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TWOPENCE

United Front in S. Africa

By S. P. BUNTING

THE mail from S. Africa is apparently being tampered with again—the Government has so much to hide. But it is clear from the capitalist papers themselves that the “United Front” movement there—the spur to which was given by the whole procedure of the ruling class during and since the recent strike revolt—is progressing as well as could be wished and disturbing the enemy’s complacency.

The strike platforms were always open to all strike supporters, whether trade union officials, Dutch Smuts-haters, official Labourites, or left “extremists.” Huge crowds heard them all gladly.

In the prison cells and yards the various elements again fraternised, and schemes were discussed for combined retaliation—“when we come out, Gorbline!”—even to the making of a working arrangement with the Dutch Nationalist Party for the next elections.

As soon as martial law was lifted the prisoners who had got out on bail, or been discharged, organised a most successful “Gaoibirds’ Social” at Johannesburg, at which all working-class elements foregathered. This was followed on June 29 by a crowded and enthusiastic demonstration at the big Town Hall, presided over by the chairman of the Labour Party and addressed by the acting chairman (during the strike) of the S.A. Industrial Federation, the secretaries of the Mine Workers’ and Reduction Workers’ Unions (the former a Dutch Nationalist), the “left” leaders of the Labour Party and, not least, leading Communists like W. K. Andrews and George Mason. Strange bedfellows, who, up to six months before had been bitter opponents. Nearly all of them had been arrested during the strike, and four were still awaiting trial, and the same must have been true of many of the audience—that is the explanation, and a good one too.

Two incidents at this demonstration were significant. Speeches favouring an amnesty to strike prisoners in view of the disclosure of murder of prisoners by Government forces were interrupted by a notorious White Guard, who so infuriated the crowd, especially when he deliberately covered during the “Red Flag,” that he was lucky to escape with his life.

Opposition was also voiced by a small, non-proletarian Dutch Nationalist element, which eventually withdrew disgruntled from the meeting. The recent crisis is destined, if slowly, to split off the reactionary land-owning Boers from the Dutch workers who, thus emancipated, will be among the finest working-class fighters in the world, as indeed, some of them proved themselves to be in the revolt. The land-owning Boers will eventually line up under Smuts’ banners.

The capitalist press of S. Africa has given much attention to this United Front movement, trotting out the usual talk about “alien influences”—“the propaganda department at Moscow has its eye on S. Africa,” etc.—and urging that the Nationalist workmen can have nothing in common with “Bolsheviks.”

“These men who have brought unemployment and disaster on the Rand,” says

the *Star*, “who will listen to them to-day? Why, the Red International, as the Congress of ‘Toilers of the Far East’ shows, is the arch enemy of trade unionism. As for a special appeal to the unemployed to support the movement, that is only an attempt to exploit them politically”; which indeed

representatives of the United Front movement to address members and discuss that movement with them.” The amalgamation resolution as above has also been adopted by a delegate meeting of miners (gold, diamond, and coal), from all S. Africa and Rhodesia.

It should be mentioned that, like Crawford, the Railway and Harbour Servants’ Union stood resolutely aloof from the strike on the typical scab grounds that “it was not a railwaymen’s strike, the railwaymen were never brought into consultation as to direct action until the miners’ strike was actually in progress, and their constitution provides absolute safeguards against being drawn into outside strikes,” etc.

Is it too much, nevertheless, to hope that even this important body may be swept into the Unity movement? Had the railwaymen with the Typos taken up a “united front” with the miners in the strike, not all Smuts’ bombs could have beaten it.

The same is true of the native workers. The natives are constantly under the very strongest Government pressure of all against striking at any time. They, however, also had the excuse that the strikers, true to past tradition, never called them out, although they are extremely dissatisfied with their wages and conditions. Yet a united front with them is essential to a real Labour attack.

The trouble has been how to bridge the gulf between black and white. Now, in the spirit of the times, and in accordance with advice many times offered by the Communists, an inter-State delegates’ assembly of the Industrial and Commercial (Amalgamated) Workers’ Union of S. Africa—a large but loose native organisation operating in the Cape Province, Free State and Transvaal—has just had the good sense to resolve “that means be sought by which co-operation can be effected with the S.A. Industrial Federation and the S.A. Miners’ Union”—in effect, with any representative Labour organisation with equal good sense to entertain their advance—“with a view to taking such steps as may lead to the abolition of”—the native recruiting system in particular.

Once such co-operation is adopted it will no doubt extend to the whole field of Labour problems. If Smuts’ bombs bring about this result he will have proved his own grave-digger indeed.

Such co-operation will be typical, and a forerunner, of that world-wide united front of all Labour, European, Asiatic and African, the urgent need for which is only beginning to dawn on either the Europeans or on the “backward races.”

In Britain, a united Labour front seems almost an impossibility at present, but it may well be that when the British workers realise this greater united front with the workers of subject races, local divisions within Britain too will be shamed out of existence. Especially if, as in S. Africa, all sections have stood together under capitalist fire. One touch of the machine-gun makes the whole working-class kin, and might, as on the Rand, result after all in even British Communists and sobered-up Labour Leaders being found together on a United Front platform. You never can tell.



VANDERVELDE—THE PUPPET OF THE BELGIAN KING

(An effigy carried in the great Moscow Workers’ Demonstration. See p. 3)

it is—but for the sole benefit of them and all their class.

More sinister is the fact that exactly similar comments are made in the *Weekly Herald*, a paper just issued under the auspices of A. Crawford, the Federation Secretary, who could not get a hearing at the strike meetings, and is now the most notable “labour” opponent of the United Front policy, in ridicule of which he also published an article by Oudegeeste.

