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TWOPENCE

THE LABOUR PARTY AS IT MIGHT BE

By F. WILLIS

THESE are two main tendencies at work in the Labour Party. One, a drift so much to the right that the party would become, if the process were completed, in every respect as reactionary as the orthodox capitalist parties; the other an instinctive effort to maintain the Socialist tradition associated with the name and memory of Keir Hardie. These conflicting tendencies are to be found among leaders and rank and file alike.

For all its constitutionalism the Labour Party unquestionably represents the mass of anti-capitalist working class opinion in this country as no other party has done since the days of the Chartists. Its membership is overwhelmingly working class, and many of its leaders continually betray their proletarian origin by a certain limited outlook and lack of political audacity thoroughly characteristic of British workers as a whole. One need not always question their sincerity in order to account for their failings.

To understand the Labour Party it is necessary to realise, however painful it may be, that the working class of Great Britain has the most inveterately conservative mind of any class in the country. Aristocrats and capitalists might and would, if their interests were threatened, turn the constitution upside down, but the workers in their present mood, never. Four generations of industrial capitalism have bred a class so pathetically loyal to existing institutions that almost any crime is regarded with less abhorrence than attacks upon the framework of society. Every thinking capitalist is amazed at this stolid conservatism, however much he secretly rejoices. It is worth battalions of riflemen and parks of artillery to a governing class otherwise very shaky about its future prospects. And it is allied to the inbred idea, carefully fostered in the schools, that the order of society into which the worker has been born is as eternal as the everlasting hills that stand in the sight of the Lord for ever.

Even the palpable failure of capitalism to solve its own problems only slightly stirs the surface of a mentality like this.

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Inevitably and naturally the Labour Party has arisen as the characteristic political expression of such a phase of working class thought. In so far as it fails in the eyes of the workers it does so for another reason, which must be considered now.

The absence of working class revolutionary motive by no means implies the absence of a spirit of class revolt. On the contrary, as we know, unrest is deep and widespread among all ranks of the workers. Nowhere in the world are more stubborn and more bitter fights put up against the capitalists than in this country. Over and over again whole industries have stood solidly together for months on end in resistance to the employers. Starvation alone has been powerful enough to break the spirit of the men on strike. The miners lately, the engineers now, are cases in point. Dogged, uncompromising (and dour, the workers of Britain have always been—and are still—in their industrial struggles. They suffer from no

illusions as to the good intentions of their natural enemy—the boss. They regard him as something to be fought, not placated. Class conscious antagonism in a very high degree, they possess, but not class-conscious knowledge and purpose.

But the members of the Parliamentary Labour Party have never been willing, or never known how, to support this industrial pugnacity by equally pugnacious action in their own particular domain. As the political cavalry of the industrial army in action it should have been their business to harass the enemy and ravage his bases while the main body held the field of battle. Carson and F. E. Smith in the old Irish days, or even the Die-hards now, should have been their Parliamentary model; not Robert Cecil or the venerable Asquith. Had they an ounce of political sagacity they would long ago have made the Labour Party's position impregnable by rallying to it, in the enthusiasm of a common cause, all those struggling workers who know how to fight, but not to conquer or what to attain. Instead of which they have been arbitrators, mediators, Parliamentary negotiators, anything on earth but leaders; bearers of flags of truce, not field marshals.

There are no revolutionary implications in such a policy. The Labour Party need not fear. A strike being a perfectly legal and constitutional method of redressing grievances, there can be nothing unconstitutional in forcing the issue on the floor of the House of Commons; not as a matter of "public concern" in the jargon of Parliament, but as a direct extension of the men's struggle on a different plane; the workers' case inside being fought exactly on the same basis as outside. As a matter of fact revolutionary implications never do arise in Parliament until the situation becomes revolutionary elsewhere.

But in any case, the clear duty of a Labour Party based, as in Britain, on the organised working class, is to give a political voice to the demands of that class. In times of stress and struggle the duty becomes imperative. Thus, unemployment is not, as some dear souls imagine, a matter for the sympathetic consideration of the sentimental rich, but a grim problem only to be dealt with on class lines involving a distinct breach in existing property relations. The demand for work or maintenance at trade union rates is a challenge thrown out by the working class to the whole capitalist order.

* * *

Mr. Philip Snowden denies that the Labour Party is a class party.

"Its membership is drawn from every class—bishops, ministers, lawyers, doctors, professors, authors, painters, employers, managers, skilled craftsmen, manual workers of all sorts."

In that case there is no great reason to oppose the orthodox political parties as "capitalist" or "class" parties seeing that their membership is composed of exactly the same elements. And no reason at all for the "independence" that used to be Mr. Snowden's watchword, and on which he rose to fame.

The capitalists know better. Their attack upon the political levy in the trade unions was born of the perfect knowledge that the strength of the Labour Party lies in its close association with the industrial organisations of the working class, functioning in and because of the class struggle. Snap that link and the Labour Party becomes simply a congregation of "advanced" persons of no particular use to anybody, and certainly not to the working class. The same result, in another way, will follow if Mr. Snowden succeeds in impressing his non-class point of view upon the Labour Party.

Anyhow, delegates to the Conference will note with interest that while bishops, ministers, lawyers and employers are affiliated with joy to the Labour Party, the Communist Party, containing in its ranks some of the best and most self-sacrificing members of the working class movement, is denied admittance on the ground of incompatibility of temperament.

As crisis follows crisis, and the capitalist attack on the workers becomes more actively virulent, the development will be reflected in a new political outlook. The very lack of revolutionary consciousness will force the workers to demand more of the Labour Party than hitherto. New standards will be applied; new questions asked. Both Parliament and the Party will be placed on trial. The return of Labour Members is no end in itself, as the workers, forced by desperate need into desperate resolves will discover. Direct action has a House of Commons meaning as well as a workshop one.

By these new tests the Labour Party will stand or fall. Its Parliamentary representatives may continue along the primrose path that leads to the Privy Council and all that the bourgeois world holds respectable; or they may make themselves thoroughly detested at Westminster and a tower of strength outside. They may fade away ingloriously as statesmen; or live for ever as leaders of the people. The choice rests with them.

The fight is only now beginning. As it proceeds the temper of the people must and will change. The revolutionary mind will be born not of propaganda or theoretical agitation, but out of the struggles of a class deeply concerned about its daily bread and butter.

If the Labour Party is prepared to risk all and reflect that change, well and good. If not, well and good also. For political expression cannot be denied to needs so urgent as those of the workers to-day, and if not found in one way will be found in another.

The Communist Party has no ambition except to see the workers' industrial and political fight expressed adequately and without fear. Wholeheartedly and without reserve it will support the Labour Party to this end, knowing full well that time is on its side.

Knowing also that capitalism which denies its workers sustenance also denies them hope, and that a class without hope in the capitalist present, must and will, eventually, turn for hope in a Communist future.

WHY UNEMPLOYED?

By A. S. HADDOCK

AT the present moment unemployment is rife throughout the country, in fact throughout that part of the world where the tenacles of Capitalism have spread. It is increasing, and the more it grows the more menacing it becomes to the system of society which allows it.

Perhaps the first thing we should do is to cast our minds away back a few hundred years when unemployment, with its misery and starvation, was not known. In the days of chattel slavery when those who worked were conscious of the fact that they were slaves, owned and controlled by the slave-owners, the slaves were well provided for, being fed and clothed and sheltered, no matter whether work was plentiful or scarce. You see, the bosses of those days had to buy their slaves, and of course, those things which are paid for are more cared for than those things which are given to us. That is why those people, in a less civilised state than we, were better off than we are.

To-day the boss does not buy his slaves, they come to the yard or the factory and give themselves to the boss, who in return gives them barely sufficient to keep themselves. In fact, the workers of to-day are compelled to go to work to get the money to buy the food to get the strength to go to work again. In those days the boss did not, in bad times, turn the slaves loose on the streets to starve. There was no Poor Law Relief; no unemployment doles; just slavery—but slaves were not allowed to starve.

Then came the Feudal Age when the workers were compelled to give part of their time to the cultivation of the land of the Lord of the Manor, the rest of their time being spent in working on their own land to produce their necessities.

The Lord of the Manor, meanwhile, in return for the labour of the workers, had to keep his serfs safe from being molested; he had to protect his serfs so that their lands should not be filched from them. You see the Lord of the Manor, in return for the service rendered by the serfs, had to render service himself.

Does the boss of to-day do that? No. He just collects the profits and with them has a good time. It is a crying shame that in such a city as London we have such contrasts of wealth and poverty. On the one hand women and children starved and without boots and clothes, and on the other hand a super-abundance of all the good things of life. Is all this misery and degradation due to the fact that we are civilised?

Under Feudalism there was a period called the Golden Age. In this period people by working three months in the year were able to earn sufficient to keep them for the rest of the year.

Does that exist to-day? No. If a man loses one week's work his whole household is thrown out of gear for the rest of the year.

Capitalism Comes

After Feudalism came Capitalism with its attendant miseries. Navigation had progressed and fresh lands were being discovered. As fresh lands were discovered, new markets were opened. At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, when England was turned from an agricultural country into a manufacturing country, most of the work was performed by hand. With the opening of new markets new demands were created, and new demands meant increased production. The economic demand was there, and efforts were made to improve methods of production so that this new demand could be met. Thus there came along the steam engine, the weaving loom driven by steam, the railway locomotive, etc.

All this meant that more hands were wanted. Up sprang factories all over the place. Workers crowded into the towns from the country, and quickly filled the factories. These new things, however, crushed the workers down, and down, and down. They were compelled to work 12, 14, 16, and 18 hours a day; women and children were forced to work in order to get sufficient to live; little children were compelled to work long hours at the looms spinning cloth so that the Bosses could get profits.

As an instance of conditions that obtained at those times it will be quite sufficient to quote two of the horrors. A law was passed which allowed Bosses to work one imbecile child with a certain number of sane children; those children worked on the shift system, and as one party left work to sleep, those children who had to go to work to take their places left the very beds into which those who had just left work had to sleep. The beds of the children were never cold.

The other horror of the time was that of women who were forced to work in the coal mines to do the work that ponies now do. The women had to crawl on their hands and knees, with harness round

their necks, pulling the trams of coal from the miner to the pit shaft. It does not sound true that women were treated worse than animals, but it is. These are just two of the things that capitalism has been responsible for.

Before going on to show the cause of unemployment it would perhaps be better to show how the wealth of the country is produced and how it is distributed. The wealth of the country is produced by the workers working in conjunction with the raw materials which are found in the earth. All the things that are required by us to-day are supplied by nature and are to be found in the earth. Nothing can be destroyed, but its form can be altered, and this is what the worker does. He alters the form of the raw materials. You will notice that the Boss does nothing in this except take the profit. As the workers produce all the wealth it would be right to presume that he gets the larger portion of what he produces. But does he? No.

How It Works

How is the wealth distributed? By the worker getting one-third and the Boss getting two-thirds. That is, out of every £6 worth of goods produced by labour, labour gets only £2. And now we shall be able to see how unemployment is caused.

If the worker gets only £2 for every £6 worth of goods he produces, it stands to reason that he cannot buy back £6 worth of goods—that he can

National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement AN APPEAL

THE Head Office of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement is in danger of having to close down owing to financial difficulties.

Those who have watched the growth of the movement during the last 18 months will recognise the good work that has been done in co-ordinating the activities and bringing about solidarity amongst the unemployed. They will appreciate the valuable assistance that the organised unemployed have rendered the employed by refusing to blackleg during disputes, and by carrying on mass picketing.

If the Head Office has to close down, the connecting link between the committees throughout Great Britain will be broken and the efforts of the last 18 months will end disastrously.

A Special Emergency Fund is being started and we appeal to all those who are desirous of helping the movement to immediately send donations along to P. Haye, Nat. Sec., 3, Queen Square, London, W.C. 1.

A list of subscribers will be published in "Out of Work."

buy back only £2 worth. It is this balance of £4 which is to show us why unemployment happens along. If every week the worker can only buy back £2 worth of goods, what happens to the balance of goods to the value of £4? Why, they are put into the warehouses and kept there. And every worker, every week, is doing the same—getting only one-third of what he produces; and every week the remaining two-thirds are put into warehouses until there comes a time when the warehouses are crammed full of all the things YOU want, of food, of clothes, of boots, etc.

When that time comes, when the boss finds it unprofitable to employ you, on the street you go. This is known as an Industrial Crisis.

The reason why you are unemployed—thrown on the streets—is because you have produced too much and consumed too little. The child of the bootmaker is walking the streets without boots because too many boots have been produced, not because there are not enough. The clothier and his children walk the streets in rags because too many clothes have been produced. Oh the irony of it! Starvation when the land is full of all the things that we want!

Not long ago certain gentlemen whose pictures can be seen on posters entitled "The Gate to More," which are exhibited on all railroad stations, urged the workers to "produce more." I wonder what they think of their insane advice now? Do they see that they were playing the game of the Boss?

The workers have produced more. But do they enjoy more? No. They are starving. I hope the nightmare of the suffering of the destitute will for

evermore haunt these people through their waking and sleeping hours. An unemployed army is to the Boss what an army in reserve behind the lines is to the Army General. It is a weapon with which the Boss can attack the whole of the labour movement in his onslaught against the conditions which have been obtained—in his attempts to lower wages and the standard of living. The Boss thinks that the unemployed, outside the factory gate will have the effect of getting those inside to take less wages and half starve inside the factory rather than starve completely outside. Does the boss heed the tears of the wives and children who are starving? No. He glories in the tears of your starving wife and kiddies. He feels pretty sure that their tears will have the effect of forcing you to lower your standard of life.

