

THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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

No. 104

SATURDAY, JULY 29th, 1922.

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

TWOPENCE

THE HAGUE BREAK DOWN

By C. M. ROEBUCK

THE capitalist press is rejoicing at the break-up of the Hague Conference. "We told you so: Russia is not yet sane," is the burden of their cry. But all they mean is that Russia has not given up the proletarian revolution, and that the Soviet delegation could not be tempted to betray the Russian workers. It is the workers of the world who should rejoice at this and not the capitalists.

Why don't the capitalists see it?

Why didn't the Tsar see the coming crash? Why doesn't Sir Allan Smith see the approach of the day when "managerial functions" will be handed over to the working engineers? Because they are doomed not to see it; they couldn't see it if they tried. And their temporary strength gives them hope—hope of being able to starve the Soviet Government out.

Let us make no mistake about it: Lloyd George is as bad as Poincare in this respect. At the Genoa Conference Lloyd George said he wanted to see Europe rebuilt, and the ship of civilisation safely in port, and a good deal more. Poincare, on the other hand, said: "B—— the ship of civilisation: what about our debts?" Lloyd George, in Press interviews and in public speeches, reproved him for this headstrong language; but Lloyd George's deeds are very different from his words.

The Hague Conference has done us this service—it has shown that Lloyd George is not going to give up his hope of smothering the Russian Revolution for the sake of reconstructing Europe. That, and that chiefly, is the salient fact that must be chewed upon and digested by every worker. True, Lloyd George doesn't say so straight out, like Poincare: just as in a trade union dispute at home he prefers to bewilder and bamboozle the leaders into doing his work for him without realising his little game, so at the Hague he preferred to try and talk the Soviet representatives blind, in the hope that the Russian workers would follow as meekly as a little child into his innocent embrace.

But Shakespeare told us long ago, "a man may smile and smile and be a villain"; and, though the Russian workers have all reached the age of consent, they don't trust themselves to smiling L.G. any more than to scowling Poincare.

What was the alleged object of the Hague Conference? It will be remembered that a number of discussions took place at Genoa, at which the Russians clearly explained what they wanted—cancelling of war debts, recognition, and long credits for reconstruction purposes. (Incidentally, let us note in passing that this is just what Britain is urging upon France to grant Germany. Why Germany, and not Russia? Because Germany is not ruled by the organised workers, of course). The Russians just as clearly explained what they would concede in exchange—they would abandon their claims to reparation for the fearful damage caused by Allied intervention (far more than covering the claims against Russia), they would recognise pre-war debts, and they would indemnify industrialists who had suffered losses in Russia by giving them first chance to tap her untouched natural riches.

The Allies did not reject these proposals: but they did not accept them. They hummed and hawed, beat about the bush, and finally referred the matter to be considered as a business proposition at the Hague, by a special conference of experts.

The Russians accepted. At the Hague they talked business. On the subject of debts they laid the whole Russian budget before the Conference, showing quite clearly the impossibility of considering payment of debts as a practical proposition in the immediate future, and insisting that the Genoa standpoint of remitting all debts incurred in assisting inter-Allied undertakings during the war was the only one possible. On the subject of confiscated property, they said: "Are you concerned with empty words, or with pounds shillings and pence? If the first—we have not come here to bandy principles. If the second—we are ready to give the aggrieved parties a chance to rebuild Russian industry, ruined by warfare, and to open up new sources of wealth. Here is the list of concessions. In a few years they will be able, not only to make up for their new capital outlay, but to repay themselves for all they lost previously. And here are our laws guaranteeing the safety of such concessionaires in their rights." On the subject of credits, they gave the Allies a detailed list of what sums were needed, and for what they would be expended. They stated quite clearly that it was no use talking about any compensation for confiscated property other than private concessions, without some practical assistance in the shape of credits. They asked the Allied Governments if they were not prepared to grant credits themselves, at least to encourage the big financial groups to extend them.

Was this business, or was it not? Yet how did the Allies reply?

By calmly ignoring every single proposition made by the Russians; by demanding endless statistics from the Russians and refusing to give any in return; by studied insolence and irrelevant talk about everything but the subject in hand. This was particularly noticeable in the private property commission, in which they pretended never to have heard of the Russian proposals for concessions to individuals; and filled session after session asking for particulars about them: while at the same time they firmly refused to discuss the question of credits from Governments, saying that the "important question of restitution must be dealt with first."

Finally, the Conference broke up, owing to the "Discovery," made after three weeks' futile talk by the property and credits commissions, of what the Allies knew perfectly well before the Conference began: (1) that Russia would never restore property unconditionally; (2) that compensation for every private owner entailed credits from the Allied Governments.

The Allied experts, who had come to talk "business" and not "principles," broke off the Conference just because of a principle—the principle of the sacredness of private property. And it was Lloyd George's delegate, Sir Philip Lloyd Greame, who took the lead.

It may be asked: "Why did the Allies arrange the Conference at all? Why did they go to the trouble of clouding the real issues in vague talk, only to bring them out naked and unashamed in the end?"

The answer is simple. It is one that every worker whose officials have ever negotiated with Lloyd George can give. Just as Lloyd George plays for exhausting the union funds and confusing the issue in the workers' minds, so at Genoa and the Hague he and Poincare banked on the famine and the continued economic collapse of Soviet Russia, and on stampeding the world's workers, Russia's particularly, into believing the Russians responsible for a breakdown.

Lloyd George claims that this policy was the only way to reconstruction. Poincare openly avows that it was intended to bring about the downfall of Russian Communism. In their avowed objects they differ; in their actual deeds they agree. Both insist on reversing the effect of the Russian Revolution. Where is the difference?

And where is the difference between them and the men who, claiming to lead the workers, did not raise a finger to help Soviet Russia against capitalist Europe, but rather chose this moment to stab her in the back? At Berlin, the I.L.P. members of the Labour Party Executive agreed to a series of united Labour demonstrations throughout Europe in support of Russia at the Genoa Conference. They betrayed their promise. Later, during the trial of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in Moscow, they appealed to the Soviet Government to be merciful, referring to the Berlin decisions. The Communist Party sent a letter to the E.C. of the Labour Party, reminding it of the other Berlin decisions, and inviting it to organise the demonstrations during the Hague Conference which it had failed to organise for Genoa. There was no reply.

Let the workers realise and ponder over this fact: at a moment when the capitalists of the world were refusing to aid and recognise Russia because she has abolished the rule of private property over the working masses, the Labour Party Executive refused to organise demonstrations in support of the Soviet Republic.

Instead, they fell in with the campaign of calumny of the capitalist press, and rushed a resolution through the Labour Party Conference, proclaiming the solidarity of the British workers with the Social-Revolutionary allies of Churchill, Poincare, Denikin and Kolchak!

We repeat: it is the workers of the world who may rejoice. The Russian workers, because their delegates held unflinchingly to the rock-bottom principles of the Revolution, in spite of Russia's distress, as they have done many a time before. The British workers, because Lloyd George has been forced to show his hand abroad, while at home, the men who are at present the dominant group in the Labour Party Executive have come out into the open with theirs—support of Soviet Russia's enemies, even to the detriment of British workers' interests.

Next week we shall see whether Russia needs to fear either Lloyd George's dissembled hostility or the undisguised hate of those at present uppermost in the Labour Party.

BANISHED TO BELMONT

Punishing the Unemployed for their Poverty

[We publish this manifesto issued by the Southwark Branch of the Communist Party as a means of drawing attention to a growing scandal.]

THROUGH the pernicious influence of Alfred Mond, "Imperialist and Minister for Health," the Southwark Board of Guardians are branding with "Belmont" Southwark's workless men and their children.

"Belmont" is an ex-German prisoners' camp, surrounded by barbed wire entanglements. It is now used to imprison unfortunate fathers and husbands from Southwark.

Imprisoned! Once inside "Belmont" the sentence must be completed before discharge, as from prison.

The following deposition is signed by a fellow-worker recently discharged from the ex-German camp:—"Prisoners must rise at 7.30 a.m. For sleeping, an indiscriminate use is made of beds which are not clean (to this fact he reasonably ascribes a rash on the hands). The beds comprise coarse sacking stuffed with straw, placed on army bedsteads, sheets, pillows and blankets being supplied. Dressed in ex-German prisoners' uniform dyed brown, breakfast is given at 7.30 a.m.—4 to 6 ounces of bread, margarine and tea. 8 o'clock begins arduous agricultural work or monotonous

domestic duties. Woe betide him who slackens: he is liable to one month's hard labour, in Wandsworth Prison. Dinner at 12 o'clock consists of unpalatable pea soup given with 2 to 3 ounces of bread. Work is continued from 1 to 5 o'clock, when tea is given, consisting of the breakfast menu. Presumably to recuperate from sleep the energy which absence of food cannot supply, all must be in bed by 8 p.m. The minimum wage is half an ounce of shag weekly. One ounce is given after 7 days' imprisonment."

