case if it had come from the working masses. It took place on the borders of the country, and in proximity to the Soviet forces. It developed from the periphery to the centre. Was not this a conclusive proof that the Menshevik regime fell a victim to military violence from outside? Such reasoning would do credit to a newly selected J.P., but it is not an explanation of historical events.

The Soviet Revolution at the beginning spread from the Petrograd and Moscow centres throughout the former Tsarist Empire. At that time the revolution had no army. Its pioneers were the detachments of hastily armed workers, who, without any opposition, entered the most backward provinces, and who built up the Soviet Power with the sympathy and support of the working masses. In those parts where the bourgeois and landowners had taken possession of the centre, as for instance on the Don or the Kuban, the revolution moved from the periphery to the centre, often with the collaboration of agitators and fighters from the capitals.

### "FROM THE PERIPHERY"

However, the counter-revolution, with the help from outside, succeeded in regaining possession of the more backward border provinces, and firmly established itself there, as happened on the Don and in the Kuban, in the Caucasus, in the Volga regions, in Siberia, on the White Sea, and even in the Ukraine. The revolutionary and counter-revolutionary armies were being built up simultaneously. The question of the limits of the Soviet revolution was beginning to be decided by means of regular battles and military campaigns. The armies were not introduced from "outside," but were created by those classes which were conducting a life and death struggle throughout the whole length and breadth of the former Tsarist Empire. This revolutionary class struggle, that is to say, began to express itself in regular military campaigns. It is true, that the counter-revolution was to a great extent supported by military forces from outside. But this fact makes our deductions all the more convincing. Without Petrograd, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the Donetz Basin, and the Urals, there would have been no Revolution. The Donetz region itself would have never established the Soviet Power. Neither would it have been established by the rural districts of the Moscow province. But as the Moscow villages, the Kuban Cossack Settlements, and the Volga Steppes had always formed one State and one economic whole, they were drawn with the first into the whirlpool of revolution, the revolutionary leadership of the towns and the industrial proletariat was established over all of them. The spread and the victory of the revolution was not guaranteed by plebiscite in every part of the country, but by the incontestable hegemony of the proletarian vanguard throughout the country. Some of the border provinces in the West succeeded with the aid of armed forces from outside, not only in getting temporarily out of the whirlpool of revolution, but even in maintaining a bourgeois regime for a considerable length of time. "The democracies" of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and even of Poland, owe their existence to the fact that at the critical moment of their creation, foreign military forces were supporting the bourgeoisie and oppressing the proletariat. It is just in those countries adjoining the capitalist West, that the inter-relation and the co-operation of the revolutionary forces were prevented by the massacre, the incarceration and the deportation of the best proletarian elements by the military forces which had been brought in from outside. It is only in this way that in these countries a temporary equilibrium of a democracy on a bourgeois basis was established. By the by, there is no reason whatever why the righteous members of the Second International should not bring forward the following programme: the

evacuation of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, etc. of the bourgeois armies which have been formed with the aid of forces from outside; the liberation of all those who had been arrested and the return of all exiles (as far as it is possible to resurrect those who have been killed); the referendum.

The position of Trans-Caucasia was different, in that it was separated from the centre of revolution by the Cossack Vendee. Without Soviet Russia the petty-bourgeois Trans-Caucasian democracy would have been immediately crushed by Denikin. Without the White Guards on the Don and in the Kuban it would have been at once dissolved in the Soviet Revolution, for it was kept in existence by the strenuous civil war in Russia and by foreign military aid in Trans-Caucasia itself. As soon as the civil war was ended by a victory for the Soviet Republic, the overthrow of the petty-bourgeois regime in Trans-Caucasia became inevitable.

As early as February, 1918, Jordania was complaining that the Bolshevik spirit had taken hold of the rural as well as the town population, and even of the Menshevik workers. There were perpetual peasant risings in Georgia. While in Soviet Russia the legal Menshevik newspapers were not interfered with until the rising of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks in May, 1918, in Georgia the Communist Party was driven underground as early as the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the fact that Soviet Russia was entirely cut off, and that the continuous presence of foreign armies were terrorising the workers of Trans-Caucasia, there were many more Red risings in Georgia than White risings on Soviet territory. Repression was practised to a much greater degree by the Georgian Government than by the Russian Soviet Government.

Our victory over Denikin, which was at the same time a victory over the all-powerful Entente, made an enormous impression on the Trans-Caucasian masses. At the approach of the Soviet armies to the frontiers of Azerbaidjan and Georgia, the working masses of these Republics, who had never ceased to be at one with the Russian working masses, were caught up on the wave of the revolution. Their temper may be compared to that which had seized the masses of East Prussia and to a great extent of the whole of Germany, at the time of our advance on Warsaw, and of the approach of the left wing of the Red Army to the German frontiers. In Germany, however, it was only a passing phase, while the annihilation of the Denikin armies in the sight of the Entente was decisive, and imbued the working masses of Azerbaidjan, Armenia, and Georgia with the conviction that the Soviet Government to the north of them was henceforth firmly established.

### THE REVOLUTION COMES

In Azerbaidjan the Soviet Revolution took place almost automatically at the approach of our armies to the frontiers of the Republic. The ruling bourgeois-landowner party "Mussavat" did not have the traditions and the influence of the Georgian Mensheviks. Baku, which plays a much more important part in Azerbaidjan than Tiflis does in Georgia, has been a stronghold of Bolshevism. The "Mussavatists" ran away, leaving the power in the hands of the Bolsheviks without a fight. The part played by the Armenian "Dashnaks" (the corresponding Armenian party), was not more dignified. In Georgia events developed in a more orderly fashion. The repressed Bolshevik tendencies began to assert themselves. The Communist Party, as an organisation, grew rapidly, and still more rapidly attracted to itself the sympathies of the working masses. The journal of the Georgian Socialist-Federalist "Sakatvello," on December 7th, 1920, contained the following statement: "To-day the power of the Communists in Georgia is something quite different from what it was a few months ago. At that time there were no Bolsheviks near Georgia, and we were surrounded by independent nationalist republics. Our economic and financial position was comparatively much better than to-day. To-day, however, we have a different picture, and the change is all in favour of the Bolsheviks. In Georgia, the Bolsheviks have now party organisations, and in some working class circles, for instance, in the printers' trade union, they have a majority. Generally, Bolshevik activity is assuming large dimensions. Inside we witness the growth of the Bolshevik forces, and outside we see their complete domination. Such is the present situation in Georgia."