What We Must Do

But I think that by this time the workers will be alive to the subtleties of capitalism. What we have to do, fellow workers, is to perfect our organisations, we have to prepare for war, to take the offensive, otherwise you will be crushed down deeper and deeper. Take a keen living interest in the whole labour movement. Do not be content just to be a member or a card holder, be a *man*.

Get into the political movement. See to it that you are prepared equally well in the political field as well as the industrial field. We must have unity. We should have for each industry one industrial union embracing the whole of the workers in that industry, no matter whether they are skilled or unskilled, clerks or navvies, carmen or mechanics; and each industrial union should be a part of the ONE BIG UNION for the whole of the country. You must prepare to end the system which is the cause of the trouble.

The time is coming when you will have to decide upon which side you are, whether you are for the Boss or for the workers.

GET READY FOR THE DAY.

N.U.W.C.M.

National Agitation Week

IN view of the recent Government legislation which actually reduces the unemployed benefit from 15s. to 7s. 6d. per week by placing the unemployed five weeks on and five weeks off benefit, it has been agreed at Head Office (owing to the emergency of the situation) to hold a Week of National Agitation to protest against this callous action of the Government, which we consider is only the thin edge of the wedge to further cuts.

It is certain that if the unemployed take this quietly then further encroachments will be made upon their already impoverished condition, and they will be forced still further into the mire by those who hold the reigns of Central and Local Government.

Therefore we, the unemployed, have an obvious duty to perform, not only to ourselves, but to our wives and families, and that is: to see to it that during a particular week the whole of the unemployed throughout Great Britain carry on an intensified agitation for the removal of this Amendment to the Unemployed Act, and by our activities prove to the authorities in no uncertain manner that we are not prepared to tolerate any such injustice.

The Week of Agitation will commence on Monday, June 19th, and end on Sunday, June 25th, culminating in huge Mass Demonstrations on the last day (Sunday). In London the week will conclude with a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, June 24th, at 4.30 p.m.

At this meeting the following resolution will be put:—

"That this Mass Demonstration of Unemployed and Employed Workers most emphatically protest against the latest Amendment to the Unemployment Act, which actually reduces the unemployed benefit by half, by placing them five weeks on and five weeks off benefit. Further, we consider that this is a sinister move to beat the unemployed men and women down to an even lower depth of degradation, and by so doing hoping to drive them by desperation caused by their economic suffering to undersell the employed in the struggle for existence and the competition for employment. We therefore pledge ourselves to carry on an incessant agitation against the present Government, and to continue to agitate and strive for the just demands of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement—namely, Work or Full Maintenance at Trade Union rate of wages."

The resolution, after being carried, will be posted to Lloyd George, Dr. Macnamara (Minister of Labour), and the local Members of Parliament.

So now, Comrades, for the Big Push. Don't let it be said that you stood this damned insult without a murmur.

It behoves all of us to be up and doing. Get ready for the Big Week.

W. HANNINGTON,
Nat. Organiser.

NOTES: Political, Industrial and Occasional

The United Front We promised an article from the chairman of the Communist Party upon this topic. Circumstances have been too strong for us, and we must hold over the chairman's article for a week. To fill the gap we give the article by our Comrade Radek which appears on page seven. We have been compelled to abridge it somewhat owing to extra pressure upon our space.

Revolution in England Next week's COMMUNIST will be a special English Revolution Number. It will contain specially written descriptions of episodes from the revolutionary history of England. It will be—such is boss-controlled education—news to many that England has a revolutionary history at all. Our next issue will be an eye-opener. Leading scholars of the proletarian revolutionary movement are co-operating in its production. R. W. Postgate, Walton Newbold, the Editor, T. A. Jackson, and a comrade who prefers to be known as "Alexander John"—between them cover a wide field every corner of which is of vivid interest. Specially noteworthy will be Alexander John's original study of Wat Tyler's Rebellion.

Order early for we shall be sold out soon and we cannot reprint.

Mrs. Snowden Did you notice this? Mrs. Snowden writes to the papers to say that she wouldn't wonder after all if Lenin was seriously ill, because when she was in Russia he was laughing like anything whenever he saw her and there was *nothing* to laugh at, "absolutely nothing, my dear Megan."

Shortt Again Some misguided foreign detective—a Spaniard we believe—who found the defrauder of ex-soldiers, Kiley, wandering about Europe, was muddle-headed enough to arrest him and send him back to serve the rest of his sentence in England, thereby causing the acutest annoyance and discomfort to Kiley's patron Shortt. Fortune, however, always kind to the virtuous, almost at once gave Shortt another opportunity to show his loyalty to his class. He hung Henry Jacoby, pantry boy and sent Ronald True, well-connected pimp, to a pleasant rest home. Jacoby was a lad of arrested development, the jury found that he did not enter the room with the intention to kill, and strongly recommended him to mercy. But he was of slum parents. True was a fully grown man, a souteneur, a man of the most contemptible and miserable character. The jury rejected the evidence of insanity and made no recommendation to mercy. But this cold-blooded murderer of prostitutes was an officer and gentleman, with influential relatives. Moreover, Jacoby had killed a Lady Somebody: True murdered just a common girl.

The Shortt Story The Jacoby-True scandal tells us nothing we Communists did not know before concerning the Right Hon. Edward Shortt, K.C., M.P. The man is a legal hack of a particularly callous type, saturated with class prejudice, and advanced to high position, not because he possesses ability, but because he can be depended upon to do the dirty work of the class that employs him, without sentiment and without pity.

When Communists and other political offenders were being given savage sentences for minor offences, he received the deputations of well-meaning protesters that waited upon him in a manner that had something of Sampson Brass, something of Pecksniff in it. How hopeless it all was. One might as well have protested to an automatic machine—except that a machine has, at least, the virtue of having no class bias.

Mr. Shortt has given us an excellent lesson in class-consciousness.

Children's Evidence A case of singular importance is at the present moment before the Sheffield courts. Peter Hannon is charged with being concerned in an attempted robbery with violence of Charles Cooper, director of Cuthbert Cooper and Co. Hannon is a well-

known local member of the Communist Party. The evidence upon which he is sent for trial is that of Cooper himself (who says in effect that Hannon was standing about not far from the scene of the assault, but did not assault him) and of two children of 12 and 13, whose evidence disagrees in certain particulars. We are not, as the case is before the courts, able to make any further comment at the moment. It may be that when a final decision is come to we shall have more to say.

Build up Industrial Organisations The Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., secretary of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, speaking on Wednesday, June 7, to a special delegate conference of theatrical employees, called by the National Association of Theatrical Employees, stated that:—

"When the Trades Union Congress meets, I think it will be found that the membership of some of the organisations has dropped considerably. I know for certain that in one case more than 100,000 members have dropped out of an affiliated union."

This is, unfortunately, only too true. On every hand the trade unions are suffering a depletion of membership. One of the contributory causes is, of course, the prevailing economic depression. But it is not the only

ALBERT INKPIN Our Comrade, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Albert Inkipin, will have completed his sentence of six months on June 24th.

Comrades will be glad to give him welcome on his release.

cause. The weak and cowardly policy of those entrusted with giving light and leading to the trade union movement is one of the chief factors tending to drive men out of the unions. Men are fed up with organisations that prove useless and weakly impotent against the onslaughts of the employers.

They are even more fed up with those in charge of the organisational machinery of the unions who think it their solemn duty to whine around the bosses and submit to the slavish conditions the bosses choose to impose. Can the decline in membership be wondered at when we examine the history of the trade union movement since the great betrayal of Black Friday? What hope can the miners, cotton operatives, builders, printers,—and *engineers* have that their organisations will prove a safe and sure bulwark against their enemies?

Don't Grouse—Work Trades Unionism is going through a formidable crisis.

A great rallying of all the forces of the movement—a series of enthusiastic and energetic campaigns—on behalf of the industrial organisations of the workers is urgently necessary. Much internal re-organisation is also necessary. If the General Council was a real General Council it would, with the assistance of its affiliated organisations, through the Trades Councils, organise meetings and surging demonstrations in every locality—it would put heart and hope into the despairing workers,—it would stop the retreat and the demoralisation of its forces. And it would get an active commission working, critically examining the movement and discovering ways and means of retaining the members. But even the work of maintaining and building up the industrial movement must, apparently, be left to the "disrupting" (sic) Communist proletarians of the rank and file.

The Unpardonable Sin "Humanity" would seem to be a different thing from "morality." Bishop Weldon says:—

"It is no longer difficult to forgive the German people. They have violated on land, and still more at sea, the functions of Christian humanity, but they have not formally disowned the obligations which they have formally accepted."

"The Bolshevik Government, on the other hand, has shown itself to be alien from the moral principles of Christendom. I do not see how its representatives can be justly accepted on equal terms, until it

acknowledges its responsibility for the repayment of money borrowed."

From which we may learn . . . ?

Builders Betrayed When the Communist Party popularised the slogan "Watch your leaders" twelve months ago, they were accused of being disruptionists. Yet there was never a warning more fully justified by the results. The latest and most glaring instance that has occurred has just taken place in the building industry. It will be remembered that the Wages and Conditions Council met last March and the employers presented demands to the operatives' side which were eventually whittled down to a reduction of 2d. per hour on April 1st (this was in accordance with the sliding scale on account of the decrease in the cost of living as shown by the Board of Trade figures) and a further 2d. per hour on the 2nd June. This second reduction was extra to the normal decrease under the sliding scale and in return the bosses promised to leave the 44-hour week alone, at any rate until next January. These demands were submitted to the rank and file of the N.F.B.T.O. and the ballot figures have been suppressed by the officials. It is known, however, that only one union in the Federation showed a majority in favour of acceptance and that the other unions showed enormous majorities against, in some cases the proportion being hundreds to one.

Watch their Hands The next move was made by the operatives' representatives on the Wages and Conditions Council who met the bosses again and accepted the very terms their members had voted down by overwhelming majorities. The Executives say that it would be impossible to save the reduction, in view of the position prevailing in other industries, even at the expense of a strike or lock-out. Consequently the builders have had the reduction accepted over their heads and it came into operation on Saturday last. The Executives claim that "whatever the cost of living may be, the next review which is due under the Wages and Conditions Council scheme—viz., in July, 1922, also in January, 1923—can have no effect on the wages of our members until March, 1923." Very pretty and very plausible. But suppose the cost of living goes up during that period, as it quite probably will during the winter. Whatever the cost of living it can have no effect on the builders' wages! And this treachery in the face of the enemy is justified (sic) by the stabilisation of the 44-hour week for the same period. The employers, at any rate have more sense than to honour unprofitable agreements and the 44 hours will go whenever the bosses think that they can turn the trick.

Builders Take Notice A mass meeting was held in Stevenson's Square at 3 p.m., Sunday 4th inst., representing the rank-and-file of the Building Trades Federation of the Manchester area, to protest against the high-handed conduct of the Nat. E.C. in accepting 2d. per hour reduction against a majority vote of 67,580, who rejected the employers' ultimatum.

The following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

"That this mass meeting of members of societies affiliated to the Building Trades Federation agree to take action in their respective societies to replace all the E.C. members and officials who took part in overriding the majority vote of 67,580 of the rank-and-file."

"That this mass meeting agrees to appoint a committee here and now to consider ways and means of carrying out the logical conclusion of the ballot vote of the rank-and-file."

The chairman then called for nominations for this "Emergency Committee" of the rank-and-file from the various trades. The response was magnificent. This committee was given powers to co-opt any individual member of the Federation.

The secretary of this committee would like to get in touch with all members desirous of doing likewise up and down the country. Write to F. Henry Pace, 43, Knightly St., Queens Road, Manchester, and "tell him all about it."

DON'T GROUSE

Do what Geordie is doing

THE following manifesto issued by the Morrison Lodge of the Durham miners is a sign that "where there's a will there's a way." Those who think that the miners were so badly flogged last year that no recovery was possible are going to get their eyes opened.

This document was prepared by a committee elected at a conference which met at New Kyo, Annfield Plain, Co. Durham, on May 20th. They have called another conference which will have met at South Shields on June 10th by the time this issue appears.

Whatever the result it is a fine healthy sign and miners everywhere should take example from it.

All grades and sections of workers who have sunk into despair because victory seemed impossible once the miners were down and out, can see here that there is no more excuse for craven fears. Everything is possible to men who dare.

FELLOW MINEWORKERS,

In September you may give, if you choose, three month's notice to terminate the existing National Agreement. We urge you to do so for several reasons. First, it is *AN AGREEMENT WHICH NO ONE OF US THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDS*. This has been proved over and over again. Each month our leaders are mystified—as well they might be—by having all their anticipations upset. No one can say with any degree of certainty what the next month's results will show. The fluctuation of the market does not constitute the only uncertain factor. The cost of production, other than wages, is just as uncertain. We are against the Agreement, not only for this uncertainty of its results, but because we suspect that the intention of the Masters is to get the Mine-workers down, and this Agreement plays into their hands.