Our deponent's wife had been promised 25s. weekly, but received considerably less: 8s. 3d. food, and 12s. Being seriously sick with hemorrhage, and having a six months' old baby, on the following Tuesday she asked the Lambeth Guardians for more food. With 2s. 10d. she received a bullying and a grave sickness ensued. On the Wednesday the deponent received 6s. and coals. An examination of the wife by the Lambeth Medical Officer produced an order for the Infirmary. Through this, an endeavour was made to compel the deponent to Hollesley Bay Camp, and when he refused, the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting assistance for the sick wife. He was told that with his refusal relief would cease.

Week ending 6th May, 250 men were at "Belmont," and only one bath was seen in use.

During the period of "Belmont" wives are separated from their husbands, and children have their fathers stolen from them. Helpless children

are penalised because their fathers appeal to British Law for bread, through the Southwark Board of Guardians. At "Belmont" fathers are on prison diet, outside "Belmont" children are on starvation rations, while landlords purloin the greater part of mothers' allowance.

People of Southwark, do you stand for this? Do you appreciate the cockroach politicians of the Southwark Board of Guardians who enforce this?

Alfred Mond said: "Is Anyone Starving?" He said that newly-married people should be happy living in one room. Mond also said: "The engineers are not locked out."

In effect, Mond now says to the Guardians: "Economise! and send the loafers to 'Belmont.'"

With Mond, the local Guardians are stamped with political ignominy.

It is now the duty of the Communist Party to call people to a sense of their responsibility: to teach their children that their inheritance, together with obligations, is to get all the necessities of life and the best that society can give.

All workers, men, women and children, must organise. The unemployed must come solidly together.

Guardians who support "Belmont" will be rigorously opposed by the Southwark Communist Party.

Regular public meetings are being held at South Street (corner of East Street) on Sunday mornings, and at St. George's Circus (Obelisk) on Sunday nights.

Communism means:—"England for the Workers" and "Belmont" for dividend hunters and shirkers.

You may be penalised to-morrow, support this protest to-day.

TO THE EGYPTIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE working masses of Great Britain are not deceived by the hypocritical lies of the British politicians "that everything is peaceful and quiet in Egypt."

The new terms of "settlement" or "independence" bring no real settlement at all. We know it will give neither peace nor independence to you, the toilers of Egypt. Only the conscious and united action of the Egyptian workers and peasants can do that.

Your Imperialist rulers, realising that the terrorism of military rule and the vindictive persecution of opinion and speech have failed to suppress your heroic struggle, have proclaimed a new era. In practice this so-called new era is but a change of front.

Following the good old Roman principle of "Divide and Conquer," a group of your domestic enemies—willing accomplices in your enslavement to capitalist and landowning domination—have been given a share in the "right" to rule over you. By this means the small foreign clique of landholders and financiers hope to prolong their domination.

COMRADES! THE ORGANISED WORKING CLASS OF BRITAIN KNOW TOO WELL THAT THE EGYPT OF TO-DAY IS AS MUCH A PRIVILEGED CLASS STATE AS EVER IT HAS BEEN SINCE THE FIRST DAY OF THE INFAMOUS BRITISH MILITARY OCCUPATION.

The Egyptian feudalists and capitalists who have betrayed you are seeking to divide with the foreign imperialists the right of exploitation with its torturing, flogging and murdering as before. Against these traitors and against their foreign masters, you must prepare for fresh battles.

We, the revolutionary workers of Great Britain, know that the Egyptian masses who have fought so gallantly during the last three years are still alive and gathering strength for newer and wider conflicts with our common enemy. To you we extend the fraternal hand of comradeship and say: "Be not weakened in your faith in the workers of Britain. Do not be disturbed because of so-called Labour Delegations which come to Egypt to study the limits within which our oppressors may rule and exploit you. The organised working class of Britain stands always and everywhere for the right of a people for self-determination whether in forms of government or in Labour and social institutions. It scorns to play the rôle of Commissioners for the Imperialist bandits."

The Britain of the toilers is not the Britain of the vampires whom you know so well as your oppressors. It is not the Britain of the financial parasites whose fortunes rest upon the blood and sweat of the millions of toiling peasants and workers of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia.

The Britain of the toilers is the Britain where 2,000,000 workers are to-day on the scrap-heap of unemployment—short of bread and in destitution. It is the Britain where labour unions are being savagely attacked by a tyrannical clique of industrial bureaucrats in the hope of weakening our resistance to their exploitation, and where the elementary political rights of labour are being assailed as a menace to the power of capitalism.

Comrades, it is this Britain which is even now preparing for the final struggle against the soulless clique of the slave-traders that oppress us.

The Communist Party of Great Britain joins hands with you, the proletariat of Egypt and all the peoples of the Orient, in the common struggle

against the Imperialists who pitilessly exploit the wealth-producing masses, whether the East or West. At the same time we are with those brave fighters in Soviet Russia who have freed the Russian labouring masses from the age-long despotism of the Czarism and who now form the vanguard of the international proletarian struggle for social emancipation.

The Communist Party of Great Britain is with the class-conscious fighters in all lands who are now lining up in the proletarian United Front so that together we may end the rule of the International bourgeoisie for all time.

Comrades—Egyptian workers and peasants! The Government of Lloyd George, Poincare, and the other imperialist powers are afraid of this unity between the toilers of the West with the East. They dread the moment when the heavy hand of labour will deal them the final blow. This is why they seek to keep us divided. Be on your guard. Do not let their spies and agents provoke you. Do not be misled by the domestic traitors in Egypt who seek to deceive you into accepting a change of political masters.

Prepare to take the place with the workers and peasants of Turkey, India, and all the peoples of the East. Organise your forces and prepare to stand with your brothers of the West who are even now gathering beneath the Red Flag of International Communism for the final overthrow of the bourgeois rule—the harbinger of our social freedom.

Long live the unity of the toilers East and West!
Long live the Communist International!
Long live the Social Revolution!

*The Executive Committee of the
Communist Party of Great Britain*

International Notes

THE Hungarian White Terror is now in its fourth year. Under the Horthy dictatorship workers are hanged first and their "crimes" related by the press afterwards.

* * *

Fifty-one Communists, out of 104 recently arrested in one of the Government round-ups in Reval, Esthonia, have been sentenced to periods of imprisonment at hard labour varying from 4 to 10 years. The remainder received sentences of from 6 months to a year.

* * *

Bulgarian peasants are reported to be in entire control of that country. Just what part the Communist Party is playing in the present situation is not known, though the Party is known to be very strong and the leading organisation of the workers.

* * *

American workers have taken up a concession to work land and other resources in Soviet Russia. The second party has reached Kuzbas, the place of concession, and further parties are on their way.

Up to April 4th Russian church treasures valued at more than 320,000,000 gold roubles had been received for the relief of the famine. The Soviet Government is investigating cases where valuable have "disappeared" as a result of the thefts of priests or their fanatical followers.

* * *

Illinois, U.S.A., High Court upheld the conviction of 19 Communists convicted in August, 1920, and given prison sentences ranging upwards to 5 years.

* * *

The New York World, one of U.S.A.'s most reactionary journals, is to publish a series of articles against Soviet Russia by Emma Goldman.

* * *

U.S.A. Government Report on child labour in Gulf Coast canneries, states majority of children were under 14 and some as young as 6 years old. Many injuries were reported amongst the children.

* * *

A Commission reports that the Sugar Trust in Fiji pays its indentured Hindu workers 2.16 dollars a week and quarrels, murders and social depravity coming as a result of low wages.

The Corn Products Refining Co., subsidiary to the Standard Oil Co., has formed in Berlin the German Maizena Co. with a capital of \$25,000,000. The reason for the launching of the German concern, say the Wall Street papers, is probably due to cheap labour.

* * *

Gerhardt Hauffman and other prominent Germans have signed a petition for the release of Ernest Toller, a young Communist playwright, who was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for commanding the Red Guards during the Soviet regime in Munich. His masterpiece, "Masseman," produced by Max Reinhardt, is playing before enormous audiences at the People's Theatre, Berlin.

* * *

Runge, the Uhlán who was convicted as one of the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, has completed his sentence of 2 years in prison, according to a Central News dispatch from Berlin.

* * *

According to J. McCombs, M.P. (New Zealand) wages there are "actually 20 per cent. below 1914 rates to-day, measured in purchasing power."

Blue Blood and the Three Brass Balls

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

LAST week, there were staged at Westminster, on two successive days, two acts in what was, to all intents and purposes, a single comedy. The actual drama, however, will not be complete in all its features of farce until a third episode is enacted in the dock and witness box of the Old Bailey.

The first act was the great debate on "Honours" in the two Houses of Parliament, which was the feature of the day on Monday and the political theme of the week-end. The second act was the Royal Wedding, across the road at St. Margaret's parish church, and the third act will follow, after the interval, when Gerard Lee Bevan appears for trial in consequence of the irregularities in the finances of the City Equitable Fire Insurance Co., Ltd., and other and allied companies.