These complaints of a hostile paper, which reflect real facts, are of great importance to us, for they categorically refute Kautsky, who not only testified to the "complete freedom" for Communists but also to their complete impotence, and basing himself on this, represented the Soviet revolution in Georgia as a result of violence from outside. At the same time the statement of the Nationalist paper: "Inside—the growth of Bolshevik forces; outside—their complete domination," constitutes a clear expression of the impending Soviet revolution. The hopelessness of their position drove the Georgian Mensheviks to the path of open reaction. The brusque and provocative refusal of the Jordania Government of an alliance against Denikin had already shaken the position of the Mensheviks with the masses. The continuous infringements of the agreement with Soviet Russia, to which of course we gave the greatest publicity, operated in the same way. Realising that after the victory of the Soviet Power in the remaining South-Eastern parts of the former Tsarist Empire, an independent existence would be impossible, the Mensheviks made desperate attempts to aid Wrangel, and to obtain the military

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there lives the consciousness of their historic vindication and their revolutionary mission, which has nothing in common with the unbridled cynicism of the "democratic" provincial satrap who burns peasant villages and at the same time examines himself in the mirror to confirm his likeness to the enthroned degenerate of Rome.

Djugelli is no exception, and this is the best illustration of the fact that a very flattering preface to his book was written by the former Minister of the Interior, Gegechkori. Ramishvili, the successor of Jordania as Minister of the Interior, with feigned solemnity, proclaimed the right of democracy to the use of ruthless terror, quoting Marx as authority. From Nero to Marx . . . ! The quick-change mimicry of these provincial bourgeois, their superficial and purely ape-like imitativeness, are a loud testimony to their emptiness and wildness.

When the complete helplessness of "Independent" Georgia became increasingly evident even to the Mensheviks themselves, and when, after the defeat of Germany, they were compelled to seek the protection of the Entente, they more carefully concealed the instruments of their Special Detachment, and instead of the shoddy Djugelli-Nero mask, they put on the no less shoddy Jordania-Tseretelli-Gladstone mask, thus associating themselves with the great herald of Liberal platitudes.

A counterfeit of Marxism was a psychological necessity to the Georgian Mensheviks, particularly in their young days, as this reconciled them to their essentially bourgeois position. But their political cowardice, their democratic rhetoric—the pathos of platitudes—their instinctive aversion from everything exact, finished and well-defined in the domain of ideas, their envious cringing before the outward forms of bourgeois civilisation, all combined to produce a psychological type which is the direct opposite to the Marxian. When Tseretelli speaks of "international democracy" (at Petrograd, Tiflis, or Paris) one never knows whether he means the mythical "family of nations," the International, or the Entente. In the last resort he always addresses himself to the latter, but speaks in such a manner as though at the same time embracing the world's proletariat. The confusion of his ideas, the haziness of his conceptions, are excellent means for this sleight-of-hand trick. When Jordania, the leader of the clan, speaks of international solidarity, he at the same time makes allusion to the hospitality of the Georgian Tsars. The "future of the International and (!) the League of Nations is assured," announces Tchenkelli upon his return from Europe. National prejudices and scraps of Socialism, Marx and Wilson, flights of rhetoric and middle-class narrow-mindedness, pathos and the clowning, International and League of Nations, a small dose of sincerity and a large dose of chicanery, put together with the smugness of a provincial apothecary—this mixture, "well shaken before use," by the tossing of events, is the soul of Georgian Menshevism.

The Georgian Mensheviks hailed with glee the 14 points of Wilson. They welcomed the League of Nations. First they had welcomed the entry of the Kaiser's troops into Georgia, then they welcomed their departure. They welcomed the entry of the British troops. They welcomed the friendly assurance of the French Admiral. It goes without saying that they welcomed Kautsky, Vandervelde, Mrs. Snowden. They are ready at any time to welcome the Archbishop of Canterbury, if the latter is willing to hurl a few extra curses at the Bolsheviks. By this conduct these gentry hope to prove that they are "part and parcel of European civilisation."

Menshevism reveals its true character in the Memorandum presented by the Georgian delegation to the League of Nations at Genoa.

"Having rallied to the banner of Western democracy" (reads the concluding part of the Memorandum), "the Georgian people naturally views with exceptional sympathy the idea of establishing such a political system as, being the direct outcome of war, would at the same time serve as a means for paralysing the possibility of future wars. The 'League of Nations' . . . embodying such a system, represents the *most fruitful achievement of mankind* on the road to the future unity of the race. In asking for admission into the 'League of Nations' . . . the Georgian Government thinks that the very principles which are to regulate international life, henceforth directed towards solidarity and collaboration, demand the acceptance into the family of free European nations of an *ancient people*, once the *vanguard of Christianity* in the East, now become the vanguard of democracy, a people which only strives to freedom and persevering labour in its home which is its legitimate and indisputable heirloom."

Nothing should be added or detracted. It is a classical document of shallowness. This can be safely adopted as a criterion: the Socialist who does not vomit on reading this Memorandum should be ignominiously and finally expelled from the Labour movement.