Why has cost of production, other than wages, gone up so high? Look around! At almost every pit some kind of improvement is being effected, or money is paid out in some way which enters the account against our wages. How far this sort of thing is going on no one knows. No one will ever know. We have foundation in fact for suspecting that the Masters are "juggling" the figures in the way mentioned.

Secondly, the Agreement divides us into Sectional Coalfields and destroys hope of a National Wages Board. It tends to make us think in terms of a County instead of a National industry. It creates the local feeling that a District must make the best terms for itself. South Wales for itself, the Midlands for itself, Durham for itself, and so on.

The result is that, feeling and thinking in this way, we are tempted to "stretch" Agreements and lengthen hours, because the Masters tell us it is to the advantage of our particular district. This means District against District, in a mad race to supposedly capture "trade," but it does not capture trade. The Masters of Durham are Masters elsewhere, and the great thing for the Masters is not capturing trade, but dividing the workers. Their motto is "Divide and Conquer." They have a National Union and a National Pool, for their own ends, while they attempt to strangle the Federation.

Thirdly, the Principle of the Agreement is bad for the Mineworkers. It leaves our wages to the mercy of factors over which we have not the least control. NO VOICE in Selling Price, no voice in costs other than wages, no voice in Management and Control or anything else. It simply keeps us down to the POVERTY LINE and carries us back to conditions as unfair as those of the days of the "Bindings."

Fourthly, it omits to make provision for the Unemployed Men and Boys. We have now over 20,000 of these in Durham. The number will increase. The conversion of coal-consuming plant into oil-fuel burners has already led to a saving of millions of tons of coal per annum, and as oil-fuel has come to stay and will increase, we must count from now onward that the Mining industry will have an unemployed army similar to that found in other trades and industries. The industry is rich enough and secure enough to carry its own unemployed and it must do so.

It is said that our Masters are not doing well. We challenge the various Companies and Combines to show what was the original Capital of the concerns and how much of present Capital is "Bonus shares" and "Watered Stock." We are quite prepared to take Durham or any other coalfield and deal with the question as to whether the Masters are nearly in the workhouse, like unto ourselves, or are doing fairly well out of our labour. We refer to all their concerns, profitable

By-Product Plants included. We also note the privileges of concerns selling coal and coke to firms composed, again, largely, of coalowners.

We know that the Consett Iron Co., Ltd., three weeks ago, offered for Public Subscription a million and a half pounds of six per cent Debenture Stock at £99 per £100. This was immediately over-subscribed. There was a rush for it. The Prospectus contained an Auditors' Certificate covering the 23 years ended June 30th, 1921, which stated that the average profit during that period was no less than £462,742 *per annum*. The lowest profit was £266,175 in 1904, and £889,142 was the highest in 1920. These figures indicate huge profits, but one requires to know the relation they bear to Capital actually sunk in the concern. You will be astonished to hear that out of an Ordinary Capital of three millions, two-thirds, or two million pounds consist of Bonus Shares which were distributed in September, 1919. The average Dividend for the years 1910 to 1920 has been 33½ *per cent*. It has even risen to over 60 *per cent* in one year.

Yet we are told to accept a bare subsistence wage of 6s. 8d. per day, and short time in addition.

Men of Durham, remember the noble struggles of your fathers of old! The Masters believe you have no fight left in you. They treat your Leaders as though no Union existed. It is up to you to make good. We must have a New Agreement which will scrap all insults such as a bare subsistence Wage. We must have an Agreement guaranteeing to us Wages in keeping with Human Life and Comfort. Our Labour must be the first and not the last charge upon Industry. Do not forever blame Leaders. Express your Discontent and show your Determination to have better conditions. **THIS IS YOUR FIGHT.** Leaders are strong according to the measure of Rank and File support. That and that alone makes for good leadership and good conditions of labour. Therefore, let us determine to stand together to fight the good fight. Do not merely grouse, play your part and do something.

ELI COOK, Handon Hold Lodge.

W. PEARSON, Marsden Lodge.

R. HUNTER, Philadelphia Lodge.

S. LAWTHORPE, Chopwell Lodge.

F. MCKAY, Urpeth Lodge.

T. STOBBS, Swallow Lodge.

Geo. HARVEY, Follonsby Lodge.

J. HUTCHINSON, Harton Lodge.

J. E. GLANVILLE, Morrison (*President*).

J. W. BIRBECK, Morrison (*Treasurer*).

T. HALL, Morrison (*Secretary*).

Correspondence

The Boss and the Copper

DEAR COMRADE,—Burry Port is a village situated between Llanelly and Kidwelly. It possesses one main street something less than a mile long with a few bye-roads branching off it. It is close to the sea with fine docks capable of accommodating three or four vessels at once (providing they do not run larger than one hundred thousand tons each!)

Also it has its unemployment exchange with a roll of unemployed numbering round about 300. And into the bargain it has four members of that fine force the Carmarthenshire Constabulary.

Burry Port had a Whit Monday sensation. Sergeant Harris, of the County Constabulary, resplendent with enough medal ribbons to hang one of the unemployed from the nearest lamp-post, moved in and out of houses public and private notifying the unemployed men who "wanted a job" that they were to present themselves at the main gate of the Munition factory at 7 in the morning of the Wednesday following.

A large batch of the unemployed, close upon one hundred, presented themselves as instructed. Those who could scrape together the necessary pence made the journey by train, those who could not, walked; all were eager in anticipation of a "start."

In due course arrived a car bearing the representative of Messrs. Geo. Cohen, Sons & Co., who, after a glance at the assembled company, passed into his office.

After an interval for telephoning—possibly for military assistance?—this lordly magnificent comes to the door and beckons to one of the waiting suppliants. One by one they are picked out, catechised, and with grave deliberation accepted, until a muster of 16 have been awarded the honourable Order of the Job.

Then the grand climax—the remainder are told "no more men wanted this morning."

Now what I want to know is this:—If only 16 men were wanted, why were a hundred told there would be work for them? Could not the Labour Exchange have supplied 16 men if they had been

requested? Have the Constabulary so little to do that they can find time to round up a mob of working slaves for the boss to pick his choice from? And what is the good of talking "economy" when working men's time, money, and patience, is wasted in this brutal fashion?

It would seem that either the police force of Carmarthenshire should be reduced or the Labour Exchange closed as obsolete.

ONE WITH A RATE.

South Wales.

In Abertillery

DEAR COMRADE,—I am just going to give you a brief account of how things are going in this part of the world. How they will go in the near future, well, it will take a "superman" to say. Well, things are very bad here indeed. To give you an idea, I may say there are round about 1,700 unemployed in Abertillery alone. The betrayal of Black Friday seems to have knocked the guts out of what was known once upon a time the Fighting S.W. Miners. If you go into a Lodge meeting you can count the attendance almost on the fingers of both of your hands; if the unemployed are not present, well, it is a case of "nothing doing." The men enter, secretary reads the minutes of last meeting. Then the chairman reads the agenda, and they "deal" with the items almost as quick as the chairman reads them out. Then in about half-an-hour's time they walk out again. Oh, the Miners' Federation!

The Annual Conference will be held in Cardiff on the 20th of this month, resolutions galore, but there is one which I must mention. It is this: "That the S.W.M.F. shall urge the M.F.G.B. to link up with the R.I.T.U., failing this it shall itself link up." This is from the Mardy Lodge. An amendment from the Tillery Lodge, Abertillery, to the effect "That the S.W.M.F. should immediately link up with the R.I.T.U., after which it shall use all its power to press the M.F.G.B. to link up."

The conditions are damnable underground to-day. They are so bad that, I think, we can safely say

the number of accidents, fatal and non-fatal, this last 11 months, being the number of months worked since the betrayal, will surely equal those of the last 11 years. Indeed, you go to-day expecting to see somebody brought home from the pit killed or "wounded," if you do not you begin to wonder what's the matter.

Well, that's the state our leaders have accepted—these leaders who possess all the intelligence of the working class movement (?) who allowed the miners to be starved into surrender, as they are the A.E.U. to-day, who went against the two-thirds majority, and are to-day asking, through J. R. Clynes, for greater freedom and greater scope of leadership.

Good God! What is it they want now?

In spite of the prophecies of a revival of trade, the position in the coal industry is getting worse every day. Stop waggons is very general in S. Wales, which means, of course, stop days. Tom Richards, Secretary S.W.M.F., speaking at Fendale on May 31st, said the miners were having three days holiday this Whitsun because of the glut of coal on the market. The *Times Trade Supplement* for June 3rd stated the S. Wales colliery owners are experiencing increasing difficulty in keeping their pits regularly employed. Next week the S. Wales owners are holding a special meeting to discuss a further "cut" in the export price of coal. I am also told by "one in the know" that about next month the S. Wales owners will again be on the war path; they will make an attempt to force the wages down to the barest standard. Something doing then!

JACK JONES, Abertillery.

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- (2) L. Krassin.
- (3) M. Litvinoff.
- (4) K. Rakovsky.
- (5) M. Joffe.
- (6) Russian Delegation at Genoa.

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"De Profundis"

THE RETURN OF THE ENGINEERS

By J. T. Murphy

AFTER the £3,000 conference, the "bold" lead of Mr. Brownlie, the press hysteria on faith in leaders (following on the worst exhibition of leadership known to trades union history), the ballot vote in the A.E.U. (we understand, although we write before the figures are issued) shows a majority in favour of returning to work on the terms of the new memorandum.

Woe to the Vanquished

That all those who have been locked out will regain their former jobs is doubtful. That we are in for a distressful period in the factories is certain. Within the next few weeks the employers will negotiate the 16s. 8d. per week reduction and the extension of the system of payment by results, confident that the unions can offer no resistance. The boilermakers and the moulders will be compelled to come to terms. The unions are now practically at the mercy of Sir Allan Smith. He can proceed with his task of plundering the unions absolutely confident that the union leaders have neither the guts nor capacity to offer sufficient resistance.

From the beginning of the fight we insisted upon the necessity of united resistance by all the unions to the policy of wage reductions. We insisted on this in 1921 when the miners were locked out and more than threescore Communists landed in gaol for actively striving to widen the front. The miners were defeated because we and they were not supported in any efforts towards a united front.

At that very moment the engineers' general secretary was writing in the monthly journal of the A.E.U. to the effect that because of the miners' lock-out the engineers could not fight the wage reductions which were being demanded of them.

To-day the miners' children are begging for bread because their fathers cannot earn enough when working to feed them. The engineering workers have now been beaten down and we venture to prophesy that before long their children also will be begging for bread for the same reason as the miners—unless the lesson is learned and acted upon.

The Fight Still Goes On

The crisis in shipbuilding and engineering shows no signs of abating. Here and there among the engineering firms there are orders but on the whole the position is critical and we are faced with the same situation as obtains in the mining industry.

There are now too many engineering workers just as there are too many miners.

Meanwhile Mr. Hodges talks of a ten years' industrial truce and Mr. Smillie says there can be no industrial truce. "An industrial truce is the sleep of death," Mr. Brownlie denounces Mr. Henderson and Mr. Clynes talks of faith in leaders. Mr. Hutchinson bumps the *Daily Herald* and the *Daily Herald* kisses everybody. But Smillie is right—an industrial truce is the sleep of death. And whoever preaches the opposite to-day is an ally of the boss class administering the chloroform on their behalf.

The whole outcry about the faith in leaders is insincere. What is meant is faith in them which should be of the blind variety: faith leaving them immune from criticism. To preach faith in leaders in this country is totally unnecessary. The masses are patient and long-suffering with them to a degree.

The whole outcry is engineered in order to cover up their cowardice and incapacity. If instead of appealing for faith they would do more to encourage that faith by deeds which made clear they at least had got sight, there would be little of which to complain. Instead of that they have encouraged petty jealousies and refused to obey the elementary principles of solidarity. The record of the leaders in the engineering lock-out is an utter disgrace and to try to cover it up by appeals for faith is absurd to a degree.

Parliament: Battlefield or Dug-Out?

Equally damnable is the other subterfuge which is being used to enhance the politicians of the reformist crowd and to decry the policy of direct action. Mr. Gosling and a whole host of them are denouncing strikes in favour of Parliamentary action. Not for one moment do we want to understate the importance of preparing for a general election, or even fighting to get a general election. Nor do we wish to understate the usefulness of securing the return of Labour candidates.

But we denounce as utter nonsense and downright treachery the deductions which are being made and paraded before the masses concerning the failures of the strikes and lock-outs of the last two years. Whatever the failures have been, no one has contributed more to their failure than the men who are now denouncing them. Who are these people after all to denounce the workers for voting for a "win the war Government" when they had harnessed their own activities to the wheels of war? Who are these to condemn the masses when they themselves assisted the Government in creating the war psychology which was responsible for the 1918 vote?

Did these men, who tied the unions to the State, who became the recruiting

sergeants of the capitalist class, expect that their four and a-half years of war propaganda could be eradicated in five minutes? Because this did not happen are the workers to be denounced in order to cover up the leaders' own weaknesses when called upon to act? The years which ought to have been spent in rallying every possible element of working class loyalty against the capitalist class and in reorganising the union movement for struggle were criminally neglected. The workers are to-day paying the price of the war time treachery of their leaders who to-day are trying to cover up their own defects by abuse, and by appeals for Parliamentary solidarity. From Henderson to Brownlie they are all at it.