These three "Society" events, one political, the other social, and the third financial and legal whilst, on the face of it, they do not appear to concern the masses, since it does not much matter to the workers how their masters share out among themselves the loot which they take from the product of their toil, are remarkably entertaining by reason of the lurid light which they throw upon the manners and customs of the "upper ten."

Bottomley—By the Way

It is just as well for the workers not only to be reminded of the fact that they are set to work and kept in order and contentment solely in the interests of the governing class, but also to see how this same governing class behaves itself.

The idea is carefully conveyed to the workers at church and school, in newspaper and cinema, that the governing class consists of a superior type of human beings, very able, very moral, and very worthy of respect and admiration.

Whenever some particularly dirty job has to be taken in hand, the governing class picks out a man of no consequence to do it. Sometimes they find a Labour Leader to do the trick for his first-class expenses, champagne and the smirks of the ladies of the Court. At other times, when it is very dirty, they employ a Bottomley and having employed him, put him on trial to vindicate the majesty of the law and the purity of our public life.

Bottomley, bad as he was, went down because, so filthy is capitalism and so vile is capitalist politics to-day, the governing class had to make an example of someone in order to vindicate itself and deflect the public attention from its chronic corruption.

Bottomley looked like "the exception that proves the rule." Therefore, he got it in the neck. Also, that repository of State secrets and society scandals has been muzzled for seven years.

"Tricks" and "Honours"

But what about the "Honours" scandal? What is the significance of that? Why has that been released at this juncture?

The reasons are several. One of them is the desire on the part of the elder statesmen, of the persons who were in power before the war, of the landed aristocracy and the established plutocracy, to discredit the "new rich" whose political bell-wether is David Lloyd George. It is all part of the offensive against the Liberals in the Coalition which has been so conspicuous since the collapse of trade weakened immeasurably the economic power of the coal exporters, steel-masters, ship-owners, ship-builders, chemical manufacturers and company promoters, who form the back-bone of the Coalition Liberals. Another reason is the desire to get the whole scandal of buying titles and, still more, of buying permanent votes in Parliament, referred to a Royal Commission under one of the trickiest members that even our tricky governing class has ever evolved, viz., Lord Ullswater, the late Speaker Lowther, whose class bias, reactionary sympathies and financial connections are, or should be,

notorious. The governing gang is going to initiate a bogus "clean up" before the open sewer occasions a political epidemic.

"Labour" Peers?

Again, the gentleman who presided over the Commission that evolved the new Franchise Act of 1918, is being set to devise some reform of the constitutional procedure for making new Peers, so that, "when Labour rules," the King will not be, as to-day, under the virtual necessity of sending upstairs whoever the Government desires, when Clynes, Thomas, Henderson and Macdonald start to overcome the governing class by constitutional means they will find a new snag in the constitution. Why? Because, whilst the Crown is legally absolute, our wily governing class will only, in the very last resort, throw off the disguise and rule by naked force. It is their intention to weary the workers and not to shoot them down. Clever gang, isn't it?

The "Honours" debate then discloses two things. It shows a desire to get ready to pose as a real deliberating body composed of the "best people," who shall act as an effective check on popular advance. It shows, also, that the new monied class has been pressing very hard into the preserves of the older and more mellowed aristocracy, themselves, in their time, ennobled manufacturers, bankers, merchants, and land thieves.

Mountbatten (late Battenberg) Weds the Money - Lender's grand-daughter

The very next day, whilst the newspapers were still winking to their readers and, in so many words, saying that, of course, everyone understood that the new rich were buying their way into the aristocracy and that it was all very disgraceful, these same newspapers were going into ecstasies over the transaction by which "England's richest girl" was buying the entry of the pawn-broking and money-lending crew, of whom, her grandfather, Sir Ernest Cassel, was the most conspicuous, not only into the aristocracy, but even into the Royal Family.

That was the significance of the endless screeds and page upon page of pictures devoted to the amalgamation (pardon, union) of the Royal Family and the cosmopolitan credit, cotton and currency brokers of Western Europe.

Edwina Ashley, as the grand-daughter of Ernest Cassel, and Louis Leopold Mountbatten, as the nephew of the "dear Czarina," cousin of the Queen of Spain and the King of England, were doing a thing without precedent. They were emblazoning the three golden balls across the Royal Standard.

Nothing could be more amusing to the student of capitalism than to read the list of the guests and the donors of the wedding presents.

True, Sir Ernest Cassel was banker to the King of England and Edwina was a favourite God-daughter of Edward the Peace-Maker, but even these facts and the equally indubitable fact that the grandfather was the real ruler of Egypt and the creditor of the Court, only added to the zest of seeing the Sassoons, Mondes, Bischoffsheims, Warburgs, Jessels, Isaacs, Brands, Neumanns, Schiffs and Kahns, late of the Frankfurt Ghetto and the pawnshops of the Rhineland, delightedly celebrating the entry of one of their number into the company of the Romanoffs, Hapsburgs and Windsors. Indeed, in these days of Revolution, the propertied and governing class is showing "the united front!"

Gerard Lee Bevan

The third, and by no means the least interesting event in this sequence is one which, thanks either to the essential and inevitable delays of the law or, as some capitalist organs themselves suggest and every one in the City has, for weeks, been saying, is being perpetually postponed. We refer to the trial at the Central Criminal Court of that distinguished patron of dramatic art—and its artistes—Gerard Lee

Bevan. There is no doubt that the authorities now intend to bring back this individual upon whom the tactless police of Vienna so unfortunately stumbled. What some persons are now alleging is that when he is put on trial there will be good care taken that the witnesses do not blurt out anything spicy.

The City Equitable Company (and its promotions) had a most distinguished board of directors.

Bevan, himself a member of a respected family well-known in banking circles and, traditionally associated with the Trittons, Buxtons, Gurneys, Barclays, Hoares, Gilbey's, and other founders of Barclay's Bank, had gathered about him a team of men who, if they are not quite such capable captains of industry and controllers of commerce as their numerous directorships would lead the common-or-garden investor to imply, have the best connections and the most impressive titles. Two of them were peers of the realm. One, Lord Ribblesdale, was the brother-in-law of that pillar of respectability, "Margot." The other was that very influential member of the fashionable family of the Gordon-Lennoxes, to wit, the Earl of March.

"All the 'Best' People, My dear"

That was a good start. But when unto these was added the name of Brigadier-General Sir Douglas Dawson, Equerry-in-Waiting to H.M. the King, the company's shares became positively irresistible. It must be all right and the very thing, don't you know!

The share list of the City Equitable and its associates reads like a list of guests at a society wedding or a page from the *Court Circular*. The very best people, the nobles and gentry, the pick of Mayfair, were in this group of firms which, "working" with a small capital, were making huge profits—for a time. The capital actually paid up was £75,000. The dividends were:—

Year	Participating Preference. per cent.	Ordinary per cent.
1915	18½	18½
1916	22	79½
1917	22	88
1918	25	100
1919	37½	150
1920	50	200
1921	62½	250

The meaning of it all? Oh, most simple, when you can see the cards! It was a little gamble—most respectable, for was not the King's Equerry in it and signing the balance sheets?—whereby the exclusive set about the Court were seeking to provide themselves with some much-needed cash.

The parties to this little flutter had their money in land, in Government stock, and all kinds of property that paid a fixed rate of interest. The war-profiteers, Lloyd George's new aristocracy of grocers, soap-boilers and munition makers, were jostling them, crowding them out, buying up their estates and, everywhere, coming in to replace them. So they, too, engaged a company promoter and set to work to get rich quick. So they did—for a time and then the crash came and when the Official Receiver started playing "nosey parker"—well, some people were exceedingly glad that Bevan had "done a bunk" and sincerely hoped that he would never be caught.

Who Knows?

There was a bank that lost, it is said by the press that knows, £2,000,000. There was a director, busy with the arrangements for Princess Mary's wedding and still on the staff of the Court, whose evidence under oath is being waited by us all with extreme avidity. There was someone who was not keen on the C.I.D. being diverted from King Street to the City. There was—and is—someone very, very highly-placed who, at this moment is working behind the scenes to prevent any more coming out at the Old Bailey than can be helped. It will be interesting to see who is briefed and who sits on the Bench.

Watch the Bevan ease—as it develops!!

Peace: and a Pauper's Dole

The Miners' Federation The miners have not gone Red. Let that be clearly known. By 800 to 118 votes they decided to stick to Amsterdam. But 118 votes for the Red International, the first time the challenge appears in the Miners' Federation Conference, is good. Now we know what has to be done. And we shall do it.

But we shall have more to say when the full report of the Conference comes to hand.

* * *

British Workers and American Coal For three months and more 700,000 mine workers of America have been waging a terrific battle against wage reductions. The reserves of coal in the U.S.A. are giving out and the full effect of the miners' splendid solidarity is beginning to be felt acutely. The government of the U.S.A. are alarmed. Then read this from the *Observer*, Sunday, July 23, 1922:—

Washington, Saturday.