The main lesson drawn by Kautsky from his study of Georgia is this, that, unlike the whole of Russia, with its factions, schisms and inward strife, unlike too, this whole sinful world, which in this respect is no better than Russia—only in the mountains of Georgia do you see the undivided sway of genuine, undiluted Marxism. At the same time Kautsky does not conceal the fact that in Georgia there was no big or medium sized industry, consequently no modern proletariat. The majority of the Menshevik deputies to the Constituent Assembly was made up of school-

masters, physicians, and officials. The bulk of the electors were peasants. Kautsky, however, does not go to the trouble of explaining this striking historical miracle. He, who with the rest of the Mensheviks, accuses us of parading Russia's backwardness as her supreme virtue, finds the ideal specimen of Social Democracy in the most backward corner of old Russia. Indeed, the fact that for some time Georgian "Marxism" was free from that schism and factional strife experienced by other less fortunate countries, furnishes the very proof of a most primitive social environment and a belated process of differentiation between the bourgeois and the proletarian democracies, which, consequently, means that the Georgian Menshevism had nothing whatever to do with Marxism.

Instead of answering these fundamental questions, Kautsky haughtily declares that he had already learnt the truths of Marxism when many of us were still in our cradles. I make no attempt to dispute this assertion. The wise Nestor (of Shakespeare, not of Homer), boasted of his advantage over his enemy in the fact that his sweethearts had once been more beautiful than the grandmother of his enemy. And everyone is welcome to find his solace in his own way. Yet it is possible, that just because Kautsky learnt the A.B.C. of Marxism so very long ago that he is unable to apply its very first letters to Georgia. He interprets the more stable and prolonged sway of Georgian Menshevism as the result of higher tactical wisdom, and not as a result of the fact that the era of revolutionary Socialism had begun much later in backward Georgia than in the other parts of old Russia. Disgruntled by the march of historical events, Karl Kautsky arrived at Tiflis to quench his spiritual thirst in the last days of the Menshevik era, three quarters of a century after Marx and Engels had written their manifesto. Also Mrs. Snowden arrived at this pleasure resort to air her spiritual wardrobe. The common sense of the truly Fabian gospel according to Jordania, which clasped in its wide embrace both the Georgian Tsar and M. Huysmans, was destined by Heaven to please the high ideal of the official leaders of British Socialism.

How stubbornly stupidity survives when it has social roots!

## CHAPTER VIII. ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND THE SOVIETS

Now, having disposed of the historical review of the case, I may dwell upon some generalisations.

It happens that the history of Trans-Caucasia during the last five years provides a very instructive course of lessons on the subject of Democracy during a revolutionary epoch. At the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly not one of the Caucasian Parties came forward with a programme of secession from Russia. Some four or five months afterwards, in April, 1918, the Trans-Caucasian Diet, composed of the very same delegates that participated in the Constituent Assembly, resolved to secede and to form an independent State. Thus, upon the fundamental question of national existence—with Soviet Russia, or apart from and against her—nobody thought of consulting the wishes of the Trans-Caucasian population; there was no mention made of Referendum, Plebiscite, or new elections. The secession of Trans-Caucasia from Russia was resolved upon by the very same deputies that had been elected for the purpose of representing Trans-Caucasia at Petrograd, on the basis of the formless, vaguely democratic platforms of the first period of the Revolution.

At first the Trans-Caucasian Republic was proclaimed as a union of all the nationalities. But the situation that was created by the very fact of secession from Russia and by the search for a new international orientation, led to the breaking up of Trans-Caucasia into three national parts: Azerbaidjan, Armenia, and Georgia. As early as the 26th May, 1918, five weeks after the secession, the very same Diet, composed of members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, who created the Trans-Caucasian Republic, declared it dissolved. Again nobody consulted the masses of the people. No new elections, no other forms of consultation. First, without consulting the people it seceded from Russia—in the name of a closer union of the Tartars, Armenians and Georgians, as the leaders of the Diet explained. Next, at the first impetus from outside, the Tartars, Armenians and Georgians, were split up into three Kingdoms, again without being consulted.

On the very same day the Georgian section of the Diet proclaimed the independence of the Georgian Republic. Nobody consulted the workers and peasants of Georgia; they were confronted with an accomplished fact.

In the course of the subsequent nine months, the Mensheviks were busy enforcing the "accomplished fact": the Communists were driven underground, relations were opened with the Turks and Germans, peace treaties were negotiated, the Germans were replaced by the English and Americans; the Mensheviks carried out their fundamental reforms, and, above all, created their praetorian armed force in the shape of the National Guards, and only after this did they venture to convene the Constituent Assembly (in May, 1919), placing before the masses the necessity of electing representatives to the parliament of an independent Georgian Republic, of which they had previously neither heard nor dreamed.

(To be continued).



# ENGLAND AND GENOA

By M. PHILLIPS PRICE

IT is an irony of fate that the first great international conference for the reconstruction of Europe, to which Russia and Germany have been invited, should have been called by those who are obviously now going to reap the least possible benefits from it. It is no exaggeration to say that at Genoa the heads of the Federation of British Industries—that great combination of industrial capital, which has fattened out of the war and has made Lloyd George its tame Minister—hoped to save their fortunes, check the growth of French finance in Europe, raise the falling prestige of the British Empire in Asia and play the leading part in the reconstruction of the public economy of Europe. All hopes of these people have been disappointed. The initiative in conducting the Genoa Conference, as far as the capitalist powers of Western Europe are concerned, has been taken by M. Poincare and the Bloc National behind him—that is by the French banks and bondholders.

The British Empire has undoubtedly entered upon the most serious crisis in its history. There are many signs which point to the fact that the Empire is already in process of dissolution. It is true, the process may last for many years and even for decades, but the general trend of developments is already discernible. The immediate effect of the crisis at home is to strengthen the extreme reactionary elements—the Conservative or Tory Party, who for a long time past have been attacking Lloyd George and demanding the end of the coalition, with which he won the war. The elements behind this party are numerous. They consist partly of the outspoken militarist elements and of certain powerful families of the aristocracy, who have regarded the War Office, the Admiralty and the India Office for years past as their special preserve. To them is to be attributed the intention of the British Government, clearly seen in the latest developments, to suppress the nationalist revolutionary movements in Egypt and India with all the forces of military imperialism and to drown them in a sea of blood.