* * *

In the hope of future respectable victories they plead for the preservation of the unions by refusing to fight. In the process they weaken the unions more than ever. It is impossible to preserve organisation by pursuing a demoralising policy of dividing the union forces in the hours of action. That they have done and the responsibility for the return on these terms lies wholly at the door of the union leaders of to-day. Union leaders who wanted to win would not have spent their time running away from the battle front.

Think what it would have meant if the whole of the Executives of the 52 unions plus the General Council had set about organising the masses in every important centre, if they had come along with a fighting policy and given a moral impetus to the whole movement.

Then compare it with their inactivity, their talky talky in the committee and conference rooms. And these are the leaders who call for faith! These are they who denounce those who are active and institute proceedings to ensure their serenity!

The return to work and unemployment has begun, but this is not the end. It is one stage further in the struggle which knows no end until capitalism is utterly defeated. Let the struggle proceed with vigour in every union branch to get new leadership and for new combinations. The skilled workers are thrust into the vanguard of the struggle to preserve and advance the cause of the workers as a whole. They cannot win without the unskilled workers. Wherever there has been thrown up those combinations of "unskilled" and skilled workers during the lock-out, preserve them as much as possible, and use them as weapons with which to forge the more perfect instrument for the struggle of to-morrow.

India

On behalf of the Indian Trade Union Congress Committee, the Workers' Welfare League of India, their agent in Britain appeals to all the trade unions and branches, etc., and other labour organisations in Great Britain to send resolutions of protest to Lord Reading, Viceroy of India at Delhi, and the Secretary of State for India at Whitehall, against the imprisonment of Mr. J. B. Miller and demanding his release. (Mr. Miller is the founder and chief organiser of the Railwaymen's Union in India, and has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment on the ground of inciting railway strikers to throw stones at trains.)

From the information we have received from Mr. Chaman Lall, secretary of the Indian Trades Union Congress Committee, the charge is incorrect and is merely being used as a pretext to hamper his trade union activities. At the present time the North-Western Railwaymen's Union in India are experiencing great difficulties, the railway authorities denying the workers the right of Conciliation Boards, although such Boards had been promised under a previous agreement by them.

This League feels it is imperative that British Labour should let the Indian authorities clearly understand that its persecution in India will be jealously watched by the British Trade Union Movement generally.

IRRECONCILIABLE ADVERSARIES

Private Property the Keystone of Government

"It may startle some of those who entertain the political belief that the Government of the United States should exercise a major control over our industrial life to say that one of the chief obstacles, to-day, to a quickly reconciled world, is the negation and abolition of the rights of private ownership in property—an ownership that carries with it initiative, operation, growth. Yet this is literally true. And the proof is evidenced in Russia (one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, one hundred and eighty millions of people) Russia—and Soviet, Communistic, Russia, at the Genoa Conference. The United States cannot continue indefinitely to feed a starving people thousands of miles away... Europe cannot be rehabilitated with this vast menacing shadow lowering upon its eastern border—the shadow of a corrupt death. This is the terrible fact at the Genoa Conference."—*Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York* (13/5/22).

HERE we have it, the unspoken but implicit confession of the purpose behind Mr. Hoover's campaign of Famine Relief. What in effect does American Capitalism say?

People of Russia! We have fed you. We have not fed you because of our love for you or for Humanity. We have fed you in

order to make you rely upon us, the capitalists of America. Now we shall cut off food for the starving unless—unless what? Unless you rise in revolt and overthrow the enemy of Mr. Hoover's patron and Mr. Rockefeller's employers, the most Christian Rockefeller's most sanctimonious Standard Oil Company. Now, get busy!

From the same issue of the same paper we get the following. It says bluntly what we in this paper have said repeatedly:—

"A new angle to France's attitude toward Russia was reported by the Paris correspondent of the Associated Press on Monday evening. He asserted that a high French Government official said that 'France will not recognise the Russian Soviet Government until the United States does. France has kept a free hand in this matter, and it makes no difference what action the Genoa Conference may take.'"—*Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York* (13/5/22).

Again, we reiterate. The world is hurtling to war!

**Don't forget the Fighting Fund.
Money to Secretary, 16, King Street,
Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2**

NORTHCLIFFE—Journalist

By R. W. POSTGATE

LORD NORTHCLIFFE—Alfred Harmsworth—has issued a pamphlet about his fellow millionaires of Fleet Street (*Newspapers and Their Millionaires*, 3d.). They have got up his nose by proposing a reduction in wages, a thing which so benevolent a capitalist cannot tolerate. "Why," he exclaims indignantly, "should not printers own Ford cars?" Why indeed? Why not every worker?

But My Lord does not enter into this question. He is more concerned, as indeed befits so high-souled a man, in defending the wages of his own workers, and in order to do that he does not shrink from exposing his colleagues. He has withdrawn from the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, and now he *only* points out that all other papers are owned by millionaires who have made their money in other trades. Further, he suggests that because of this, they are not as competent as he is to produce a paper.

When we have fully appreciated the seriousness of this terrible, earth-shaking attack, we can pause to remember that all of my lord's facts, and many more, were better stated long ago in a pamphlet of the I.L.P. Information Committee called *The Capitalist Press, or Who Pays for the Attacks on Labour?*, still obtainable.

Still, we can be thankful to him for giving some of these facts, in an inaccurate and wandering way, more publicity. He makes bad mistakes—the *Daily Herald* (which he naturally calls a very bad paper) has pulled him up already over one fairly gross one. All the same, anything that reminds the ordinary man that his news is controlled by millionaires for reasons satisfactory to them, is a good thing to have published.

* * *

So Northcliffe will make a stand against reducing printers' wages, though he will "clout the unskilled workers" if necessary. Very interesting and curious. Why is Northcliffe holding up the war on wages in his particular industry—Northcliffe, the most dangerous enemy of British Labour?

For love of Labour? Not quite, nor yet merely from the sense of a need for a good advertisement, and a popularising of his personality after the manner of Bottomley. Northcliffe is doing it just as a pure business calculation.

He owns some hundreds of papers, of which nearly all are paying concerns. One or two are believed to lose money and to be kept on for the sake of prestige and political influence. But the whole mass of them forms an aggregation of capital which is far more lasting and can stand greater strain than any other newspaper group.

The reason why Northcliffe is keeping up printers' wages is because he knows he can pay them indefinitely with comfort. He believes a number of his smaller rivals are in very grave difficulties and he is breaking away from his usual class solidarity in the hope of pushing them down. Northcliffe actually has the serious ambition of himself controlling, with negligible exceptions, all

the London daily press. To do this he crushes or buys out, one by one, the lesser papers. He believes that just now the relatively high printers' wages (£8 on a daily) will be one of many means which will kill off easily some of his rivals. The *Globe* is dead, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Daily Herald* very shaky, the *Daily News* nearly died last year.

When his victory is secured, he may forget about his anxiety for the printers to have Ford cars.

* * *

Northcliffe and our old friend Bottomley (who had the former's backing for a while) are the only English journalists who through their periodicals have exercised a considerable political influence—And of the two, Northcliffe is by far the most dangerous. Bottomley was an easy-going rascal. He followed the stream and did what was most popular. Let the stream turn towards revolution, and Bottomley would have swung round with it. Why—after a little "persuasion"—*John Bull* would have welcomed a Soviet revolution with a placard:

A BUSINESS GOVERNMENT AT LAST!

There would never be any chance of playing such tricks with Northcliffe. Northcliffe is too serious and too self-important. He thinks of himself too much as an Ethel M. Dell hero—the "strong silent man." He collects relics of Napoleon and imitates the poses and phrases of the great mountebank. The famous letter (or was it telephone message?) to Clement Shorter: "Sir, You are a dirty little Jew. NORTHCLIFFE," is probably apocryphal and certainly libellous. But it is anyway the sort of thing that he might have written, modelling himself on Napoleon in small things as well as great.

He has risen to a position of power where he has been able to place nearly all his relatives and assistants in important posts. He has a large part in directing British affairs, and imagines it to be even larger. He has come to regard himself as an important statesman and he will never quit that position willingly. He would be one of the most serious opponents of a British revolution: he would probably organise a White reaction and organise it very well.

* * *

His claim, in his new pamphlet, is to have reached his position by his talents as a

journalist, and in a sickening adulation reprinted from the *New Statesman* this claim is endorsed. (Circulation of the endorsers of the claim, probably little over 10,000). The claim is more than doubtful. He has made no notable change in the *Times*. The *Evening News* contains much less actual matter than the *Star*, and it is worse and more slovenly presented. And as for the famous *Daily Mail*! It is scarcely sub-edited at all. It has interminable wads of solid grey print, hardly broken up at all. No variation of type in the headlines, very few competent correspondents. It does not even give the news. If we compare it (as Northcliffe invites us) with the *Daily Herald*, on the mere question of the amount of genuine news, the *Herald* wins easily. Story for story, there is nearly always something considerable that the *Mail* misses. The writer of this article has compared the *Herald* with capitalist dailies every morning for some time past simply for that purpose. The only news matter on which they score is in short silly stories—generally "sexish," about women's bathing clothes, the Reverend Smut's opinion on silk stockings and sleeping out, and such stuff.

Northcliffe's main basis of success is not his journalism at all, but his undeniable business powers. The *Mail* circulates because of its magnificent circulation organisation. Everywhere you go the wretched rag is pushed before you. Every village has its copy. Every town it reaches earliest. It gets bought merely because it is so much easier to buy the *Mail* than any other paper. After all, most of the news in any paper is the same agency stuff, so why worry which paper you buy?

* * *

Here then is the modern Napoleon. Before we leave him we must make one quotation—a pathetic one, on page 20:—

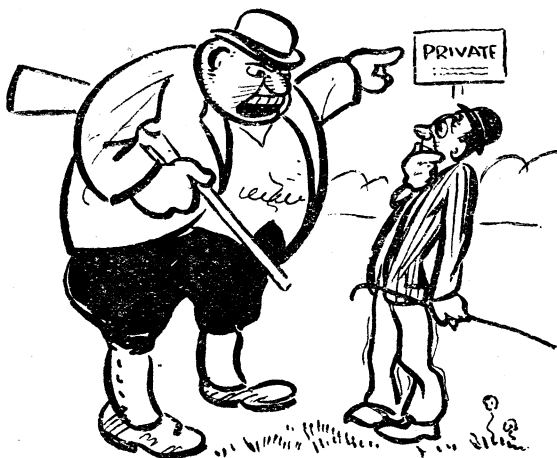
"And look at this:—One paper actually called us 'the bloody old Times.'"

Dear me!

Court and dropped

"One of the most brilliant spectacles that Buckingham Palace has ever witnessed took place last night when the first real Court since the war was held. . . . When their majesties stationed themselves on their throne to receive the brides and debutantes the scene was one that is almost impossible to describe. Vivid uniforms of practically every nation under the sun were grouped around the throne. The clash of colour under the hundreds of gleaming lights was positively dazzling."—*Daily News* (9-6-22).

"The serious position of the coalfields was considered by the National Executive of the Miners' Federation yesterday. Reports received from the various districts showed that several thousands of miners were working short time and were forced to eke out an existence by receipt of Poor Law relief. Wages in some parts of Northumberland and Lancashire were declared to have fallen to starvation level."—*Daily News* (9-6-22).



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THE RESULT of the CAMPAIGN

By KARL RADEK

THE break-up of the Commission of Nine marks the close of the first phase of our world-wide struggle for the proletarian united front. This campaign has taught us a number of lessons (both of a general political nature and an international organisational character) which it behoves us to go into carefully, because the campaign just ended was only the first one and the struggle is to continue.

How is the unity to be established—from below or from above?

The first question we had to answer when the problem of a united front came into the foreground was, "In what way will we urge this united front, from below or from above?" This way of putting the question is met with repeatedly. The opinion is advanced that the break-up of the Commission of Nine is due to the fact that we approached the matter too much from above instead of carrying our idea into the masses. This attitude bears the earmarks of immaturity and ignorance. If we had been faced with the alternative of either moving Wels, Renaudel and Henderson, or the hundreds of thousands of workers behind them, our choice would have been easy indeed.

When we decided to sit down at one table with Wels and MacDonald, we did so because the workers behind them were still under their spell and inaccessible to us unless we sat down at one table with their leaders. The tactical task we applied ourselves to was this, "How can we unite the proletarian masses in a struggle for their immediate interests before they have parted company with their leaders and come to us?" With this end in view we did what had to be done and sat down at one table with the Social Democratic leaders.

The correct way of formulating the question is this, "What is the net result of our endeavour to approach the Social Democratic masses through a conference with their leaders?" We believe that the result can only be called favourable. Did not the leaders of the Social Democracy, of the Second International, under the very eyes of the workers' masses wreck every attempt to unite these very same masses? Did they not help the bourgeoisie to weather the breakers of the Genoa Conference? Did they not prevent Labour from closing its ranks against the coming months when the condition of the working class will undoubtedly grow still worse? All that remains to be done is to hammer these political results of the Berlin Conference and the first session of the Commission of Nine into the consciousness of the broad masses.

The conclusion we draw is not only the fact that the leaders of the Second International sabotaged the united front but also that the masses permitted them to do so.