"The Shipping Board is ready to bring a huge fleet of idle vessels into service to bring coal from Wales to prevent approaching coal famine. Mr. Baistow Small, Vice-President of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, has announced that initial steps have already been taken, and already forty Shipping Board vessels have been chartered to import coal, while arrangements have been made to obtain thirty-one more **BRITISH SHIPS**. This fleet will enable the importation of 500,000 tons of coal monthly.

"Miners' officials have declared that any effort to remove the coal shortage in the United States by shipping British coal will be futile, as *British miners* have already notified that operators will not mine coal for shipment to the United States."

Well done British miners. How now about the Transport Workers? Are the Dockers going to load these *scab ships*, Mr. Bevin? Are the crews of the *thirty-one British ships* going to sail? Are we not going to give a reception to those *forty Yankee scab ships* and make impossible the breaking of the mine-workers strike of America?

Here is the moment for an International Miners' Conference jointly with the Transport Workers. The cards are in your hands at the moment Mr. Hodges, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Bevin. What are you going to do about it? You can count on our help to assist the miners of U.S.A. in any effort you may make in this direction. But what are you going to do?

* * *

The Printers' Strike It seems, Mr. Henderson, that where we have still got a bit of the old Industrial Parliament, even under the divine guidance of Sir David Shackleton, there can't be a truce.

The Printers are on strike, or, shall we say, some of them, after the Industrial

Parliament has referred the question of wage reductions to the other peaceful institution known as the Industrial Court. The latter body more "peaceful" even than the Industrial Parliament, awarded 12s. 6d. per week reduction in four instalments. Hence the strike. Every Communist must help those who are on strike to carry on as effectively as possible. That's an obligation. But how on earth the printers can hope to win we don't know. Scotland is not affected. Manchester has a special agreement and is not affected. London is hardly affected. The printers' organisations are among the oldest in trades unionism. They knew about shop stewards long before anyone else. And here we have many unions in the industry. Separate agreements. Absurd sectionalism, which is a credit to no one.

NEXT WEEK'S

Number of

The Communist

will be a Special Birthday Number — containing special features and important announcements concerning the future.

ORDER EARLY

The will to fight is good. We shall stand in with it and even suffer defeat with it wherever we find it. But *will* which is limited by a sectionalism which is antiquated, is bound to get beaten. Are the rest of the printers going to stand by and see their colleagues beaten? That's the question now. Will the leaders give the call for the united front of printers' organisations? Think of it! Britain free from daily dope for a week! Gee! It's worth a trial if only to clear the air.

* * *

Industrial Peace

Mr. Henderson's colleague of Whitley Council fame, Sir A. Smith, has not "cottoned on" to the proposals of his brother in "peace." Having previously locked his men out for three months for having the impudence to demand one of the conditions of the now infamous "Pact of Peace," viz., "alterations in workshop conditions (other than wages) shall be by mutual agreement." He has now bumped the defeated engineers for the 16s. 6d. per week reduction. It is no consolation to us to say "we told you so." The ballot is proceeding. It will be concluded in many unions by the time this reaches the press.

When this reduction is carried through no doubt the situation will suit Mr. Henderson as a basis for a truce. The cost of living is stated to be 84 per cent. above the 1914 level. So the record of the engineering workers will read as follows according to the figures of the Labour Research Dept., given in "The facts behind the lock-out."—

BEFORE THE REDUCTION:—

Date.	p.c. rise in cost of living.	Wages.	p.c. rise in wages.
July 1914	0	37/-	0
March, 1917	70	44/-	18
Dec., 1918	125	73/8	99
Dec., 1920	169	86/-	132

AFTER THE REDUCTION:—

Date.	p.c. rise in cost of living.	Wages.	p.c. rise in wages.
July, 1922	84	54/-	46

At no time have the wages kept pace with the cost of living. When the reduction is effected we shall be well down to not only 1914 level but even 1908 level. Peace and plenty! If bitterness both against Allan Smith and his crowd and Mr. Henderson's leadership does not grow apace, then we don't know the engineering workers. A truce with this condition as basic is a sheer impossibility.

* * *

Candid! "In the early days of the Socialist movement it was an adventurous thing to be an I.L.P. member. It meant hardship. Now it might almost be looked upon as the most obvious path to a respectable career."

--Labour Leader, July 20, 1922.

* * *

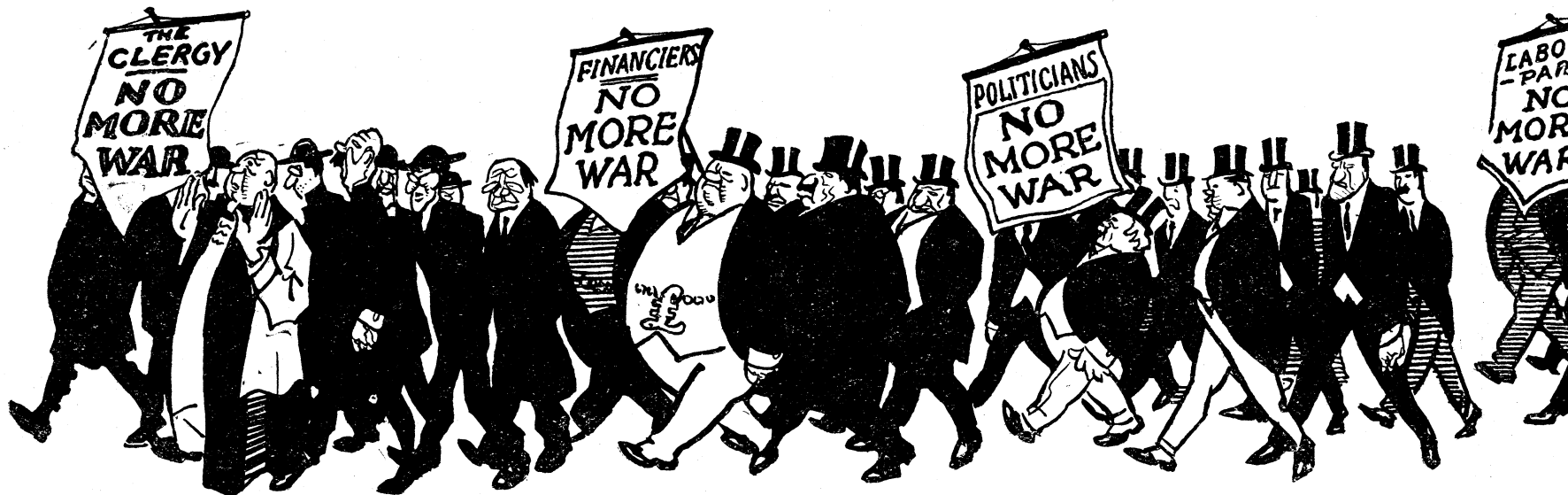
William Ward

We regret to record the death after an operation, of William, the eldest son of our old comrade, Albert Ward, of Wigan. William Ward was only 22 and his death is a great blow to our veteran comrade, his father. The sympathy of all who have been connected with the workers' struggle during the last 30 years will be excited by the news. Very few are they who do not know Albert Ward of Wigan.

RESOLUTION OF SPEN MINERS

"THAT Spen Branch of D.M.A. strongly represents the action of M.F.G.B. General Secretary, Frank Hodges, in using the columns of the Hulton Press to deliver a personal attack upon the veteran miners' leader, Bob Smillie, and as far as the rank and file are concerned he, Smillie, is still recognised as the miners' chief. Smillie having grown grey in the services of the Miners' Federation and is recognised as the greatest miners' leader, both national and international, and we consider the audacity of General Secretary both mean and despicable. He was realised by the German, French, Austrian, and Belgian miners' leaders as the greatest miners' leader, but he is more so in Great Britain. He is the rank and file's Ideal of a Labour Leader, and we advise all workers connected with the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to raise this matter throughout their respective branches."

This was carried unanimously.



NO WAR—Except for Christianity!

NO WAR—Except for the Rights of Bondholders

NO WAR—Except as required in Egypt, India, Ireland, and, of course, Russia

NO

The Communist

A Weekly Organ of the Third (Communist) International

Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain

16 King Street, Covent Garden

London, W.C.2

Telephone - Gerrard 877

"The Communist" can be sent to any reader direct from this office at the prepaid, post-paid rate of 3/3 per quarter, or pro rata.

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

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

NO MORE WAR—EXCEPT

THIS forthcoming week-end there will be held throughout Britain a number of demonstrations organised by the "No More War" International Council. The demonstrations are arranged to take place on the eve of the anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, and their object is the highly laudable one of neutralising, so far as may be, whatever remains of the national and racial hatreds that were inflamed to the limit during that time of horror.

The Communist Party cannot but agree with the organisers of this meeting in declaring a hatred of war, and in expressing a desire for the day when it will be no longer possible. The Communist Party will co-operate in these demonstrations (wherever it is not blackballed by the hostility of the I.L.P. members who figure prominently in its committees).

But at the same time the Communist Party will make it plain through its speakers—wherever these are allowed on the platform—and through its Press, that it by no means shares the illusions of the promoters of these demonstrations.