## The City Policy

But in addition to these elements there are also powerful influences in the "City," which are at work undermining the economic bases of the Lloyd George Coalition. There can be no doubt that the banks are once again becoming an important, if not a dominating factor in the government of England. During the war and for three years

after it the industrial capitalists, who lived on inflation and who monopolised coal, iron, shipping and engineering factories and electrical undertakings, controlled the policy of the Lloyd George Coalition. It was they—the Federation of British Industries—that engineered the coal lock-out last year, it is they who have caused the big lock-out in the metal and shipbuilding industries. And why? Because they, pressed by the banks to liquidate their "frozen assets," are forced now to sell to the banks at reduced prices those colossal plants, which they built in times of war-inflation and boom.

For now those plants are standing idle. The market is ruined in Russia, in Germany, in the Near East. In India and the Far East the native capitalist class is rising and is largely behind the nationalist movements in these lands. They are building their own factories and opening up their own mines. The products of British industries are not wanted by them. The war gave them their opportunity and they took it. There is plenty of cheap labour in Asia. The industrial capital of the Federation of British Industries, is now leaving its fatherland and being invested, as bank and finance capital, in the British colonies and spheres of influence. Thus the British working man, who fought in the war "to make the world safe for democracy," now finds that he really fought in order to include by conquest in the British Empire places like Mesopotamia and the German African colonies, where his masters can now recruit cheap blackleg labour to force wage reductions in England and throw hundreds of thousands of unemployed on the streets.

This change in the whole nature and operations of British capitalism is of the utmost importance, if one is to understand the present political situation in England. It explains the weakness of the Lloyd George Coalition, the rise in the power of the Conservatives, backed by the higher aristocracy and by the great international banking houses of the "City." It explains the shipwreck of the idea that British industrial capital is to take the lead in the reconstruction of Central Europe and Russia. It explains the success of the French bondholders in sabotaging the original idea of the Genoa Conference through their mouthpiece, M. Poincare. For there is every reason to believe that in the "victorious" countries of Europe, where currency deflation and trade depression are in full swing, a new era of finance capital has arrived. The inter-

national money merchants, the Rothschilds, the Kleinwerts, the Pierpont Morgans, the Warburgs, the Levys, who live in Paris, London, Berlin and New York and who know no nationality, are again becoming powerful. The day of the war profiteer is gone.

## F.B.I. versus Russia

Mr. Lloyd George has failed in his plan to secure for British industrial capital a dominant position, through Genoa, in the reconstruction of Europe. But he is not beaten yet. It may be that he will now try to put himself at the head of some of the big financial groups, who have met in London recently in preparation for Genoa and who are working out plans for a large international credit scheme with guarantees from the debtors. But what fate awaits the workers of Germany and Russia in view of these new developments of international capitalism? At Genoa, Soviet Russia at least has the opportunity to follow an independent policy towards the capitalist powers of Western Europe. The tactics which it follows will have to depend in no small degree on the question whether or not banking capital and the money merchants, who are in power in France and seem to be coming to power in England, are able to overcome the rivalry, which has hitherto been going on between the Federation of British Industries and the French bondholders.

If it should not be able to do so, then the position of Soviet Russia and consequently also of the German proletariat will be strengthened. They can then hope to derive some benefits from the fact that finance capital cannot yet unite across frontiers. Then Soviet Russia will be able to make use of a new "breathing space" and conclude separate agreements with each financial group. The German proletariat will also benefit indirectly, if this "breathing space" enables Soviet Russia to continue an independent economic existence and escape the fate of a colony. On the other hand if the international finance consortium should come about at Genoa, the immediate danger to the proletariat of all the world cannot be too much exaggerated. It will mean the mortgaging of the natural resources of the world and labour everywhere to a great international exploiting machine. True, there will be no more war, but there will be the peace of the graveyard and the silence of the slave-galley. On the other hand this will bring the world one step nearer to the time when, in the words of Rosa Luxemburg, "capitalism will be drowned in its own surplus values" (ersticken im eigenen Mehrwert).

# A DAY IN THE LIFE OF BOWERMAN

By CODLIN, SHORT and LITTLE NELL

NOT so long ago we took our courage in both hands and called at No. 32, Eccleston Square.

Hearing a genial "Come in, my boy," we saw through the open door of the first floor back the well-groomed excellently preserved great-grandfather of the Labour Movement.

How true it is, that it is the little things that show the greatness of great men. Here was no flapper in attendance with pencil and note-book. Each of Mr. Bowerman's august communications is typed slowly and with dignity, letter by letter, with his own two gracious forefingers. Gazing at the pile of letters that represented the first post of the day, we ventured to wonder how the Great Man would get through them. The Right Hon. said solemnly "Letters delayed a fortnight are more than half answered."

## Dear Old Charlie

Charlie considers that consistency is the bugbear of little minds. If he writes two letters on the same subject on the same day, they do not agree. The advantage of this method is that the various recipients spend their time defending to each other their own interpretations, which saves them bothering him.

How far some of the difficulties about which impatient Trade Unionists so unreasonably complain are due to Fate, or to that playful humour which is Bowerman's most lovable characteristic may never be determined. But we were interested to discover that Charlie, having fixed up an important meeting between Thorne and Poulton (of boot and shoe fame), Will Thorne was airing his forcible language at 32, while Poulton and Company had read from their notice that the Committee was to take place at Russell Square.

After the little disturbance caused by Poulton's furious appearance three hours

late, we admiringly begged Mr. Bowerman to explain how he managed to deal with the many and weighty resolutions that were passed every year by the Trades Union Congress.

"Well, my boy," replied Charles, benevolently turning his head as he sat at his dignified work on his typewriter, "I (clack, clack) sometimes write to people about, well (clack, clack), about some of them."

"But the formation of the General Council must have meant a lot of extra work with all these sub-committees?"

"Oh, that's all right. They don't meet."