It is easy to censure the former, but it would be committing a serious blunder if we were to persuade ourselves that it is merely the leaders who are sabotaging, while the workers behind them are fired with enthusiasm for the united front. If such were the case, we could afford to make light of the leaders and their sabotage. Unfortunately it is not so, for though broad sections of labour feel the want of unity, they are not prepared to enter upon a struggle for it. This passive friendship for the united front is the outcome of the weariness of the masses resulting from their dissatisfaction with the party strife which appears to be quite futile to them. The united front means to them, "Quit warring against each other"; but not, "Come on with the struggle!" Hence our demand and appeal to the masses to ignore the leaders of the Second International does not signify that these masses are already with us. Rather does it impose the task of going among them and rousing to struggle masses of whom only very small sections are inspired by militant sentiments.

Is our appeal to the broad masses after the collapse of the Commission of Nine to be interpreted as meaning that we will not continue our attempts to build up the united front from above and in spite of all that has happened? For an answer (and to show the variety of the problem) it will be sufficient to point out that in Saxony despite the breakdown of the Commission of Nine we did not abandon our negotiations regarding our attitude towards the Government.

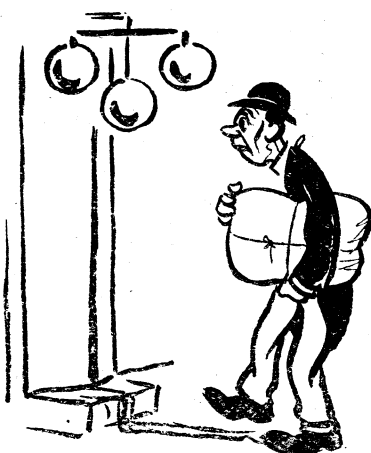
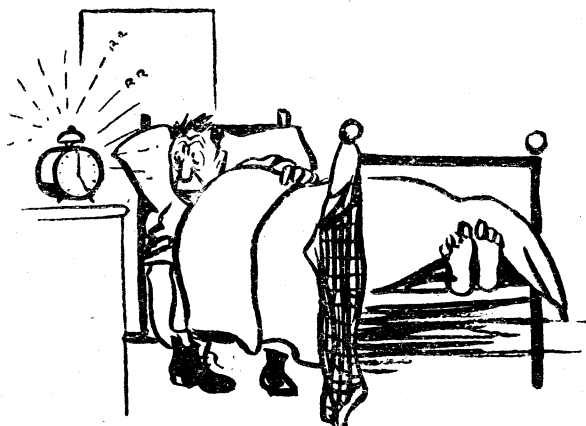
We did not succeed internationally in compelling the leaders of the Social Democratic parties to cease sabotaging the united

All Party members who will be attending the Labour Party Conference at Edinburgh must write immediately to National Organiser at Headquarters. Branch Secretaries and officials should see that this information is supplied at once.

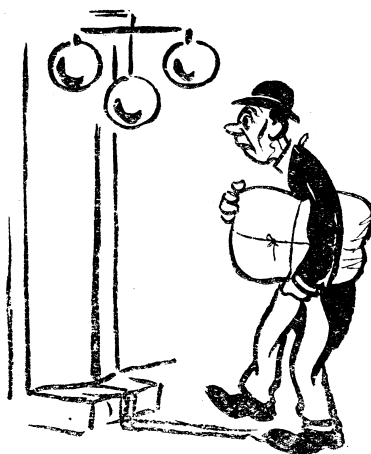
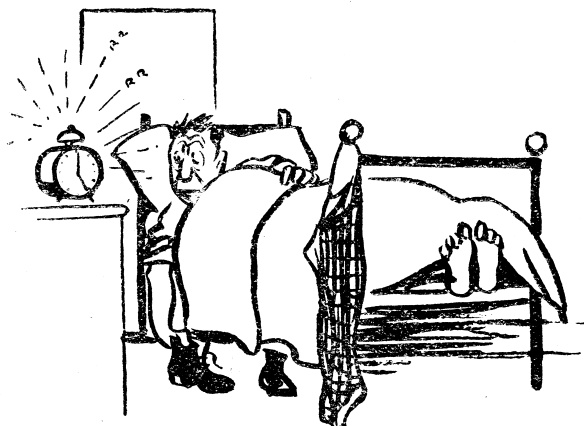
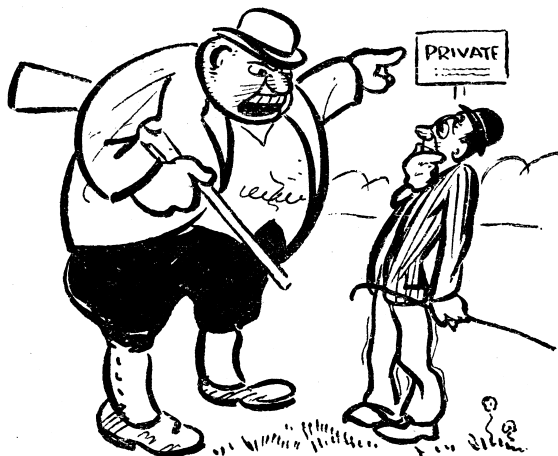
front because the pressure from below was not everywhere the same. This fact, however, should not keep us from advancing in the same direction and trying to compel the leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-Half to defend together with us the interests of the workers—wherever and whenever this is possible, whether in a state, or province or a municipality. And every time success crowns our endeavour it will be of the utmost importance for the future united front on an international scale.

Our work (which will require a long time to accomplish and then only provided our comrades do not take things too easily) does not consist of shouting, "From below! From below!" What counts is whether one understands how to work from below. This demands careful study of the immediate interests of labour, to which interests our agitation must be adapted. But that is not all—the ability to turn agitational successes to account on the organisational field is just as essential. That, however, is an art which has been developed least of all in the ranks of the Communist Parties. Their one great failing is a certain schematism of thought; they fondly believe in the possibility of making an organised Communist of every worker who favours the attitude of the Communist International. Hence they are averse to loosely knit formations enabling us to get together greater masses even if they have not yet decided upon final rupture with their parties.

The struggle itself is the best teacher. We are convinced that every Communist who can survey and understand the first phase of the struggle for the united front is more than ever persuaded of the necessity for the decision advocating our entering upon that struggle.



Became a Communist



Why Bill Jones Became a Communist

Russian Famine Fund

AN APOLOGY WANTED

The Workers International Famine Relief Committee, British Section (35, Grays Inn Road, W.C.1) has sent the following letter to weekly paper known as *John Bull*:-

Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the following paragraph which appears in the issue of *John Bull* dated June 10th.

"We have evidence that much of the money collected at Communist meetings on behalf of starving children in Russia never leaves this country at all, but is used to bolster up Bolshevik propaganda."

The statement is not true. You have no such evidence. The funds collected from Communist meetings are forwarded to this office and later transferred by us to the Central Office of the Workers' International Relief Committee in Berlin.

The Workers' Famine Relief Committee has up to date collected £350,000, in addition to a very large quantity of clothing, food stuffs, and so on. The British section of the International Relief Committee has collected £7,400. The total expenses incurred by the British section are £300. The total staff employed is one secretary and one typist.

If you, Sir, or a responsible person duly authorised by you will make an appointment with me at this office you will be given opportunity to inspect our income and expenditure books. Money collected and received at this organisation is not used for any other purpose than that for which it is intended—viz., combating the famine in Russia. A copy of this letter is being sent to the *Daily Herald*.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) W. McLAINE,
Secretary.

The Fund also wishes to call your attention to the following announcements. The first concerns the Russian postage stamps, of which we have the monopoly.

Terms cash with order. The sets comprise:—

- 1 Set of six Famine stamps provisional. Rare. Complete set 5s.
- 2 Set of four stamps "for the starving on the Volga." Very rare. Complete set 5s.
- 3 Set of five stamps. 5,000-10,000 roubles. Red impression. Complete set 7s.
- 4 Same as Set 3. Black impression. Complete set 7s.
- 5 New issue 7,500 and 22,500 roubles. Two stamps price 3s.
- 6 Kerensky issue. 35 and 70 Kopecks. Price 3d.
- 7 Set of Southern Russia (Denikin provisional issue). Price 5s.
- 8 Set of eleven Denikin issue with the rare 7 rouble stamp. Complete set 15s.

Busts of Lenin and Trotsky

Exact copies of those made by Clare Sheridan. Orders are now being booked for these busts, at the following prices:—

Lenin, 8s. Trotsky, 6s. 6d.

All profits to the Famine Fund.

Terms, cash, with order.

Willesden Bazaar

A grand Bazaar and Fair will be held at the Furness Road Schools, Willesden, Saturday, June 17th, at 3 o'clock. All kinds of goods will be on sale. Songs. Dances. Teas. Competitions.

MEETINGS

ABERTILLERY. Saturday, 7 p.m., Trinity Corner. Geo. Williams (Dowlais).

BOW. Branch meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., 141, Bow Road. New members cordially welcomed.

BRIGHTON. Every Saturday 7.30, Unemployed meeting at the Fountain. Communist speakers.

CARDIFF. Every Sunday, 7 p.m., Roath Park. Prominent speakers. Branch meetings every Friday 8 p.m., Labour Hall, Charles Street.

CASTLEFORD. Sunday 7 p.m., Market Place. Fred Shaw (Huddersfield).

CLAPHAM. Saturday 7.30 p.m., Triangle, Clapham Common. E. W. Cant.

CROYDON. Saturday 8 p.m., Woodside Green. Prominent speaker. Sunday 8 p.m., Katherine St. (opposite Town Hall). R. Stott (Streatham).

DUNDEE. Every Sunday 2.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m., Albert Square. Prominent speakers.

FALKIRK. Sunday 7 p.m., Falkirk Cross. D. A. Kennedy (Springburn).

HUDDERSFIELD. Sunday 11 a.m., Market Place; 6.30, St. Georges' Square. E. H. Brown, Div. Organiser.

KENNINGTON. Branch meetings every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park. June 18th: Bert Joy.

KINGSTON. Sunday 7.30 p.m., Market Place, W. McLaine.

MEXBORO. 11 a.m., Barker's Corner; 7 p.m., Leach, opposite Fairground. Geo. Fletcher (Sheffield).

SHEFFIELD. Meetings every Sunday, West Bar, 11.30 a.m.; Attercliffe Baths, 11.30 a.m.; Barker Pool, 7 p.m. National and local speakers.

SHIPLEY. Sunday 6.30 p.m., Market Place. J. H. Fletcher.

SOUTHWARK. Meetings every Sunday evening, 8 p.m., St. George's Circus, Blackfriars Rd. (near Surrey Theatre). Good speakers. Rally!

SPRINGBURN. Sunday 7.45 p.m., Vulcan St. J. Hendry (Coatbridge).

TOTTENHAM. Saturday evening, The Gun; Sunday morning, West Green Corner; Tuesday evening, Bruce Grove; Friday evening, The Boundary.

EDMONTON. All members should support N. London Workers' Council meeting at Town Hall, Sunday, 7 p.m. Speakers: Tom Mann and W. F. Watson. Cedar Paul will sing.

SURREY HOLIDAY CAMP, Newdigate, Surrey. Beautiful scenery; good food; 35s. week, 5s. 6d. day. Send stamp for particulars.

PLYMOUTH DRAW RESULT for Russian Famine Fund. Nos. 1180, 1863, 1337, 1093, 1540, 1497. F. Barker, Secretary.

Organiser's Notes

OF first importance this week is attention to the notice in this week's issue calling for names and addresses of Party members attending the Labour Party Conference at Edinburgh, the attitude adopted by the Executive Committee of the Labour Party in their efforts to isolate the Communist Party from the masses calls for immediate action, and in this connection it is the duty of our members to remind their fellow workers in the mines and workshops of the assistance given by the Communist Party in their struggles during the last two years.

Propaganda.

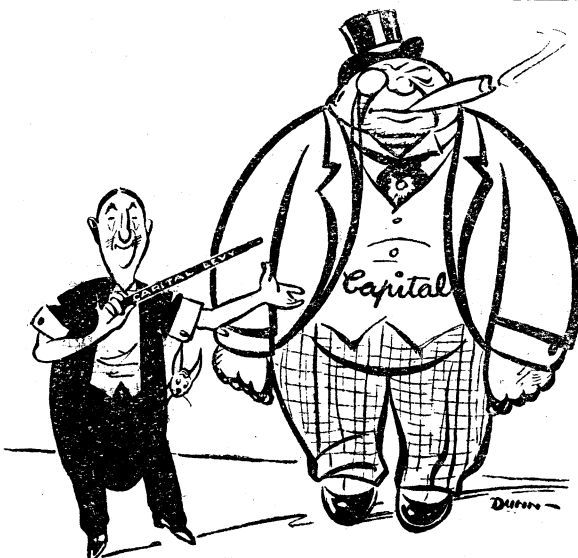
To get results propaganda must be well organised. Recently I have experienced that the best results are not being achieved from propaganda meetings through lack of organisation. The following points will be helpful to our branches:—

- (1) Every branch should select from their members a small propaganda group.
- (2) This group should have a responsible leader who will report to either the branch Executive Committee or the branch itself, and should be held responsible for the conduct of the group.
- (3) The work of this group should consider ways and means of extending propaganda and make arrangements for the carrying out of meetings, should organise leaflet distribution, sale of literature, taking collections, etc.
- (4) To arrange for a proper stewarding and marshalling of mass demonstrations.
- (5) To build up a card index system of the local industrial movement for the purpose of extending propaganda into the trade unions and workshops.
- (6) To devise ways and means according to local facilities for advertising meetings. The development of the use of slogans, making of hand made posters, banners, etc.