To these the whole question appears to be one of purely personal psychology. If you "believe in" war you will do nothing to prevent it. If also you hate certain peoples or nations you will be ready at any moment to fly to arms in order to chastise the hated enemy. If on the other hand you hate war and think it wrong and abominable, you will never do anything to help it forward. You will take the pledge—"not a man, not a boot, not a sou." Then, if everybody does this, lo! there will be no more war. Such seems to be the reasoning of the promoters of the demonstration.

Happily we can demonstrate our hatred of war without committing ourselves to the endorsement of this Pacifist Utopianism. He or she who could say that they personally would never give aid to war—"not a man, not a boot, not a sou"—must be either colossal humbugs or innocents destitute of the remotest knowledge of the workings of human society.

One cannot so much as buy a dozen eggs at the grocers without assisting that gentleman possibly to equip his son for the

Territorials, certainly to pay his taxes, part of which will be spent not only in boots, but ammunition, explosives and other materials for mass-murder.

The promoters of the "No More War" movement cannot get their literature printed without thereby perpetuating the mechanical devices for propagating warlike ideals, and the propaganda of Imperialist hate.

In a word—one cannot simultaneously make use of the machinery of society and its material and mental inter-relations and preserve the moral immunity of a hermit in the desert.

One does not cease to be responsible for war because one refuses to fight or to buy shares in a munition factory. The same cotton that is used for shirts is used for making high explosives. The same oil that is used to lubricate the wheels of an ambulance will serve for the lubrication of an aerial torpedo. The same ambulance that removes to the hospital an elderly lady suffering from cramp through over-indulgence in prayer, will do a similar service for a man maimed with shrapnel. . . .

And the worker who, after weeks of hunger gets a job planing breech-blocks, turning trigger-guards, stitching gun-slings, or packing Mills' bombs, is he to go back to intensified hunger and bring aggravated destitution, because he has taken a pledge—"not a man, not a boot, not a sou"?

We see no hope for the end of war by an agreement among capitalist governments. When at the Genoa Conference the Russian delegates made the offer to disarm if the other nations would do likewise—what response did they get?

Every capitalist government admitted in the face of that blunt offer—admitted in deeds, in anger and in loquacious evasions, that it needs an army to preserve the existing system from the possible angry uprising of the working-mass.

So long as there is private property and a property-owning class in power, ruling an exploited property-less class, there will be armies and armaments created and assembled by the ruling property-owners to preserve their class-position at the expense of the disinherited. And as long as they have armies the temptation to raid the possessions of their fellow property-owners will prove irresistible.

The League of Nations was formed to remove the needs for armies and armaments. It has resulted in bigger armies, bigger navies, bigger air forces, and bigger budgets than were ever known in any previous time of alleged peace. That is the last word of bourgeois pacifism.

* * *

We do not question the sincerity of the hundreds of men and women who have been enthusiastic in the organisation of this demonstration. We do not suggest that the workers who participate will be fools for their pains.

We affirm the exact opposite. We shall take part in the demonstration, whole-hearted in our hatred for war and all that it implies. And because we are whole-hearted in our hatred, we shall do all that we can to rescue these sincere men and women from the political and social illusions which render their fine qualities and self-sacrificing work so much waste effort.

For our part, seeing the bourgeoisie of the world organised everywhere for war, we put out our slogan: No More War—except such as is or may be forced on the Workers by the need to end the system that makes war inevitable.

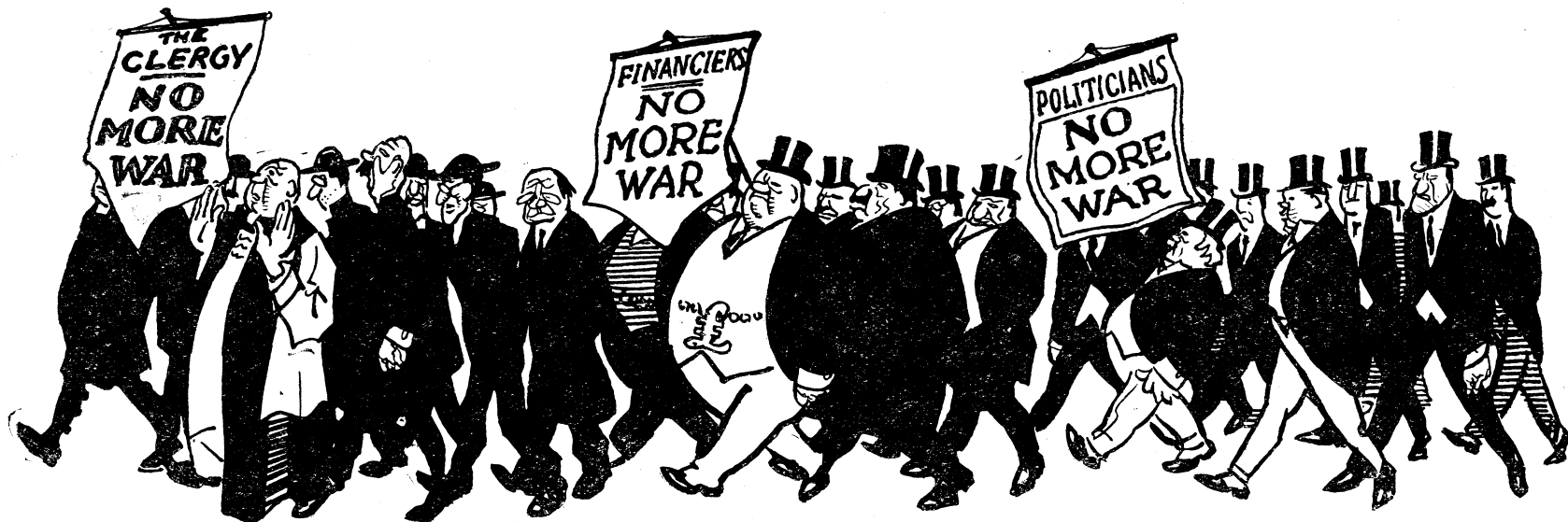


in Egypt,
Russia

NO WAR—Only stern measures
against the Communists

NO WAR—Except to get that
country we fought for

NO WAR—Except to end the system
that makes War inevitable



NO WAR—Except for Christianity!

NO WAR—Except for the
Rights of Bondholders

NO WAR—Except as required in Egypt,
India, Ireland, and, of course, Russia



NO WAR—Only stern measures
against the Communists

NO WAR—Except to get that
country we fought for



NO WAR—Except to end the system
that makes War inevitable

DUNN

AFTER THE LOCK-OUT

By J. D. LAWRENCE

(Chairman London Disputes Advisory Committee)

WITHOUT any kind of official preparation, leadership or encouragement and, neglected, even deserted by their fellow-members in non-federated shops, the rank-and-file engineers fought splendidly against enormous odds.

Now the fighting has died down for a while, I feel as one who went through it from beginning to end and enjoyed opportunities of adding to his experience that there are some necessary remarks to make.

It is clear that never again must we allow thousands of our fellow-members to remain at work, apparently quite oblivious of how their locked-out comrades were faring. Everyone out felt that he was deserted by his mates in the Government and non-federated workshops. Especially did this feeling become confirmed when the proposed 5s. weekly strike levy was voted down by more than 20,000 majority.

In future we must all endure the same conditions together or all fight against them together. A common suffering will make us wondrous kind to each other and we shall have no use for an attitude of friendly indifference.

There is next the case of the victimised men—victimised because they dared to be men—and not crawling servile curs—men deliberately kept from their jobs by

vindictive employers. What is even worse is that their jobs have been taken in some cases by their own fellow-members!

Surely if the union cannot stop victimisation it should consider ways and means to prevent this outrageous blacklegging.

The union ought to declare all jobs previously held by victimised men as "black" and all other members should be forbidden to take them until the cowardly backstabbing bosses are compelled to re-instate their intended victims.

Another matter is the necessity of reducing the 2s. 9d. per week we are still called upon to pay to the union.

In thousands of cases with seriously depleted wages the men simply cannot afford the money and will cease their membership if the suicidal policy of Peckham Road is much longer persisted in.

Next we are told that our Council has agreed to recommend us to vote in favour of the huge reduction of 16s. 6d. a week, by three instalments, to be completed by September. The bare district rate less insurances will then be £2 18s. 9d. a week for London! We shall be reduced to penury like the men we deserted a year ago—the miners. And we may as well starve idle as working! Surely here is the opportunity for our members employed in Government and non-federated shops to

exhibit their mettle and decide to organise a complete shut-down of the industry rather than submit to these drastic reductions. I can vouch for the willingness of the men lately locked-out to line up solidly alongside them.

If we only lasted a fortnight on the all-out plan we should give the bosses and the public the surprise of their lives. Even if we lost the strike we could continue the fight when we returned to the shops by the simple expedient of giving the bosses what they pay for.

But to allow these arrogant bullies to score by tamely submitting to starvation wages is utterly foreign to the minds of the engineering workers and it is disgusting to think that any executive can be found to recommend such humiliating proposals.