## Stamps

Conversation was interrupted by the entry of a small girl. "Please, sir, may I have tenpence for stamps for those letters?" With dignity, the Right Honourable Gentleman arose, and from a safe took a large black box, which, having carefully unlocked, he opened and counted out ten pennies.

"Now be sure you post the letters at the Post Office," he said sternly, as he handed over the treasure.

"Clerks are so careless," he said, turning to our representative. "Would you believe it, if I let them keep stamps on hand, they actually post letters in pillar boxes."

"You keep a tight hand on the cash-box," we said.

"It's the first principle of business, my boy. I am General Secretary of this organisation. When I leave this office that box is locked. Of course, one has to leave Bramley a few shillings in case a letter has to be posted while I am away. Fred's a careful lad, but I am never sure that he won't rush in for some extravagance even with what I leave out for him." And with a shake of his wise grey head, the old

gentleman lamented the follies of this generation.

The careful Frederick had meanwhile entered the office with becoming reverence. "The Committee has just finished, and, as they are a bit late with some of them being told to go to Russell Square—I mean making a mistake about your letter—they want to get their trains. Shall I tell them you can pay them their expenses now? Oh, by the way, I sent young William across to Fleet Street. Here are his 'bus tickets. Can I have the money for that?"

## The Big Heads Queue Up

Out came the box again, and the eightpence was counted out, while the "Big Men" of the Labour World assembled for their money. The Right Hon. C. W. formed them up in a queue. "Here, now, Purcell, you were paid first last time, it's Gosling's turn now." They all reformed themselves obediently as indicated, and we tried not to hear Purcell's language. Each sheet was carefully filled up, and twice checked. Then the money was counted and checked. Finally the signature of each recipient was accepted.

Charlie's business methods are a triumph. Other men may use cheque books. Charlie trusts such inventions no more than he trusts pillar boxes.

Charlie keeps carefully to the safe side.

As we could now see Purcell's language, we felt that Mother would not like us to stay, so we ventured to say good-bye. As we wandered back to Covent Garden, we reflected sadly that perhaps the time might come when some trade unionist might conceivably want something doing, and might raise a sacreligious voice to declare B.M.G. But it will be difficult for the Labour Movement to find again such a truly nice man as Gentleman Charlie.

# "WHO FREW DAT BRICK?"

By C. B. J. WARWICK

**N**OBODY knows and nobody cares, but all the same it *was* thrown. It happened only a few days ago, in the Ides of March. And at Stockport—somnolent Stockport—loudly snoring since the Luddite days of old.

The organised unemployed from Hyde tramped the highway and joined their fellows at Stockport, proceeding to the Board of Guardians, where a deputation was nominated to interview them. The Board weren't approachable; they growled and refused to receive the poor unfortunate ones, who, possessing spirit, led the mass forward in an attempt to break a strong barrier of bobbies boldly barring the way. *Prominent among the crowd were starving women, some of whom had children in their arms.* Nothing happened until someone, practising for the films, threw a brick at one of the windows. Then the brave Guardians of the Guardians who stave off the immorally poor, pulled out their wickets and, being joined by others who had been resting (hidden away within doors), charged the starving, and added injury to insults.

And yet—p'raps the brick was well aimed. The Guardians anyhow, after the incident, agreed to receive a deputation. The chief demands on this occasion were that task work should cease, and that the scale of relief should be increased. It seems that the unemployed are worried because the Town Council won't provide them with meeting rooms. Well, if they won't, they won't!—unless—well, there *are* ways and means. . . .

Next day, half a dozen of the men's leaders were in Court, charged with a "breach of the peace." The police said they were "heartily in sympathy with the unfortunate men who were unable to get work," but they must seek "redress in a legitimate way." The magistrate said there had been undoubtedly a breach of the peace, but he was sorry for the unemployed, so, like a father admonishing his wayward offspring, he sent them away to be good boys.

Also during the Ides of March, on the second Sabbath to be precise, occurred a striking expression of Christian charity and love of the poor unfortunates. A procession of Gorton organised unemployed were out for a constitutional, and incidentally, trying to gain charitable aid from the Christians who frequent St. Peter's Church, Levenshulme (Christians of the petty bourgeois "cuff-and-collar" type for the most part). A few had attended the kirk on the previous week, and the rector had passed some insulting remark about the presence of the "unwashed" sitting there in earnest conversation and oblivious of the holy import of the rectorial sermon. The few, reporting back, returned this day to make protest, and the police were waiting for them. The processionists were routed, but four of their number managed to enter the holy building. They arrived while the congregation was chanting a hymn which ran somewhat thusly: "If I ask Him to receive me, will He say me nay?" The answer appears to be in the affirmative. For, soon afterwards, the rector announced that a collection would be taken for the hospitals, and one of the lads from Gorton

"village" wanted to know why not take a collection for the unemployed. Whereat the rector got ratty, and then told them to clear out. One attempted to make protest, so the rector said: "Will all those who do not believe in God leave the Church." Two infidels arose and walked out, only to be arrested at the door; the others followed and were likewise pounced upon and pinched. Next day all were charged with "indecent behaviour in the House of God, by shouting, brawling, disturbing, vexing, and troubling the rector and the congregation during the Divine Service."

The police superintendent admitted that it was at the rector's request that he had the unemployed processionists routed. Four witnesses were called, and each one said that one of the prisoners was heard to say "I protest," but none could say what followed; some said prisoners quietly walked out, others that they were seized and thrown out. The magistrate then examined the prisoner's defence, and in summing up had to conclude that there was not sufficient evidence to substantiate the charge, and so discharged the prisoners with a caution.

The foregoing incidents are placed on record as indicating "how *not* to solve the unemployed problem." It is no good shocking the church-goers or soliciting charity; it is bad enough to be forced to harass the Guardians in an endeavour to make them fork out farthingworths of relief. The organised unemployed must study the suggestions espoused by Communists in regard to revolutionising their own organisation and tactical methods. Many of the present methods of the unemployed are utterly childish.