Communist Party—Social Activities.

In view of the Party's need for more finance, the time has arrived when our branches should be concentrating on ways and means of adding to members' subscriptions by organising social efforts. On this field there is plenty of scope for new ideas. It is the duty of our branches to acquaint headquarters with details of social efforts made for the purpose of assisting us to compile a list of helpful hints for the use of branches generally. This side of our movement has been sadly neglected, and I am convinced that once we get down to it we can add to our income and our membership by developing the social side.

I am anxious that the National Organisation Department should be acquainted with all the national industrial conferences to be held in the future. It is necessary that we should know all about these conferences several weeks before they are held so that our Party can study the nature of their business ahead and give a Communist lead on the matter before the conference. It is the duty of our members to give us all the fullest information possible.



TOO GOOD to be TRUE
Conjurer HORNE: "The merest wave of my wand and this gentleman will entirely disappear."

[Sir Robert Horne, replying to Col. Wedgwood and others, stated that any attempt at a capital levy would repeat the story of Tantalus. Capital would disappear.]

PLETHORIC MONEY

By Mark Starr

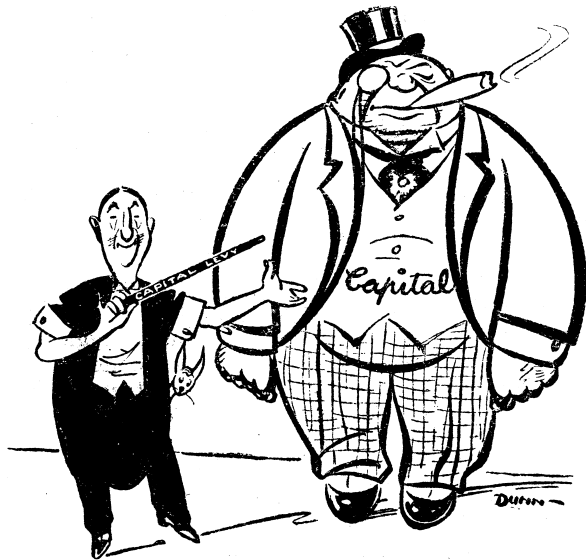
THE FINANCIER (1-6-22) was in a jolly mood last Thursday. No, it had not backed the winner at "the carnival of democracy," as the *Herald* whimsically called it. It backs the stupidity of "demokecracy" and wins all the time.

In one column it was rejoicing that the Government on that day had to pay out £50,000,000 in the shape of half-yearly interest on the Five Per Cent. War Loan. In another it discussed the effect of the Government's borrowing to pay out that sum. There was a rejoicing over good business in both directions: those floating new issues would be able to get at the £50,000,000 and others would profit by the greater demand

for money. It is a really jolly game of "Put and Take" with the takings all on one side.

After all, why shouldn't the *Financier* be merry? Every fall in the cost of living automatically enriches the financial class. There seems to be no end to the workers' retreat; the point of united resistance seems so very far away. They will go on paying these huge sums; 2 per cent. of the population will go on taking an annual toll of £225 millions as interest on War Loan. "Thy servant Alf" will still work his stunts successfully.

But maybe an attempt to revive that forgotten little ditty "Rule Britannia" will precipitate affairs. There are limits to the effect of dope.



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THE RIGHT HONOURABLES: or, Can a Man Serve Two Masters

COMRADES of the rank and file of the Labour Party, have you noticed the curious coincidence that where Big Business has sought to use Labour leaders to further the interests of the capitalist class, that the Labour leaders so used are invariably Privy Councillors?

IS IT COINCIDENCE?

You will remember in the early days of 1919, how from every hoarding and from the columns of many capitalist newspapers, the photographs of six benevolent looking gents greeted you, surrounded by the cryptic message

"THE GATE TO MORE"

and advising you, Mr. Worker, to work and toil harder, and produce more and more for the boss.

Who were the benevolent six? Five of them were Privy Councillor The Rt. Hon. Wm. Brace, M.P. Privy Councillor The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P. Privy Councillor The Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.

Privy Councillor The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P. Privy Councillor The Rt. Hon. J. Hodge, M.P.

The Coalition Cabinet, all of them Privy Councillors, were screeching for "more production." The Federation of British Industries, many of whose leading lights are Privy Councillors, was insisting on "more production." Those Labour leaders who were Privy Councillors were appealing as working class leaders for "more production." Is it not significant?

Strikes

Again, have you kept your eye on what has happened during every important industrial dispute of recent years? Who were the people who opposed strikes, who were the people who broke strikes, who officially came forward as negotiators? Who but our friends of the Privy Council.

Take the Moulders' weary struggle in 1920. Who sought to drive the moulders back to work? Who were the mediators?

Privy Councillor The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson collaborating with Privy Councillor Sir R. Horne.

In the Railway Strike of 1919 who do we find bracketed together but Privy Councillor J. H. Thomas, M.P., Railwaymen's leader, and Privy

Councillor Sir F. Banbury, Railway Director and Magnate?

In the Miners' Lock-out of 1921, who were the active mediators seeking to get the miners back to work? Who rejoiced in the happenings of Black Friday? Again the answer.

Privy Councillor J. H. Thomas working with Privy Councillor D. Lloyd George.

Privy Councillor W. Adamson coupled with Privy Councillor Eric Geddes.

Again, we have the situation to-day of locked-out Engineers. Who are the people who are most anxious that the engineers return to work. Again, we have the same combination of Labour Privy Councillors and capitalist Privy Councillors.

The Communists

In the COMMUNIST libel action we get the curious combination of Privy Councillor J. H. Thomas and Privy Councillor Justice Darling. During the trial Privy Councillor Darling bid Privy Councillor Thomas be silent as to what happened on His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

Persecution of the Communist Party has been raging for eighteen months. Who are the most violent opponents of the Communist Party? On the Governmental side we have Privy Councillor Ed. Shortt, M.P., Home Secretary.

In the ranks of the Labour Party we have Privy Councillor J. H. Thomas, M.P.

The Oath

What is the Privy Council? What does membership entail? We workers have to fight the boss class on the industrial field. By our Trade Union combinations, by strikes and threats of strikes, we have to wring from the master class tolerable living conditions. We have to fight the master class. If we had not, then there would be no need for Trade Unions or for the Labour Party. The King and His Most Honourable Privy Council represent the boss class, the terms of the Privy Councillors' oath indicate allegiance to the King, who is only a symbol of the interests of the boss class. What place is there on the Privy Council for a honest servant of the working class.

Read the oath and judge.

"I do swear by Almighty God to be a true and faithful servant unto the King's Majesty as one of His Majesty's Privy Council. I will not know or understand of any manner of thing to be attempted, done, or spoken against His Majesty's person, honour, crown, or dignity Royal but I will let and withstand the same to the uttermost of my power, and either cause it to be revealed to His Majesty himself or to such of his Privy Council as shall advise His Majesty of the same. I will in all things to be moved, treated and debated in Council faithfully and truly declare my mind and opinion, according to my heart and conscience; and will keep secret all matters committed and revealed unto me, or that shall be treated secretly in Council. And if any of the said treaties or counsels shall touch any of the Councillors, I will not reveal unto him, but will keep the same until such time as, by the consent of His Majesty, or of the Council, publication shall be made thereof. I will to the uttermost bear faith and allegiance unto the King's Majesty and will assist and defend all jurisdictions, pre-eminences, and authorities, granted to His Majesty and annexed to the Crown by Act of Parliament or otherwise, against all foreign princes, persons, prelates, States, and potentates. And generally in all things I will do as a faithful and true servant ought to do to His Majesty. So help me God."

Workers! Can a man be true to your interests and at the same time swear to serve the interests of Capitalist Governments set forth in the archaic terms of the oath above? Is the oath valueless, or his services to you valueless or worse than valueless? There is only one conclusion to be drawn. If Labour Privy Councillors take their oath in seriousness then that type of man is of no use to you, and their actions show whom they serve.

Labour must have men true to itself. It can have neither time nor place for Privy Councillors. Let Labour at its Conference in June choose, and in choosing declare that no man can serve two masters. Either you serve Labour or Mammon. Which do you choose?

WHO THEY ARE

Lord Birkenhead, created P.C. 1911. Afterwards became known as "Galloper" Smith for his behaviour in Ulster "Rebellion."

Lord Carson, created P.C. 1905. Famous for his "ballot box" activities in Ulster.

Lord Rothermere, created P.C. 1917 (same year as J.H.T.). Owner of *Daily Mirror*, etc.

Sir Eric C. Geddes, created P.C. 1917 (same year as J.H.T.). Formerly Traffic Manager N.E. Rly. Co.; First Lord of the Admiralty; Minister of Transport.

General Jan Smuts. Premier of United South Africa. Responsible for Bloody suppression of Rand Strike.

Wm. Brace. Sent to South Africa to enquire into Rand Strike.

Railways

J. H. Thomas, M.P., National Union of Railwaymen.

Duke of Devonshire, Furness Rly. Co.

Marquess of Breadalbane, Caledonian Rly. Co.

Earl of Plymouth, Barry Rly. Co.; Penarth Extension Rly. Co.

Lord R. Cavendish, Furness Rly. Co.

Lord C. Hamilton (Ch.) East London Rly. Co.; (Ch.) Great Eastern Rly. Co.

Lord G. Hamilton, Metropolitan District Rly. Co.; Underground Electric Railways of London, Ltd.

Viscount Chilton, London, Chatham and Dover Rly. Co.

Viscount Grey of Falloden, North Eastern Rly. Co.

Lord Aberconway, Barry Rly. Co.; (Ch.) Metropolitan Rly. Co.

Lord Ashfield (Ch.) Underground Electric Railways of London; (Ch.) Metropolitan District Rly. Co.

Lord Lambourne, London and North Western Rly. Co.

Lord MacDonnell, Midland Great Western Rly. Co. of Ireland.

Lord Pirrie, London and South Western Rly. Co.

Lord Southborough, Underground Electric Railways of London, Ltd.

Lord Stuart of Wortley, Great Central Rly. Co.

Sir F. G. Banbury, M.P. (Ch.) Great Northern Rly. Co.

Evelyn Cecil, M.P., London and South Western Rly. Co.

Sir W. H. Dyke (Ch.) London, Chatham and Dover Rly. Co.

Sir A. E. Fellowes (D.-Ch.) Great Eastern Rly. Co.

F. H. Jackson, London and North Western Rly. Co.; (also Bank of England and British Trade Corporation).

Sir H. E. Maxwell, Glasgow and South Western Rly. Co.

F. B. McEdmay, M.P., Great Western Rly. Co.

Sir G. H. Murray, London and South Western Rly. Co.; (also London County, Westminster and Parr's Bank, Ltd.; and Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Ltd.).

E. G. Pretymann, M.P., Felixstowe Dock and Rly. Co.

Coal

Wm. Adamson, Fife Miners' County Union.

Thos. Richards, South Wales Miners' Federation.

Lord Furness, Brownhill Collieries, Ltd.

Lord Pirrie, David Colville & Sons, Ltd.; Archibald Russell, Ltd.; John Brown & Co., Ltd.

Lord Londonderry, Londonderry Collieries, Ltd.

Lord Bledisloe, New Sharnston Collieries, Ltd.

Earl of Crawford (Ch.) Wigan Coal and Iron Co., Ltd.

Lord Gainford, Pease and Partners, Ltd.

H. Pike Pease, M.P., Pease and Partners, Ltd.

Sir H. Norman, M.P., Sheepbridge Coal and Iron Co., Ltd.

2

General

G. W. Balfour (Ch.) Castner-Kellner Alkali Co., Ltd.; Brumer Mond & Co., Ltd.

Sir W. Bull, M.P., British Bank for Foreign Trade, Ltd.; Siemens Bros. & Co., Ltd.

Sir A. M. Channell, Legal and General Assurance Society, Ltd.

Sir H. Craik, M.P., Scottish Widows Fund Life Assurance Society.

Sir M. W. E. de Bunsen, British Bank of South America, Ltd.; Corporation of Foreign Bondholders; (Ch.) Levant & Co., Ltd.

T. R. Ferens, Reckitt & Sons, Ltd.

Viscount Novar, National Bank of Scotland, Ltd.; North British and Mercantile Insurance Co.

Sir E. C. Geddes, Dunlop Rubber Co., Ltd.

Sir D. F. Goddard, Gas Light and Coke Co.

Sir E. A. Goulding, M.P., Colonial Bank; Assam Company; Rolls-Royce Co., Ltd.; Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Co., Ltd.

Sir Ellis Griffith, M.P., Mond Nickel Co., Ltd.

Sir T. F. Halsey, Imperial Live Stock Insurance Co., Ltd.

F. L. Harris, Metropolitan Electric Supply Co., Ltd.

Sir C. E. H. Hobhouse (Ch.) Commercial Corporation of London, Ltd.

Sir J. N. Jordan, Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China.

Sir F. Lugard, Abyssinian Corporation, Ltd.

Reg. McKenna (Ch.) London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

Sir J. P. MacLay, MacLay and MacIntyre (ship-owners).

Lord Marshall, Commercial Gas Co.

Viscount Milner, Northern Assurance Co., Ltd.; Rio-Tinto Co., Ltd.; Commercial and General Investment Trust, Ltd.