Paradoxical it may be—but clearly—after the lock-out the first thing necessary is a strike! a short, sharp, vigorously-waged all-out strike!

Never was it so necessary as now to get that one big union for the engineering and shipbuilding industries. The Advisory Committee has been engaged in drafting a scheme and in this connection I pay my tribute to the efforts of my colleagues of the E.T.U. The plan evolved is a good one which we hope will be placed before the rank-and-file at an early date and we feel confident that it will be wholeheartedly endorsed.

Let us remember, however, that we cannot wait five years for our one big union—We want it now and that means that all who want it must get busy—now!

FOR THIS I DIED

By T. Quelch

LIKE Virgil and Dante we passed into the Realm of Shadows. At length we came across one whose habiliments were those of a Russian Red Army Soldier. Accosting him we said: "And who might you be?"

"Tovarisch" (comrade), he replied, "I was called Ivan Petrovitch. I belonged to a Shock Battalion of the Red Army. I died on the field of action on the plains before Warsaw."

"Our men were then pressing forward. It seemed as though we would capture the Polish capital. We were hungry and cold, and ever so weary, but our hearts were full. Red flags fluttered before us, reminding us of the blood of our martyred dead, and filling us with the urge of victory. Every new and again the distant strains of the 'International' would be wafted to us on the wind. It set our thoughts on what we hoped to achieve."

"Ah, tovarisch, if you had seen us on the march! We had hardly any boots, many of us wore basket shoes, others bound their feet in pieces of rag. Our feet were always numb with cold, and we nearly all limped along. Our uniforms were torn and ragged—even those we had captured from Yudenitch. Our men were all Petrogradski—and they could endure much. They had been in all the fighting of the Revolution, and were as proud as Lucifer of their conquests. And we meant having Warsaw..."

"The International called. The red star of our hopes blazed for ever before us—lighting up the way to the glorious era of human solidarity."

"In our Yacheyka we had learnt that if we could get Warsaw we should settle the affair with

Poland speedily. The Poles were only the tools of the French bourgeoisie. They had no fighting spirit, no big hope to inspire them, no morale. Instinctively they knew they were the instruments of capitalist imperialism, and the best amongst them were willing to come over to our side when opportunity arose."

"O we knew... ever so much. We had learnt quite a lot in our Red Army Clubs. We knew something of the political complexities of Europe. We realised how much the success of the World Revolution depended on our success over the Poles. Poland was the camping ground of Capitalism between the proletariat of Russia and the proletariat of Germany. It was the barrier which prevented the Slav workers and the Teuton workers uniting."

"If we could only break down and clear away that barrier the banners of the Soviet would sweep onward to the Rhine. The Red Army of Russia and the Red Army of Germany, backed by the Russian peasants and the German industrial workers, would be so strong and so triumphant that the workers of France and Britain would rise also and fling down their ruling classes. Once we got Warsaw we should light such a blaze in Europe—a blaze that would grow and seethe and spread in such a manner as to cause world capitalism to shrivel and burn—as stubble to the fire. Our German comrades were ready and anxious and waiting—though they needed leaders such as ours. And from France and England and Austria greetings had come..."

"Comrade, we felt the lift and the urge of it. Yes, our hearts were full. We were going to win—or die. Over the cities of the West—over Warsaw, then Berlin, then Paris, and London—we were going to raise the old, fighting flag of the Petrogradski. We could see with our minds' eyes those far-off cities with their working millions, and in our hearts we heard them calling. Welcomes were waiting for us. We saw ourselves marching through the streets of those cities, amidst the happy cries of the multitudes, with the quick, eager handgrasps of comrades from the factories and workshops. In Berlin I was going to try and get another uniform so that I could look well in Paris. I have read much about Paris..."

"We were crests of the waves of the New Society. We were going to flood the world and to bury the hideous past. But we were so soft human, too. The ache of our marching, the hunger, the pain of our sore feet, tried us terribly. But we were unafraid. We sang as we tramped along: and exposed our breasts to the bullets with sublime audacity."

"There came a day... after three days fighting... in a field close by a little forest... when I was hit. I saw blood, my hands were sticky with it, and a horrible burning was in my stomach. I lay down. Guns were booming. The smell of powder was in the air. My head buzzed awfully. I saw some birds pass under the blue of the sky. It came over dark. Then I seemed to hear voices—the voices of my comrades-in-arms singing:

Then comrades, come rally,
'Tis the last fight let us face
The Internationale
Unites the human race."

The British Victory Medal

By EX-SERVICE MAN

ABOUT that medal. On the back of it the following words are inscribed: "The Great War for Civilisation." Does that give you the idea that I was one of the heroes?

* * *

I have seen warfare evolve from hand-made bombs to shells 2,000lb. in weight, from rude shelters to holes 100 feet down in the earth. Worse! I have seen tunnels constructed thousands of yards underground and filled with tons and tons of high explosive. Then in the stillness of night, those mines have been sprung and men blown high up in the air, to fall back in a shower of blood and bloody rags.

I've seen men with their entrails hanging out, torn away by lumps of iron. I have heard men curse the day they were born and the mothers who bore them.

I have seen horses and mules suffering hell's tortures, stricken down by shell fire, and men and women writhing in the agonies of gas.

Worse than all that!—I have just seen the contents of a letter sent to Lloyd George by Sir

Joynson Hicks and other members of the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Air Committee!

My God! the horrors of the recent bloody holocaust areas are as nothing compared with the possibilities conveyed in this letter. Those of us who have witnessed the devastation wrought by the small aeroplane will have some idea of what future aerial warfare will be. I was an eyewitness of the greatest raid carried out over London, when dozens of wealth producers were killed in a few tragic moments. The instruments which carried out that massacre were as sparrows compared with the aeroplanes that are being constructed to-day, and which are being tested for future wars for Civilisation.

Recently the trial of a 1,000 horse power engine was witnessed, and invention only rests there for the moment.

These engines are fitted with silencers and recent discoveries have made it possible for machines to be rendered practically invisible.

The average weight of bombs dropped on London during the war was less than 100lbs., while the average now is 4,000lbs. Would any part of

London be left after a dozen such bombs had been dropped on it?

Those who have studied capitalism know that capitalism must make war. In the scramble for new fields of exploitation and for markets for manufactured goods, capitalism will not stop at high explosive. Already the science of chemistry has been prostituted for its deadly concentrated gas. Medical science will be brought in in turn. The most loathsome death-dealing germs will be used to exterminate enemies. The time when these horrors will be loosed on humanity is not far distant. War is already in the making, and unless the workers sit up and take notice we shall pass again through an inferno of horrors culminating in loathsome disease and death.

* * *

Yes, it is the British Victory Medal, and the inscription on the back of it is "The Great War for Civilisation, 1914-1919."

Millions of fellow workers have also been presented with this medal, but millions have not got it. Only those who have it are termed heroes to-day. Those who are not heroes to-day have the consolation that if capitalism is not dethroned and stamped out by revolution, then in the next "Great War for Civilisation" we shall all be heroes, for we shall be able to die on our own doorsteps.

HISTORY OF THE RAND "REVOLT"

Red Revolt: the Rand Strike, January-March, 1922. The Workers' Story. Written for the Communist Party (S. Africa) by S. P. Bunting. With foreword by W. H. Andrews. Printed and published by the Communist Party (S.A.), 4, Trades Hall, Johannesburg. 44 pp. 1/6 post free.

THIS is the most detailed account we have seen of the remarkable strike of white workers, culminating in a sort of civil war, which took place on the Rand Gold Mines in the early part of this year, and is now being followed up by many hundreds of treason trials, etc. Although the struggle centred round a reduction of wages such as is being imposed all over the world, it was complicated by elements and motives which made it difficult both for observers in other countries to judge its proper significance and for the strikers themselves to appreciate fully the world setting of the part they instinctively played. The wage reductions were accompanied by a repudiation on the part of the Chamber of Mines, of a "pact" of 1919 whereby, in the case of certain mine jobs, the process of replacing white by native workers was to have been arrested. This repudiation involved a reduction of the number of white mine workers by about 20 per cent, and was generally felt to be a certain forerunner of further reductions ending in the virtual extinction of the white miner, and, indeed, the white worker in general. For, inasmuch as "unskilled" work in S. Africa is given almost entirely to native workers at a wage—about one-sixth of the white worker's—which cannot possibly support the white worker, a miner thus displaced has no reserve of occupations to fall back upon. There is, broadly speaking, no other "white man's work" in S. Africa for which he is fitted: he is left in effect without any chance of employment at all. Hence the desperate resistance put up by the strikers, intensified by a bourgeois contempt for the degraded "Kaffir," himself as well as his status, and, among the Dutch Afrikaners who form the great majority of miners to-day, by a hatred of the foreign "capitalist," or, in other words, the British Empire.