A case in point. Altrincham (Cheshire) and District Unemployed Committee a few months ago consigned themselves to issuing sanctimonious appeals to local bigwigs. Now the Communist message is being hammered home, and there are regularly attended classes and lectures on working class economics and industrial history. Naturally a new and more manly psychology is developing in the district, and more intelligent, less servile activities are being entered into.

A little deeper in the Cheshire Plain is the town of Lymm. Here, out of a working population of 1,000, about 35 per cent are roughing it on the economic rocks. The local Labour Party either couldn't or wouldn't attempt to organise the famished faction, although they, the L.P., are, with a membership of 300, a force of influence in the place. It is a force of influential sleep! To the credit of Altrincham comrades, be it said that a few went over to Lymm, and set up an organisation from amongst their fellows. Two days after the formation of a fighting force amongst the famished they stormed the local Guardians and demanded relief or maintenance. They got relief. From amongst the re-vitalised unemployed organisation here a Workers' (C.L.C.) Education Committee has been formed, to which four trade unions are attached. Everywhere the vital work for proletarian advancement falls naturally on the shoulders of members of the Communist Party, and the comrades work with a will.

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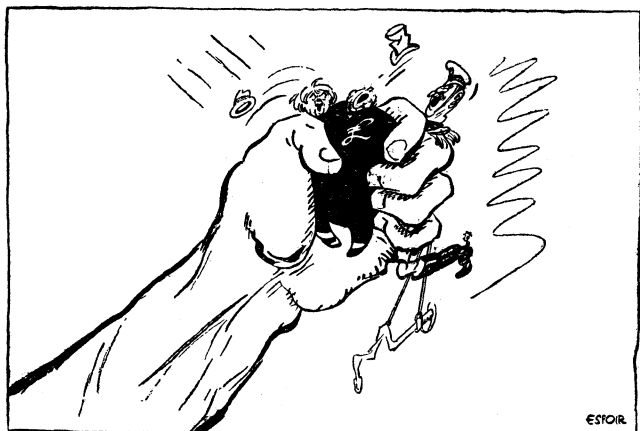
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# THE PATTERNMAKERS

[To the Editor of THE COMMUNIST].

Dear Sir,—In your issue of Saturday, April 22nd, 1922, a paragraph appears under "Industrial Notes" as "A Queer Story." I enclose you copy of letter which I have to-day forwarded to the Editor of the *Daily Herald*.

I cannot say more, and leave same with you.

yours faithfully,

N. BLACKBURN.

DEAR SIR,—Your correction in regard to my speech (re lock-out sensation) published in the *Herald* on Monday last, does not in any way cover the corrections which are needed, and I trust, in fairness to myself as an official, and also the Society which I have the honour to represent, you will give the facts as given by me.

I reported to the Huddersfield mass meeting, that the full Conference of Executive Members decided to adjourn and return home, and leave the negotiations in the hands of the Negotiating Committee, which constituted one from each society, on the clear understanding before any final agreement was reached the whole Conference of Executive representatives should be summoned. *This was my own personal view* and fully endorsed by my Executive. Your report states a letter was sent to the Employers; this I never said. The remarks I made were after our own General Secretary had reported to our full Executive, we passed the following resolution, to be sent to the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation:

"That we view the division in Trade Union Ranks on Managerial Functions with the gravest apprehension, and we deeply deplore the fact, the three of our four bodies concerned have accepted

a basis for discussion with the Employers, which seems to indicate thereby a playing with words when compared with the Employers' original demands, and we press for a full Conference of Executive representatives before submitting terms of settlement to a ballot vote of members."

This I read to the meeting, and cannot and should not have been confused as to read, "sent to the Employers' Federation." I also pointed out to the meeting that my Executive, notwithstanding our resolution, *were* committed to stand by our section (the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation) as all the 47 Unions were by a majority vote, and in no way mentioned General Secretaries.

The statement that Lloyd George influenced the Negotiating Committee to go into Conference again with the Employers on the Memo of 1st April is *my own private view*. In regard to our Clyde delegate, the Patternmakers' Executive were not aware he was present, and the action taken by the General Secretary had the full endorsement of the Executive, but the Negotiating Conference allowed him to remain during the negotiations.

Yours faithfully,

NORMAN BLACKBURN,

Executive Representative, No. 1 Area.

## The M.F.G.B.

DEAR COMRADE,—I would like to answer John Thomas concerning the Delegate Conference. I would like to point John Thomas to the Rule 7, sub-section (a). By this rule the miners secure that their secretary devotes all his energies to his industrial tasks. Now then, I say you are a lot of fools if you mean to adopt F. Hodges as the Secretary of the M.F.G.B. and pay him the sum of £750 per annum for his dirty work not only

letting down the miners, but smashing the whole T.U. movement, and thereby putting the whole working class into degradation whereby we can't recover for at least a generation to come except by a revolution. Now I would suggest to you—don't give F. Hodges any chance whatever and don't pay him any more than the highest T.U. wage, and when you do appoint one tell him straight off that he is there for one year only; if he does not do as he is told he has got to go.

Rule 14 deals with calling Special Conference as far as strikes are concerned. I would suggest to you again: pre-suppose there are only 10 or 15 majority for a strike, the strike ought to take place, or ought to come into force, and there should be no ballot taking place while the strike lasts.

Rule 17. I would suggest that not anybody should pay any more than 6d. a fortnight; I think 6d. is quite enough to pay for anybody.

Yours truly,

LEWIS KITCHENER.

John Thomas writes:—I make no plea for £750 a year except that I say it should be treated as a maximum and not a minimum—as suggested by the E.C. In the article I was dealing with the question of the secretariat—the office as such and not whether Frank Hodges was one worthy of our confidence and loyalty.

Lewis Kitchener's remarks re Rule 14 are an endorsement of my point for a bare majority and not two-thirds to decide.