Sir H. W. Primrose, International Investment Trust, Ltd.

Walter Runciman, Blyth Shipbuilding and Dry Docks Co., Ltd.

J. S. Sandars, Law Debenture Corporation, Ltd.

J. Parker Smith, Bolckow, Vaughan & Co., Ltd.; Union Bank of Scotland, Ltd.

H. J. Tennant, Tennants (Lancashire), Ltd.

Thos. Wiles, Sun Flour Mills Co., Ltd.

Sir A. Williamson, Balfour, Williamson & Co., Merchants.

Sir G. D. A. F. Wilson, London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

The Labour P.C.'s

Wm. Adamson.

C. W. Bowerman.

J. R. Clynes.

Arthur Henderson.

John Hodge.

T. Richards (ex-M.P.).

and

J. H. Thomas.

NOTES—continued

"Strike versus Ballot Box" J. H. Thomas has been talking to the troops again. J. H. Thomas was not greeted with the strains of "Tell me the old, old story," but he ought to have been. "It was sheer madness to call a national strike," he said, and then went on to talk about the "simpler and far more effective methods of the ballot-box." Well, well, well. Then he went on to tell the railwaymen he was addressing that they were the envy of scores of other trades in the country. So they may be, but it is at least certain that they are the object of envious attack by the railroad bosses. J. H. Thomas told his audience that he did not believe that the railway companies were desirous of breaking their agreements. Apparently he does not read the papers, except perhaps the reports of his own idiotic speeches, or he would have seen the feelers thrown out by the bosses who are now declaring that it is the high freightage rates which are strangling trade. It used to be the high price of coal and in each case the proposed remedy is the same—the reduction of the wages of the workers concerned in the industry. The railwaymen are in for a big fight in the very near future, although J. H. Thomas will try to prevent it by conceding the demands of the bosses, and unless the members of the N.U.R. can find something better to do than to listen to the sort of tripe that J. H. Thomas gets publicity for in the *Daily Herald*, they will get it where the miners got it after the N.U.R. let them down—in the neck.

* * *

Oh! Excellent Young Man Not without cause did the Prime Minister refer to Mr. Frank Hodges, on the eve of Black Friday, as "a young man worthy of the highest remuneration." His latest effort in the "honourable settlement" line is no less than a proposal for a "ten years industrial peace pact." This, needless to say, is by no means unpopular in profit-making circles and had the effect, a few days ago, of inducing Sir William Noble to spread himself as follows:—

"The spirit that is shown by Mr. Hodges is all that could be desired. He has made an honest attempt to state the case fairly and I am quite sure he is right when he states that trade unionism must be recognised as a permanent institution in industry. I think most employers now do agree that they prefer all workmen to be members of a trade union."

Franking Frank's Frankness as it were!

* * *

After the Court— The following passage prattled by a proud "debutante" into the sympathetic ear of a pushing pressman speaks volumes for the mental and moral calibre of the rising generation among the "best" people:—

"What do I remember of it? Little or nothing save one glorious blaze of colour, two hasty bows to their majesties and hurried off to supper. That really is all I can recall save the lights, the glamour and the knowledge that I had at least realised one of my two ambitions in life—to bow to my Sovereign and his most lovely Consort. My other ambition? Well! that's easy, and I hope it will be at St. Margaret's Westminster."



Wear the Soviet Star

A well-finished five pointed star gold on red enamel.

Made to be worn either as pin or brooch.

When ordering state for which purpose.

Price 6d. Post free 8d.

Quantities—

5/- per doz., carriage paid

Order from

The Communist Party,
16, King Street, Covent Garden,
W.C.2

THE IMPERTINENCE of AGE

The Sheffield A.E.U.

NOTHING is more tragic in the history of the working class movement than the struggle between the elder and the younger men. I do not mean so much the struggle of age versus youth in years, but the conflict between the representatives of old phases of our history and the new. The struggles of the Sheffield District Committee of the A.E.U. with the A.E.U. Executive Committee and its own secretary and chairman, are typical of this fight.

Here are two men, Jones and Walker, who have suffered, men who have worked strenuously for years according to their lights. Well do I remember the story of Jones' victimisation and how he lost his home. Then wasn't he for many a long day affectionately called "Dicky Jones?" How often have I seen him with uplifted fingers warning us apparently quite seriously of the terrible way in which the capitalist class would fight before they gave up their possessions. And to-day, poor, pitiable, little creature, he asks the police of this very class to protect him from his fellow workmen.

Then Harry Walker, District Chairman. What of him? A man who has worked unceasingly, stubbornly, spending all the hours out of bed and the factory in one committee and another, slogging at it in his own constitutional limited fashion. Even in the present lock-out carrying on when he ought to have been resting in a sanatorium. Now he appears in the ranks of reaction viciously and unconstitutionally fighting his colleagues for the preservation of constitutionalism. His particular kink has been the rule book. He knows the A.E.U. rule book probably better than any man in Sheffield. When two thousand unemployed workers marched to the D.C. anxious to help in the lock-out he must perforce look up the rules to see if it fitted in with his Holy Bible. It is a pity such tenacity isn't applied to bigger things.

These are the two men who are the instruments of the A.E.U. Executive in the fight against the majority of the Sheffield D.C. The majority section have been suspended because they have striven to widen the battle front in the lock-out, to bring the maximum possible forces to defeat Smith & Co. in spite of the wretchedly futile leadership of the E.C. To clinch the matter the E.C. have ruled these men out of order of reelection. To get their way they have acted unconstitutionally also. Jones and Walker were permitted to represent the Sheffield A.E.U. at the

York Conference, in spite of the fact that there was no quorum to elect them. They were interlopers according to Rule 14. The delegates elected by the majority whose policy was backed by the rank and file of Sheffield were not permitted to attend. When the protest was made against this at the York Conference the E.C. answered never a word.

Constitutionalism, rules and regulations are only to be used by them when favourable. Of course, that's the essence of "democracy."

Now let us give a little further information. From the beginning of the lock-out the Sheffield D.C. has been committed as a whole to a policy which the A.E.U. Executive disapproved without having offered the slightest reason why. Walker stated at the beginning, "I am prepared to proceed along any lines to win this fight, whether constitutional or unconstitutional." Jones has not offered open opposition before the mass meetings when the policy was formulated, but has continuously sabotaged every effort from the beginning. His loyalty is to an E.C. that won't fight and not to the members who elected him. When the masses have stopped workers in non-federated firms he has facilitated their return. When repudiated by the locked-out workers he refuses to resign. Then to smash the picketing he came to an arrangement with the authorities on picketing, laying open every picket to attack by the police who had not a ticket with the district seal upon it. He has thus forgotten his earlier years and become an agent of official blacklegging.

And what's the key of it all? Simply this, they have placed constitutionalism before the workers' interests. They stand for methods which the lock-out from beginning to end has proved to be utterly futile. They and their kind are living in a world of thirty years ago and are completely incapable of measuring up to the requirements of to-day.

Very well, they and their kind must pass into the background. And the whole country must now watch the E.C. of the A.E.U. in its dealings with the Sheffield comrades. We are informed that it has inquired for the names of all those members who have been prominent in the adoption of the Sheffield policy. The old are loth to depart. They will fight. Nevertheless they will lose if they proceed with repressive measures. The forces of an old order can only delay the rising of the new. They cannot stop them.

The Right to Repose

By C. W. GIBSON

"The great characteristic of the English people is laziness."—CANON LYTLETON.

COMFORTABLY placed middle class people who are able to take all the leisure they want, are fond of demanding—for the worker—the right to work. Trade Union officials also are exceedingly vociferous in times like the present, when many men and women are unemployed, in demanding work, whether degrading and brutalising or not.

I demand the right to be lazy....

* * *

All history shows man struggling to defeat nature's attempt to brutalise him by hard work. Who wants to be a human donkey all his life? I like Thackeray's novels, but I like best his vigorous defence of laziness. What great writer, inventor, artist, philosopher, politician, capitalist or musician has lived, who was not lazy when he wanted to be?

Edison could not invent if he had to do it for a miserable wage each day. Wordsworth could not have written his glorious poetry of nature if he had been compelled to spend 8 hours a day at it, under the eye of a Boss. Abraham Lincoln would not have been the great human man he was, if he had not revolted against chopping fences for a living. Garibaldi was a hard worker for Italian political freedom, but he demanded, and took, his lazy periods. Sir William Orpen lazes and paints his pictures at Deauville. Anyone who has done anything in this old world of ours was a lazy bounder—to some people.

I would rather be a lazy hobo, free to go where I willed, with an easy conscience and a light heart, that Rockefeller with his millions, working night and day to prevent someone from stealing them and suffering from chronic indigestion.

* * *

The Neolithic man worked hard, trying to live. (Who wants to be a Neolithic?) But he dis-

covered it was easier to live if you made traps and caught beasts and birds to eat, and that the beasts furs kept you warmer much more easily than did running about. Then his descendants, the early historic man, discovered that fire kept you warmer with much less trouble than furs, and that it was more comfortable to make slaves work for you and catch your food. Later his descendants found it easier to ride horses than walk across the downs, and later still, that carriages were even more conducive to the lazy spirit; the wheel was invented and carriages were made.

Then slaves became a trouble to look after. It was easier to give them their freedom (to starve) and to tell them they could work for you, providing the best food and raiment, while if they did fairly well they could have a few beans and pig-wash to keep themselves alive with.

This was the finest thought of the lot. The discovery of how to exploit human labour! To what height have the lazy class developed it! Great is the urge of human laziness!!

* * *

Laziness is never any good unless it is well done. To-day the parasite class—the lazy people—do not have to walk to one another to talk, they pick up a telephone. They don't write letters, they whisper into a dictaphone. They don't go to the opera to hear the best music, they switch on the music box. They don't walk to the office, they go in a Rolls Royce. They don't walk into their bedroom, they go up in a lift. They have a man to press their trousers and another to put their tie straight, another to clean their boots and a secretary to do their work. Great is their laziness. Work?—the only time they think of it is when they want to dodge it.

I claim the same right for all the world workers, and I assert that when they get both the right and the opportunity of being lazy, there will be twice as much wealth produced as there is now—that the world will be a cleaner and healthier place to live in; that manners and habits will improve and that happiness and good comradeship will envelop the earth like glorious sunshine.



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TELL ME IF YOU KNOW

"Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars and unto God the things that are Gods."

Dear Comrade,

I WONDER, Mr. Editor, if you can help me to understand the riddle? In 1920 I was in the land of the Bolsheviks. I was there as a seeker of truth, travelling through the country to spy out the land and to bring back a report.

At the period that I, a wayfarer, sojourned in this strange country there were people in the other countries who loved not the rule of the Bolsheviks and they sent in armies to overthrow them. For some time we who dwelt in the City of Moscow were in fear, the enemy was strong, his machinery of war was of the latest pattern. Peradventure the spirit of the Bolsheviks would fail.

The reports that came in daily to the City told that the Red Army was retreating before the Poles and that Wrangel was steadily gaining ground at the Crimea. Sometimes to gain courage one went within the Kremlin wall. Here were to be seen the cannon which one great general, named Napoleon, had left behind him when he had been compelled to trek out from this strange land and from this strange people. But that, of course, was long ago.

During this time of grave anxiety I was astonished to see these strange people attending to the needs of the most helpless section of the population.

I had been led to believe that they were Materialists.

Food was very scarce owing to the transport being taxed to its utmost limit, nevertheless the expectant mothers and the tiny babies were cared for. In the Foundlings Hospital I found these strange people wooing back to life the tiny, wrinkled, prematurely born babies. They had them in incubators and a trained nurse and fully qualified doctor were in attendance.

I trembled for what purpose these strange people saved the lives of these tiny, piling infants (when other useful members were going short). Perhaps they cooked them as a delicacy for the Ogress who resided in the Kremlin?

On another day as I meditated I saw the mothers of children out in the garden with the older children, I saw them smile as they wreathed garlands of leaves with which the tiny toddlers crowned themselves.

This I saw in the land of the Bolsheviks, the land of the people who were Materialists.

After some days the people were appalled at the intensity of the heat in some parts of the land. The sun arose in all his strength, the dew ceased, neither did the rain fall to refresh the parched earth. Where hitherto there had been waving fields of grain now the seed was burned up within the earth and everything upon it withered away.

Then the rulers of this strange land, not having the power of Joshua in being able to control the sun, sent messengers into the other countries which were not materialist and they said unto them, "We have not money, but we have down deep in the earth here those things which are of value to you; we have oil, gold, platinum, silver, iron—we have miles of forests in other parts of our land, these we will give you, only GIVE US FOOD FOR OUR CHILDREN NOW." But the governors of these other countries turned a deaf ear to their call, and the children of the Bolsheviks died in their millions.

Then said the governors of this strange land, We have called upon the spiritually minded in those far-off lands and they have not heard us, neither do the spiritually minded here respond to our call. And our children are perishing. We must take the gold that is in the Churches (and there were many wonderfully decorated with the precious metal); we must take the precious jewels from the neck of the Madonna and the Child. Has not Christ said "Feed my lambs." The priests say they love God whom they HAVE NOT SEEN: it is meet that they show their love to those whom they CAN SEE.

But only in the land of the Bolsheviks could ideas so materialist be tolerated.