Passing over such special local features, this fight represented in miniature the clash between European and cheap non-European labour, such as Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc., which is helping gradually to throw millions of workers in Europe out of work without their clearly seeing it. As Walton Newbold showed in his article "Capitalism and Coal" in the COMMUNIST of July 15th, it is not only to Germany or other white cheap labour countries that England, for instance, is losing orders: it is also to native labour countries, especially, of course, in enterprises for getting raw material, but also in some manufactures. Of course, not all work is done by "coolies" or "niggers": superior technical equipment and training and wider scope of business still enable the European industry and European worker to hold their own. But there is an ever-increasing sphere of enterprises and occupations in which the black worker in his own country successfully competes with the white in his. The British Empire, in fact, is largely a concern for exploiting this black labour to the detriment and exclusion of the Britisher.

Thus the Rand white miners were fighting the battle of the British workman. They were resisting, however hopelessly under capitalism if regarded as mere resistance, the world-wide transfer of work from Europeans to cheap natives which leaves the Europeans stranded. The unemployment intensified in S. Africa by the recent conflict there is of a piece with much of the unemployment in England, which is due to the same cause. The "colour bar," superficially an unfair denial to native workers of the right to better their position, really means fixing, for certain mine jobs, a European standard of wages which would never be paid to black men. What the Chamber of Mines wants is to get those jobs, wherever at all feasible, done by natives at the native wage—not to pay natives the present European rate for doing them. It is well known, in fact openly avowed by the Chamber, that it has no intention of raising native wages.

It is for the European workers both in Europe and in S. Africa to apply to this position the only appropriate policy pending the Social Revolution, viz., not to ignore the cheap native workers of the world, still less to help the master class to "keep them in their place," but, as with all other underfed, competing workers, to organise, agitate, and educate them to enforce a standard wage, equal pay for equal work, irrespective of colour. This is as much the concern of British as of S. Africa white workers. Leaving aside the actual victims of the Rand struggle, it is the only way to "save" either "the Rand boys" or the European workers in any part of the world—or the native workers themselves either. The Communist Party in S. Africa has incurred much odium in the past among both whites and even natives for always insisting on this; but

the recent upheaval has, it is believed, gone far to open the eyes of the S. African white workers, at any rate, and perhaps some of the black ones too, to the truth. It is time their fellows in Europe also grasped it.

As for the military denouement, even Labour organs have pointed the virtuous finger saying, "See what disaster 'violent methods' lead to." Well, first it is futile to say a thunderstorm is wrong. Were the same conditions repeated the same results would follow again in any country. These things happen; men would not be men if they did not. Where the master class prevents picketing and conducts strike breaking with a most insolent and provocative use of Government armed force, it is simply asking for retaliation. What is more, the retaliating workers are not the men to whine if they are nevertheless overcome, though they rightly continue to denounce the capitalist atrocity that invoked the conflict, and, of course, also they welcome any movement, such as the exposure of the Government shooting of prisoners, or such protests as those of the "Class War Prisoners' Committee" (notwithstanding trifling inaccuracies—e.g., no special old law has been dug up against the strike prisoners) tending to relax the clutches in which many of them have been caught.

Secondly, the "disaster" suffered by the Labour movement in S. Africa is certainly no more serious than that suffered by English Labour in recent strikes where not a shot has been fired. On the contrary, the Rand strikers succeeded in putting the fear of God into the local bourgeoisie as perhaps no English strike has ever done—of course, it is all on a small scale there. Had they really organised civil war, had they been properly armed (instead of relying mainly on arms taken from the police) and had they thus been able to follow up initial successes, they would quite likely have obtained such support from the "backveld" as might have confounded Smuts' Government and brought Labour into partial power. For the fighting men were pretty clear about it, at the last, that they were fighting, not for white versus black, not for Dutch versus British, but for the working class against the capitalist class of S. Africa—a cause better worth the sacrifice of human life, surely, than fighting for Rothschild versus Stinnes (as it were) as in 1914-18. They were fighting a true class-conscious, proletarian fight, with all the revolutionary pluck and enthusiasm that such a fight alone can inspire.

It is the rule in S. Africa for the Government to suppress every formidable demonstration of the workers, especially of the natives but also of the whites as in 1913-14, by force of arms. Only by force of arms indeed, in the last resort, does the capitalist class anywhere maintain itself in power. Does it not seem paradoxical then to plead for pacifism and non-resistance as the only weapons to destroy that power? Besides, Ghandi's example has not proved particularly encouraging.

However, we may perhaps admit that it is premature to judge whether or not the course actually adopted by those strikers who took up arms was the most expedient at the time. It is fairly certain that the strike had a good chance of being won without a shot being fired if either the native workers or the railway and typo unions, or both, had come out. As it was, the natives were told by the strikers themselves to remain at work and obey their bosses, so powerful was the bourgeois prejudice still. The railway and typo men, on the other hand, were appealed to, and for the most part failed, some even taking up arms against the strikers. J. H. Thomas has recently been congratulating his followers for having rattled on the miners of Britain last year. Moore, the secretary of the S.A. Railwaymen, seems to have been doing much the same. Yet such strike-breakers are the very men who rail at the "violent methods" necessitated only by their own treason to the common cause!

Finally, a "defeat" of Labour does not always mean that Labour ought not to have fought. Were the Communards, or the Russian revolutionaries of 1905, in the wrong? Nay, the effect of the S. African struggle has been not defeat but on the contrary to bring together, originally in the gaol yards but now throughout the industrial areas, various previously conflicting elements of S. African Labour, in such a way as to afford promise of a

real United Front, based on bitter resentment against the Capitalist tyranny under which all have suffered alike; involving a considerable strengthening of Left Wing sentiment and organisation. European labour please copy! S. African Labour, as the direct result of this strike, has advanced in class-consciousness so far that (for example) there need at any rate be no fear there of such a spectacle as seems to be sticking out in England—that of a pacifist Macdonald recruiting working men to fight the Bolsheviks!

With regard to the conflict between whites and natives during the Rand strike, of which lurid accounts were cabled to London, it seems pretty clear that this was cold-bloodedly engineered on behalf of the masters to divert the strikers from their proper fight and to provide a justification in the eyes of the world for "martial law."

The pamphlet appears to be carefully and accurately compiled. Copies may be ordered through the office of the COMMUNIST.

RECOGNISE THE SOVIET

From Czarism to Genoa. Russia, 1906-1922. By J. E. Mills, M.P. (Midland Branch National Labour Press, Ltd.). 2d.

THIS pamphlet is, one may say without fear of contradiction, one of the most effective pieces of propagandist writing in support of the demand for the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia that has made its appearance in this country.

In it the writer has sought to express in language of an eminently temperate character the case which all who have been watching his splendid efforts on behalf of peace with the Russian people know that Jack Mills has so much at heart. It is by no means an exhaustive study of the theme which he sets out to explore. It does not pretend to be. It aims at presenting to the man in the street a plain, simple, and straightforward statement of the reasons why the Russian Revolution is as it is. The sketch which the writer gives of the Russian revolutionary struggle, and the quotations which he so aptly makes from the most unexpected authorities, puts into correct perspective the incidents of the Dictatorship which lying and not always disinterested critics of the Soviet Power have thrown into false relief. He shows that the Bolsheviks were the heirs of a tradition of repression and of violence which made it inconceivable that their rule should have been more gentle or more tender. Mills is neither apologist nor partisan enthusiast. He is not, and has not been associated with the Communist Party, nor has he been one of those fêted guests who, going to Russia to posture and to patronise, returned to philosophise on the faults and failures of which even men of heroic mould can be the victims. Mills went out to Russia when there were no junketings and when the country was in the grip of famine and disease. Mills went out to discover how things were and how British labour might help.

Mills, like O'Grady, has in this respect served well, and, serving well, deserves the respect and the admiration of Communists not for what he has thought and said, but by the test of what he has believed it his duty to do and has done.

His pamphlet is business-like. It is trenchant. It is excellent propaganda for the cause which, to-day, is the most urgent of all causes not only to Communists but to those genuine Socialists who, not seeing their way clear to take up our position, are none the less sincere in their desire and resolve to replace capitalism by social ownership and working class control. That cause is the recognition of Russia politically and her re-admittance into the circle of commercial intercourse. Without Russia restored to something of her former status as an exporter of foodstuffs, the industrial nations of Western Europe must remain the economic vassals of American imperialism. With Russia in a position to provide an alternative supply of wheat, maize, meat foods and dairy produce, it will be possible for the workers of the West of Europe to throw off the yoke of the bondholder and the "boss" without being exposed to the certain peril of starvation in the grip of a hunger blockade.

It is considerations of this nature which make it none other than an elementary matter of common sense that all who mean business—however they think to carry through that business—in uprooting capitalism should get together in support of Soviet Russia's demand for recognition. On these grounds and on its merits as a survey of the unfolding drama of the Russian Revolution, I have no hesitation in appealing to our members and readers to buy (and to sell) as many copies of this pamphlet as possible.

J.T.W.N.

Buy all your books from
THE COMMUNIST BOOKSHOP
16, King St., Covent Garden, W.C. 2.
Propaganda Literature,
Economics,
History,
Fiction.