Re his remarks re Rule 17 I was not making any plea for a particular figure of (say) 6d. per week subscription. I was only stating as a matter of fact what we had succeeded in getting the S.W.M.F. to do.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN THOMAS.

## "BEATEN BY POLICE IN CELLS"

### A CASE FOR ENQUIRY

WE have had our attention drawn to a police case arising out of recent activities by the unemployed which presents features calling for very careful examination.

Since the Lock-out the Unemployed have concentrated their attention upon preventing scabbing. As the dispute arose (among other things) upon the employers' right to impose unrestricted overtime, those accepting the employers' terms are, in the eyes of the unemployed, guilty of scabbing upon them as well as upon their fellow engineers.

Taking this view the Unemployed have, wherever possible, raided those factories guilty of scabbing and persuaded their occupants to come out and line up with the men locked out.

One such raid took place at the Albany Engineering Works, Ossory Road, Old Kent Road, on the 29th March. The effect of this raid, we may say at once, was to get 30 men to come out, and the only unpleasant incident a scuffle in the telephone box.

The raiding party of picked men arrived at the factory in twos and threes. Some suspicion, however, had arisen that some such thing might be attempted, and consequently some plain-clothes men were in the vicinity. These followed the unemployed into the factory and made for the telephone—as also did the unemployed. A scuffle resulted, in which the unemployed were successful.

The main body of the organised unemployed in the district had arranged to meet at Camberwell Green and march to the factory in time to meet the raiding party on their emergence. This was carried out according to plan. The raid took place at 11.15. The main procession left Camberwell Green headed by their band at 11.30, and arrived at the factory shortly after 12.

Joined by the successful raiders the meeting set out to return. Before they had gone far they were met by a body of police, who proceeded to arrest two of their number, named respectively Hawkins and Lancaster.

The latter is a member of the Communist Party and is conspicuous from the fact of being unable to walk without crutches.

At the South Eastern Police Court on the 28th April the case was (it being its third hearing) concluded by the imposition of a fine and a term of imprisonment on each of the two men. Hawkins was fined 40s. or a month for "wilful damage to a window" and sentenced to one month's imprisonment for assaulting the police. Lancaster was fined £5 and one month's imprisonment for the damage, and sentenced to another month for "assaulting the police."

The first scandal arises from the fact that the universal testimony of the unemployed is that **neither man was in the factory or near it till the raid was over.**

This was sworn to by a number of witnesses—whom the magistrate thought fit to disregard.

The raid occurred at 11.15. Hawkins was with the unemployed who assembled at Camberwell Green at 11 a.m., and marched with them thence at 11.30. Only by means of a swift conveyance could anyone get from the factory to the Green in less than 15 minutes. Hawkins marched with the procession, and during the last half of the journey carried (and played) the big drum—in order to relieve the regular drummer. This was sworn to by the bandmaster, a bandsman, the organiser, and the leader of the procession.

Lancaster, according to his landlady, left home at 11.20. According to unemployed men, he met the procession half-way along its route, and being a cripple unable to keep pace with them, was left behind, arriving at the factory later than anybody concerned.

This was sworn to in court and disregarded, as aforesaid. That there has been a miscarriage of justice seems only too true. There is worse to follow.

Lancaster and Hawkins make allegations as to their treatment at the hands of the police which are on the one hand almost incredible and on the other too serious to be ignored.

We give Lancaster's statement exactly as we have received it—except that we have suppressed the names of the constables against whom the charges are made in order to avoid any possibility of doing injury to innocent parties.

### Lancaster's Statement

We were arrested soon after mid-day, just past Glengall Road. We were then taken on a No. 63 bus from Trafalgar Road to a turning near Rodney Road, which led to the police station. Hawkins and I walked along together; Police-constables C— and W— walked behind us. On reaching the police station Police-constable W— told Hawkins to go in first, and went in with him. I then followed, with Police-constable C— behind me.

On entering the charge room I saw Police-constable W— strike Hawkins on the left jaw with his right fist. Hawkins then fell to the ground, near the cupboard with some prize cups on top. Hawkins then got up again, and W— then kicked him. W— then turned to me and said, "It's a good job you are a cripple, or you would get the same." He then said to Hawkins, "Sit down there, you dirty b—." Hawkins sat down. C— then said to me, "Sit down over there, you carry cripply s—, or I'll knock your b— head off." I sat down on a form near the table with the cupboard near by—the table being in front of me. I then saw C— hit Hawkins in the face and knock him off the seat on to the floor. C— then kicked Hawkins and said, "Get up, you unemployed f—."

C— and W— then went into the office near the front entrance, and were out of the charge room for about ten minutes. W— then came back with some papers and sat down beside me. Soon after,

C— came in, leaned over the table, and said to W—, "What shall we charge them with?" W— then shrugged his shoulders, but said nothing.

C— then said, "Will assault and wilful damage do?" W— nodded his head, meaning yes. C— then wrote in his note book and said something to Hawkins which I did not hear. I then heard Hawkins say, "It's a lie!" C— then took out his baton and struck Hawkins on the left shoulder. Hawkins put his right hand on his left shoulder and twitched with pain. He called C— a "rotten bully." C— then said to Hawkins, "Shut up, or I'll give you another one." C— and W— were then called outside.

While they were out, I and another police-constable had a conversation; he was well spoken. C— and W— then came back and stood together by the desk. C— was writing on a sheet of paper and telling W— what to write on his paper. C— then asked Hawkins and myself our names, ages, addresses, and occupations. When I told C— my trade he sneered, and said to W—, "Look what calls itself a surgical bootmaker." W— laughed. C— said, "I'm proud that I'm a Britisher and not a lousy Communist. The place you came from is not fit to be seen, it's only a dirty lousy bug hutch; why, you only have a wash once a month." He then laughed and spoke to W—.

W— then asked Hawkins to stand up and get over there, the other side of the office window. He then told me to sit down on the chair previously occupied by Hawkins. Then a Sergeant came in and read out the charges. Hawkins said, "I know nothing about it, it's a got-up charge." I said, "Those men are liars, I was not there." The Sergeant made us sign our names on the charge sheet.