The priests called aloud to the priests of those other countries saying, "They have taken away our Lord—Gold—and we know not where they have laid him. Some of us have hidden these treasures in the earth. The Lord's gold they would have materialised they wanted to turn it into FOOD. They would have taken that which was Holy and given it unto the dogs. But the Bolsheviks do not understand the things of the spirit and they have cast some of us into prison. UNLESS THOU COMEST QUICKLY THEN WE FEAR THAT THE BOLSHEVIKI WILL UTTERLY DESTROY US. THERE IS NOTHING MORE SEVERELY PUNISHED BY THEM THAN THE HOLDING UP OF THE PEOPLE'S FOOD."

Then answered certain of the priests of the country of the West saying, "Thou hast called and thou shalt not call in vain. We, too, desire

that this wave of materialism shall go no further. Unfortunately some of the sojourners in this land of the Bolsheviks have carried out tales of the doings of these gross materialists. The news that has upset us most is, that in this awful country in which you are at present doomed to live, the governors have issued decrees to the effect that 'HE THAT DOES NOT WORK NEITHER SHALL HE EAT,' this coupled with the fact 'That women of gentle birth have to do menial work' made it perfectly evident to us that there was no time to be lost.

"Here, however, there is not the same danger, the institutions of our fathers we are prepared to defend at all costs, and even our Socialists (mild form of the disease) only see the Ghosts of the dispossessed if they are arrayed in purple and fine linen.

"We have provided wonderful spectacles for the best people which prevents them seeing the blood trickling down our walls, and wonderful stoppers for the ears which prevent the refined and cultured hearing the moaning of those upon whose backs they sit. On our church spires too, we erect fitting symbols (weathercocks), whichever way the wind blows our symbol is always there.

"At the general assembly of the Church of Scotland (this is in the north part of the island and is chiefly known as the place where whiskey is manufactured) we raised this question of your imprisonment. Certain of the Elders raised their voices in protest against the precious lives of the servants of the Lord being in peril in the land of the Bolsheviks.

"I cannot say, however, that we are feeling particularly sanguine. We were beginning to think that the common people were being won back to

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the faith of their fathers, but as we sat in solemn conclave the sound of mourning came from every part of the island. Some of the more spiritually minded of our rulers had reduced the wages of the people and had suggested still further reductions (in addition to this, the expectant mothers and the tiny infants of the northern part of the island had been called upon to bow down and worship the God of Economy (which the rulers fix up only in the poorer areas). While we are convinced that high feeding is not conducive to spirituality we nevertheless fear the time was inopportune (a General Election may take place at any moment, we are told). Who are we, however, that we should rebel against those whom it has pleased the Lord to place over us?

"We have furthermore been occasioned some little annoyance by a rascally Editor publishing some secret documents (another Bolshevik method) reporting that some of our brethren had invested church funds in the firm of Nobels Explosives, Ltd. But we can look for nothing better from these sons of Belial."

And so, Mr. Editor, by the river Clyde I sat me down and wept and they asked me to sing them one of the old songs. I had no willow tree to hang my harp upon, neither had I a harp to hang. But I wept. Rachel wept for the children in those far-off days, and I by the river Clyde weep, I weep for the children. But it is not for the children of the Bolsheviks.

Tell me, if you can, Mr. Editor, who are the MATERIALISTS?

Is it the people who live in the island in the West, or is it the people in the land of the Bolsheviks?

HELEN CRAWFORD.

P.S.—The Scottish Board of Health has issued a circular intimating that it was proposed to reduce the grant for milk and meals for expectant mothers and infants forthwith, involving a reduction from £100,000 to £9,000. This reduction has in the City of Glasgow alone deprived 13,000 children of a pint of milk daily and 7,000 expectant mothers of a meal.

Literature and Communism

DEAR COMRADE,—Postgate accuses me of not troubling to understand what he wrote. I can vouch for the trouble and can only say that, if I misunderstood his article I must be remarkably obtuse or his article must have been amazingly profound.

Postgate says that my whole argument is that he is a "bourgeois and therefore a fool"; he thus lays himself open to the very charge which he brings against me. The whole point of my letter was, not that he—as a "reformed" bourgeois—was dangerous to the Party, but that his bourgeois upbringing was dangerous to him. If he took the

trouble to read the first sentence and last paragraph of my letter with any degree of care he might understand that.

Besides this, even if he is a bourgeois, it does not follow that he is a fool. I have the greatest respect for the intelligence of the bourgeoisie, being one myself. His remark about being expelled from the Party seems to me little more than a "sulk," but I should so much like to know with what thought he consoled himself.

Yours fraternally,

A. J. P. TAYLOR.

[He consoled himself with the thought that "there are some things which even the Boys of Bootham School do not know"; but the printers—varlets—got no further than Bootham School in our first edition.—ED.]

COMRADES,—Must there not be Communist artists as well as Communist bakers? To put it another way, there is nothing to prevent an artist being a Communist. "Art is not of an age but for all time." If we ask what is art to do with Communism the answer seems to be, nothing. It is simply one of those things which, in an ideal Communist state, will flourish as life itself flourishes. One does not ask an astronomer to study the movements of Jupiter in the light of the Materialist Conception of History, neither does one attend an opera with a like purpose. What has the Materialist Conception of History to do with Love?

But Communists, as Communists, must have no flies about them! It is their duty to direct a fierce concentration of power against those things which Communism has set itself to clear away. They will take from art only what is meat to them. In one sense, perhaps Communism is something akin to art, for only truth is immortal.

C. C. CUTLER.

[We agree about the flies.—ED.]

The Warsop Case

DEAR COMRADE,—In your last issue but one there appeared a paragraph on the "Warsop Case" which is very misleading.

I am one of those so-called Communists who gave evidence against Iliffe, and in fairness to myself I ask you to withdraw the charge of being "silly" until you know the facts.

If the printed statement is the same as the report sent in, then your correspondent badly needs his mental apparatus attending to. It appears to me to be the result of superficial thinking, and if this is his usual method it is no credit to the Party. The Checkweighman Iliffe is not a rebel and never has been. Just ponder over this statement by him in the witness box. "In all my career as a Checkweighman at Warsop Main Colliery I have never once disputed a tub with the Bank Manager. When I have been examining, my three comrades have, but I never have." To explain the above statement I may say that the Checkweighmen, along with the Bank Manager, examine tubs turned over on the pit top to see if they have been filled with the shovel, instead of the fork, and if so they are confiscated. He has sabotaged every attempt at education as allowed under the rules of the Derbyshire Miners' Union. He received a circular from Mr. Frank Hall, the General Secretary, nearly two years ago, asking him to call a special meeting of the Branch to decide what educational scheme they desired, the Labour College being mentioned, and although he has been repeatedly asked about it has never brought it forward yet. He held up the "Manifesto of the Red Trade International," refusing to bring it before his branch. He has used the dirtiest methods to keep all who disagreed with him out of office. At a General Meeting held in the pit yard after the big strike, he assured Mr. Markham that no Bolshevik resolution would ever appear on his books. The whole dispute has a purely psychological basis of which your correspondent is evidently in ignorance. He is nothing but a job hunter with an eye to the main chance, and is not worthy of the support of any intelligent man. If your reporter will get in touch with me I will prove to him that I did right. He is evidently one of those individuals who are wedded to phrases without taking the trouble to think about them.

Trusting that you will withdraw the statement re myself and oblige.

Yours sincerely,

R. SELLERS.

[We have not had time to communicate with our Warsop correspondent on the above question. But, taking Sellers' statement to be absolutely correct and accurate, nevertheless we hold to our original statement. Iliffe may not be a genuine rebel—he certainly is an anti-Communist—and his past record may be far from good, but as soon as he is attacked by the boss as a representative of the workers, it becomes the duty of every honest worker to support him. Very likely the bosses are wrong in selecting Iliffe to attack: that is not our affair. They have attacked him, and for a class-conscious worker to give evidence on the bosses' side is, we assert, distinctly "silly."—ED.]

RE-FORM THE FRONT

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

IT is now more than three and a-half years since the armistice was concluded. It is in fact almost three years since the Peace was signed. Germany has long since surrendered her Navy—that lies rusting at the bottom of the sea; whilst her Army is disbanded and its armaments handed over or dismantled. The enemy is (except so far as it has been encouraged to strengthen its forces for internal repression), to all intents and purposes disarmed.

The Allies have won the War, enforced a vengeful Peace, and yet there are more men under arms and more money being expended on armies in 1922 than there were in 1914.

Not only have the so-called enemy countries yielded up their weapons and discharged their soldiers, they have given up their richest iron-fields, been deprived of valuable coal-fields, transferred tens of thousands of railway engines and wagons, and forfeited their shipping which now, auctioned off to British and other owners, sails, for the most part, under the Union Jack. The menace of German industrial and commercial rivalry, that bogey of ten years of sedulous and subsidised propaganda, has been removed. Yet, there are more damped-down furnaces, more silent rolling-mills, more idle factories, more deserted docks and more ships laid up to-day in this country than has been the case within living memory.

The Capitalist Advance

More than three years have elapsed since the workers gave to Mr. Lloyd George and his Coalition of war profiteers and usurers the overwhelming majority which he asked for at the election of December, 1918. More than three years have gone by since his "coupon" candidates were given *carte blanche* to make this "a land fit for heroes to live in," to build hundreds of thousands of new houses, to provide for the men who fought and to put beyond the reach of care the dependants of those who died "that liberty might not perish from the face of the earth." Every one of this charlatan's pledges to pay the debt of honour has proved an unbacked bill. Every promise that passed his lips, every phrase that he so glibly coined and put into vote-catching circulation has turned out to be an idle hoax.

The very concessions that the Government made to appease the unions and to gull the leaders when the army was seething with mutiny and there were "soviets" even in Belfast, are now being taken from you when they no longer fear you. Then, they

extended the franchise. Now, they attack the political rights of the trade unions. Then, they were setting up Joint Industrial Councils and encouraging Works Committees. Now, they are fighting ruthlessly for "managerial rights." Then, they were granting or recommending the shortening of the working day. Now, they are demanding everywhere the abolition of the seven and the eight hour days. Then, they were setting up the Coal Commission and the Dockers' Inquiry in the most exalted settings and under the most spectacular guise. Now, they are refusing you courts of enquiry or fobbing you off with "MacKenzie."

True, they still continue the "dole" to the unemployed, but they are relentless in their hostility to Poplar and are, everywhere, renewing the class tyranny and degrading tests which formerly made Poor Relief an instrument of infamy and a stigma of shame.

The attacks of the capitalists upon the hard-won rights of labour, upon the power of the trade unions, upon the standard of life of the masses will continue and, with every defeat and with every surrender, become more merciless. Why? Because the capitalists must get an increase in the amount of surplus wealth that they can take from the workers. Thus they need to do three things. First, to maintain the profits of firms that are working. Second, to compensate them for losses on firms that are not working. Third, to pay the enormous burden of interest on war debts. The amount needed for the first has grown greatly. The amount required for the last becomes ever larger and larger.

In all countries—except Russia—the capitalists have enormous sums invested in war loans. Some companies, many companies, are getting nearly all their "profits" from interest on war loan investments. If the Governments cancel their debts, if the war loans are "written off," then there will be a frightful and ruinous crisis all over capitalism.

The French have a Budget deficit of more than £80,000,000. They must either get a payment of Reparations from Germany or a loan from America. The British are not paying the interest on their debt to America and are borrowing the money to pay the interest on the debt owed at home.

If the French get payment from the Germans it will be ruinous for British trade and industry.

If the French do not get payment from the Germans they must borrow from the Americans who are unwilling to lend any more money.

This problem of lending money and of getting interest on it is at the back of every problem of European reconstruction.

It is at the back of the Russian problem.

On the one hand, the capitalists want to trade with Russia because they want to get their factories going again. On the other hand, the capitalists do not want to trade with Russia because they want early or immediate payment and that the Russians are unable to give. The capitalists of all countries dislike the idea of lending money and getting no interest for years upon years. To make matters worse, when Russia begins to pay interest she will have to pay it in just those things—grain, timber, petroleum, meat, etc., which the U.S.A., Canada, and Argentina have to sell, and the exporters of these commodities and investors in these countries do not wish Russia to be put into a position to compete with them. They know that the Communists who rule in Russia would take a delight in flooding the markets with cheap foodstuffs to feed the masses and cheap commodities in order to ruin capitalism!

The capitalists are in a cleft stick. Trade with a Communist Government is desperately dangerous to them. Not to trade with Russia is, also, desperately dangerous to them.

The Line of Battle

Trade with the Communist Government of Russia means work for the workers here. No trade with the Communist Government of Russia means continued and aggravated unemployment, lower wages, longer hours, and harder work for those who are working.

Workers, you want work. You want to make things. You want to make things for which you will be paid. As long as you are paid it does not concern you how the capitalist, in his turn, gets paid. It is true Russia cannot pay him, at any rate, not at first.

Insist, therefore, that the Government shall lend enough to the Russians to pay the capitalists to pay you!

It was such a loan that the Russians asked for at Genoa. They were told it was impossible.

Insist that it is not impossible, but imperative!

Insist that what was refused at Genoa shall be granted at the Hague!

Insist on a loan to Russia to pay the capitalist to put you to work at trade union rates and under trade union conditions!

Then, insist that the Government taxes the capitalist to provide the loan and the interest thereon!

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