Books of all kind supplied.

THE CLASS WAR IN SOUTH SHIELDS

By E. BROWN

OWING to the failure of the D.M.A. to deal with local grievances, the four South Shields lodges (of the Whitburn, Boldon, Harton and St. Hilda Pits) decided to form a local federal committee, which is known as the local Mine-workers' Federation Board. This Board is composed of 32 representatives: 4 each from the miners' lodges and the remainder representing mine mechanics and engineers.

The secretary of this Board is Comrade W. Pearson (S. Shields branch of the Communist Party), and Comrades Beadham, Gallacher and Turnbull are also members of the Board.

Over a month ago the Harton Coal Co., Ltd., handed notices of dismissal to 714 men employed at one of their pits (Harton). These notices formed the subject matter at the basis of negotiations between the D.M.A. and the County Coalowners' Association, but no satisfaction was forthcoming for the local lodges.

The matter was then taken up by the Federation Board who were informed at the interview with the management that in addition to the dismissals a local reduction of 29 per cent. on miners tonnage or piece-work would be enforced.

* * *

In order to meet the situation and in view of the fact that it was a bad time to force a general stoppage of the pits, the Federated Board, backed by the votes of the four lodges, decided on a policy of restricted output. This was put into operation.

The management replied to this by an endeavour to split the solidarity of the men by playing off one pit against the other.

At Boldon and St. Hilda the management booked and paid to the men hundreds of pounds in excess of actual earnings, and at Harton and Whitburn the men were paid less than the County minimum.

Nevertheless, the restrictions policy operated for three weeks until one day at the Harton pit only 25 tubs came to the surface between the hours of 5 a.m. and 12 noon.

The management locked the men out, but at a subsequent meeting the Harton men were ordered back by vote and ordered to carry on once more the restriction policy as per Federation instructions.

They worked until pay-note day, Wednesday and, finding shortages unbearable, came out on strike on Thursday last. Whitburn followed suit.

* * *

A mass meeting on the Saturday at which were 7,000 men from all pits, decided that the Harton and Whitburn men should have the minimum paid (6s. 8d. per shift); failing this, the four pits were to strike on the Monday (July 10th).

This decision was ratified at lodge meetings at Harton, Whitburn and Boldon on the Sunday.

A Mass Picket

One of the members of the Board is a reactionary (Edmondson of St. Hilda's, Lodge secretary). Owing to his scheming, St. Hilda's did not take a decision on the Sunday but the Federation Board ordered a mass picket and prevented the first shift from starting.

At a meeting held during Monday morning, St. Hilda decided to work and, the news spreading, a crowd of 10,000 miners, with their aunts and uncles, wives, sweethearts and relations went to stop them. The road to the colliery was full of mounted and foot police. The crowd grew in numbers and were absolutely beyond control.

The Federation Board tried to work its massed pickets but were hampered by the crowd, all of whom were in sympathy and, incidentally, in the way.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock a large body of miners from Harton, Boldon and Whitburn were persuaded to disperse. The Harton men marched away four deep, and some of the other miners proceeded to the Marsden Miners' Hall, where they were addressed by their leaders.

* * *

At 1 o'clock it seemed that any danger of trouble had passed as the thoroughfares were practically deserted, and there

seemed little doubt that the St. Hilda miners were not willing to face what the men at the other pits threatened if they went to work.

As 3 o'clock approached, however, crowds of young miners again began to assemble, a large body gathering at the bottom of Spohr Terrace, which was guarded by mounted and foot police. Two other detachments of men also came into view. One of the bodies was ordered to "right wheel," and marched into Spohr Terrace, and they made a determined attempt to force their way through the cordon of police. The policemen then proceeded to drive the men back and drew their batons with this end in view. The mounted men rode, also, into the crowds, scattering them in all directions.

Batons and Stones

An exceedingly critical position then developed. The miners, as soon as they met with opposition, began to throw stones, and many of them were armed with sticks. A few of them got on to the Whitburn Railway, which belongs to the Harton Coal Company, and from there threw stones, but fortunately none of the police officers was hit. The miners thronged the area railings of the houses in the vicinity, and there was hard work before they were dislodged. Windows were broken in houses and shops in the neighbourhood, and the iron balustrading and stone-work in front of one house was pulled down entirely.

The police drove all before them, and broke up the crowd, many of the men in their endeavours to escape, dashed into houses near by, but they were got away and put to flight.

During the melee some 13 arrests were made.

When the case came into court, law and order, in the person of a particularly prosperous shipbuilding director as presiding magistrate, viz., John Readhead, of John Readhead and Sons, Ltd., of South Shields, nobly did his duty and imposed a fine of 40s. or one month's imprisonment. One of the unfortunate wage-slaves had not been able to save enough out of his pay-roll at the charitable institution, known as the Harton Coal Co., to be able to afford the 40s., so he went "down the stairs." The quality of mercy must not be strained by ship-builders and coal-owners. It seems a pity that he could not have been, in these days of economy campaigns and increase production stunts, handed over to be branded and, as a sturdy vagabond, marched off backed to his masters. Perhaps, after the Ten Years' Truce has been duly signed and ratified, it may be possible to revert back to this good old English custom.

Mass Picket Again

St. Hilda's Committee split on the issue of returning to work. Half advised resumption and the other half advised a strike. The Joint Board called on the men to stand by the other three pits and when the night shift (Monday) time to start was approaching no one knew exactly how many St. Hilda men would report for work.

The shaft is situated in South Shields. The streets in the vicinity were blocked by the massed pickets and unemployed. Only a few men came to work and these, seeing the crowd, went back.

The Joint Board called off its massed pickets at 12 p.m., but asked 300 to return for early morning duty. Owing to complete disorganisation in instructing the 300, all decided to turn out.

The police decided to keep the massed pickets far away from the pit.

Owing to the men's determination to get there trouble arose and the order was given to clear the streets.

The miners put up a most courageous opposition. Fighting of a desperate character continued for nearly two hours.

Injuries on both sides totalled a big figure.

The police, through superior discipline and with the help of constant reinforcements and the mounted police (and with

the help of the Joint Board) got the crowd under.

During Tuesday the Harton Co. stated its willingness to negotiate and sent for Pearson.

On Tuesday night the miners turned out again against leaders' advice, but, in response to assurances from the leaders, from the Chief Constable, and from the management that the pit was closed until the strike was settled, they remained passive.

* * *

The police gave no provocation: in fact, from their conduct, they might have been members of the strike committee. Thus, a determined organised mass assemblage for revenge was placated.

* * *

The position was eased on Wednesday. The Joint Board decided to get the men back to work and so end the tension. They accepted the company's terms:—Resumption and then negotiation.

A storm of protest came from the men—but work was resumed.

Co-incident with the strike has been a determined effort by the unemployed to assist the miners. Also at all strike meetings the men have insisted that the Joint Board should, with the local unemployed Committees, organise a mass demonstration to the Guardians.

The unemployed were to demonstrate on Thursday and the Joint Committee would not accept the responsibility of the proposal to bring the miners out on the streets in conjunction with the unemployed.

In fact, they definitely worked against this and, in order to prevent the demonstration, ordered the men back to work. This was the reason for ending the strike—the reason why they accepted a defeat in spite of the fact that they were winning.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

PROPAGANDA ADVERTISEMENTS. (C.P. branches and kindred organisations):—Displayed, 5s. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on) 6d. per line (6 words) or part thereof.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISEMENTS:—Displayed, 7s. 6d. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on), 9d. per line (6 words) or part thereof.

No advertisement will be inserted unless copy is received, together with cash in prepayment, by second post Monday for insertion in current week's issue.

All communications to Advertisement Department, "The Communist," 16, King Street, W.C.2.

MEETINGS

Communist Party Branches

CLAPHAM COMMON. Sunday, July 30th, 11 a.m. S. Saklatvala. Rally!

CROYDON. Saturday, Woodside, 8 p.m. Sunday, Katherine Street (outside Town Hall), 8 p.m. Good speakers.

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

HUDDERSFIELD. Sunday, July 30th, 11 a.m., Market Place; 6.30 p.m., St. George's Square. F. Shaw (Huddersfield).

KENNINGTON. Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park, 8 p.m., July 30th. Councillor Wall (Clapham).

SOUTHEND. Meetings every Sunday, Marine Parade, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m.

SURREY HOLIDAY CAMP, Newdigate, Surrey. Beautiful scenery; good food; 35s. week, 5s. 6d. day. Full August 5th to 18th.

FREEMASONRY is a curse to Humanity from the Christ Ethic. Speaker: Rodway, 149, Merton Road, Wimbledon.

ORGANISED COUNTRY RAMBLES (Leeds environs) Local comrades (both sexes) free invitation. See weekly announcement in *Leeds Weekly Citizen*.

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING for Fulham and Chelsea readers sending name and address to R., 17, Broomhouse Road, S.W. 6.

Will Comrade Jannett, of Islington, please communicate with Comrade Jones.