W— then searched Hawkins, and C— searched me. He took my cards of membership of different organisations away, also a badge I was wearing. C— then looked at cards, and holding up my membership card of the Communist Party said, "This one will get you six months."

C— then took the cards and badge he had taken from me into the office. Another constable took Hawkins to the cell, then came back for me. C— said, "I'll see to him."

C— took me to a cell, and when I was inside he said, "Now what you got to say for yourself?" He then punched me on the right side of my face with his left fist, then on the other side with his right fist, saying, "Sit down there, you b—." Then he punched me again on the left shoulder. I called him a coward; he then tried to punch me in the eye with his right fist. I stopped the blow with my right arm, and called him a dirty rotter. He then struck me another blow under the left ear which made me feel giddy, and fall to the ground. He then shut the door. I did not see him again until the next morning in the court. The other policemen treated me all right.

This statement I swear is the truth.

Signed,

JAMES LANCASTER.





GENERAL SMUTS: "Yes, sir. You see by this that we can hang them after all. How much wiser our medieval ancestors were!"

## A "COURT OF ENQUIRY"

Industrial Notes

By John Ball

**A**FTER Sankey—Mackenzie. The Executive of the A.E.U., interviewed by a representative of the *Daily Herald*, stated that "it was hoped that the Government's action in first refusing to set up the Court and then suddenly yielding now, does not mean an *understanding with the employers as to the manner in which the Court shall be conducted.*" (Italics mine). How can they be so suspicious?

### Watch the Court

At the same time, now that the Court has been set up to deal with the matter, it is the duty of every member of the A.E.U. to watch the proceedings carefully. Attempts will doubtless be made to cover the employers' action with a semblance of official sanction as the result of impartial enquiry by the Government (although the present overbearing attitude of the employers makes it difficult to understand why they should take the trouble to do this) or, on the other hand, there may be an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the workers by a report which, like that of the Sankey Commission, promises anything in order to end the stoppage "for the moment" on the employers' terms. In either case the ultimate result will be the same. *Remember Sankey! Watch that Court of Enquiry!*

### The Open Shop

The employers' attempt to institute the "open shop" at the present juncture is disquieting, not because we have any illusions as to their aims but rather because of the indication it gives of their estimate of the powers of the Unions. Everyone knows that they would like the "open shop," and they appear to think that they are going to get it. The effect of the attack on the Unions involved is difficult to estimate at the moment, but the most probable result will be a new cleavage, this time between the older craft Unions who will line up with the A.E.U. on the one hand, and the unskilled and semi-skilled Unions on the other. It is an open secret that there are districts where the Workers' Union, for example, would be pleased to see the A.E.U. go down, because then their members would be able to man machines that they have never been allowed to touch before. So much for the solidarity of labour.

### Call the Special Congress

One fact emerges with greater force than ever. If we are to save the working class movement in face of all these attacks, the latest of which strike not at wages or hours but at the very existence of

the Trade Union movement, we *must* have united action. Such united action can only be achieved by the General Council calling together a Special Trades Union Congress to deal with the situation. Every active member of every Union should devote his energies from now on to the task of securing the Congress and then assuring that it is not held in vain.

### The Shipyard Ballot

The Executives of the shipyard Unions have decided to ballot their members on the amended terms offered by the employers and are recommending acceptance. The new terms are as follows:

1. 10s. 6d. per week reduction as from 29th March.
2. A further 6s. reduction in two instalments, viz., 3s. per week on May 17th, and 3s. per week on June 7th.

It will be noticed that the original demand for a reduction of 26s. 6d. has been cut down for the moment by 10s. But *there is no guarantee* in six weeks time, when the third instalment of the 16s. 6d. reduction becomes operative, that the employers will not then present an *ultimatum for a further reduction involving the remaining 10s.* Under these circumstances it would be criminal to allow the fight to be ended without further effort. Every possible vote must be cast against the recommendation of the Executives.

### Teachers and Education

The teachers' conference at Easter shows a marked difference from conferences of other Trade Unions by the amount of time devoted to the discussion of the "goods" they are paid to deliver. The effect of the Geddes report on education of the workers' children came in for the major portion of the discussion, and various protest resolutions were passed dealing with the decreased educational facilities which will be available. This is all right so far as it goes, but the teachers have yet to realise that the quality of the education which is given to the workers' children depends, not on the educational policy of the N.U.T., but upon the degree of intelligence called for in the various processes of industry. To give more education than that would be dangerous to the bosses. Some day the teachers will realise that they are faced with the same enemy as the rest of the workers.

### Postal Workers Conference

The conference of the Union of Post Office Workers, which will open at Cheltenham on Tuesday, will be one of the most momentous in the history

of the Union. Further, it will have its effect on the other organisations of Government servants, whatever its decisions may be. Its importance arises from the position of the Union in regard to strike action and strike pay. By a ballot of the Union a strike levy was instituted, and, it must be admitted, a considerable amount of opposition was aroused inside the organisation, resulting in a number of members leaving the Union and forming a rival organisation. The E.C. then suspended the levy—an obviously mistaken policy, because the secession movement had reached its zenith and was dying away—and antagonised all those members who would rather trust the strength of their organisation than the goodwill of the State. The Conference will have to decide what is now to be done; whether to endorse the E.C. decision or whether they are to have the strike weapon available for use if required.

### Cotton Agreement

So there is to be no stoppage in the cotton industry after all. The difference between the employers' offer and the maximum reduction acceptable to the operatives has been got over by taking off the amount the men were prepared to sacrifice immediately and postponing the balance until November. These were the terms offered to the Card-room and provisionally accepted by them a week previously, and once again we see the effect of separate negotiations upon an industry. Until the Union grasp the simple truth that one body of employers are in a far stronger position than half-a-dozen Unions negotiating separately with them we shall have a continuance of these retreats through one Union giving away the key position.

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