It was owing partly to the unworkableness of the Federation under Crawford that a new body was evolved during the strike, viz., the “Joint Executives” of the unions concerned. This body is being kept on foot, and has just passed a resolution favouring “amalgamation of the unions closely allied to each other in industries,” and “closer union of all the forces of Labour for the purpose of strengthening the position of the workers in their fight against exploitation,” with a recommendation to branches “to grant facilities to

TO THE PROLETARIAN I.L.P.

By ALF. CLARKE

WHEN we, your Left-Wing comrades migrated to the Communist Party after the Southport Conference of 1921, do you remember the sentiments so many of you expressed? "We shall continue the fight for Socialism by our own path and you'll find us there as soon as, if not before, you."

Think of the stern purpose of Keir Hardie and the goal he always had in view!

Realise for what it is that you know Jim Connolly, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, and all our martyr comrades!

For their unflinching loyalty to the cause of Socialism. You know that nothing less than Socialism would satisfy these old pioneers, and if you will be honest with yourselves you know nothing less will satisfy you to-day.

Your party (it used to be our party), was built up by the advocacy of Socialism. Your platforms have resounded with the clear, clarion call for the Socialist Commonwealth. You yourselves have thrilled with the great ideal. You have worked strenuously for the cause and suffered many a time and oft for your courageous stand.

Is the party worth it to-day? Where stands your party in relation to the World-Wide Socialist movement? You, proletarian comrades, have become mere cogs in a great electoral machine run for the self-aggrandisement of a few ambitious men.

Through your party they have attained to high office in the Labour Party. They have captured most of the official positions and all the limelight, and now what do they do? From their executive position they formulate new conditions for admission to the Labour Party, and rush them through an Annual Conference by a lovely bit of stage-managing. Such are these conditions that the I.L.P. of old would never be permitted admission to-day—unless, of course, it agreed to drop its Socialism and get down to the worship of Parliamentarism.

They have tied your hands to the policy, aims and objects of the Labour Party. The greatest height of your ambition must now be to nationalise a few of the big indus-

tries and to secure "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work."

Soon there will be another International conflagration. War! Britain will be in it! Uncle Arthur (famed for his patience on the mat), will rush out on to the recruiting platforms to urge our young men to fight for King and Country as every good Privy Councillor *should* urge his fellow men. Increased-Production Clynes, Indemnity Macdonald, Black Friday Thomas and all the gang of 'em will follow suit. Of course, J. R. Mac. may not be so silly as the others and do it openly; he will perhaps send another recruiting letter to the Mayor of Leicester!

Will you make a stand again against the wars of capitalism which force slave to fight slave, and will you tell the tribunals and courts that the only war you are interested in pursuing to its logical conclusion is the Class War?

Will you do these things? We know *you* will! The Cause is still firmly implanted in your heart. Then why range yourself alongside people who will let you down when the first beat of the war-drum is heard!

Who will be beside you when that day comes? We will! You know we will! Then why stand aside from us just because your ambitious leaders are too respectable to mix themselves up with out-and-out Proletarian fighters for Socialism and trot out lying innuendoes against the Communist Party of this country, against the Communist International and against the most trusted leaders of the Russian proletariat, such as Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev?

Comrades, you *must* feel that you are out of place in a party which has been so side-tracked as to allow itself to be bound hand and foot to the milk-and-water policy of the Labour Party until nationalisation is the very apex to which your leaders aspire.

You many proletarian comrades in the I.L.P. and in other organisations outside the Communist Party, let me say to you in the words of Paul of Tarsus: "Come over and help us." We need you and you need us if the emancipation of our class means anything to you.

The fight is on! Up the proletarian rebels of Great Britain!! Up the World-Wide Communist International.

International Notes

Finnish General Election results give 27 Communists elected and 53 Social Democrats. The Government will probably be composed of a Coalition of the Bourgeois parties.

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The Russian Embassy in Berlin is now under the control of the Soviet representative. Grand Duchess Xenia, a sister of the late Nicholas Romanoff, is claiming the building as having been the personal property of her lamented brother.

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Capitalists in the devastated areas of France have been claiming and obtaining exorbitant compensation from the French Government. A case is before the courts of one who claimed 13 million francs for three factories which he bought for 250,000.

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American capitalists have introduced large numbers of negro strike-breakers into the W. Virginia pits to foment race hatred as an offset to the class struggle.

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Turkish newspapers report that on July 5th the Standard Oil Co. of New York obtained a concession from the Government giving it a monopoly on the sale of oil throughout Anatolia.

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Mr. Bruntnell, New South Wales Minister of Education, has started a campaign to inculcate loyalty amongst the young. Once each week the school children are assembled before the Commonwealth flag and the children solemnly recite:—

I honour my God,

I serve my King,

I salute my Flag,

and at the last line salute the flag.

* * *

Municipal Elections in Cheko-Slovakia have been postponed though now due. The results in two recent by-elections were: in Deutschbrod out of 4,362 votes recorded the Communists received 1,184; in Goding, out of 6,129, the Communists received 2,371; in each case the Communist vote being more than double that of the next party.

* * *

Fritz Adler, leader of the 2½ International and of the Austrian Social Democrats has, in conjunction with the Christian Socialists, framed an Election Law, directed solely against the Communists. The Act provides that all imprisoned or interned under previous laws, including those of Horthy, are disfranchised for three years. The formation of Communist Party organisations, thanks to Adler and his consorts, is accompanied with the most severe consequences for the members.

* * *

In Italy the Fascisti (White Guards) have formed a "Union," the "Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Economici," which claims about 200,000 membership. At least four-fifths of its membership have been roped in by compulsion; in Emilia, Mantua, Lellina and other parts peasants being flogged or starved into joining.

* * *

The German Independent Socialists, who for three years swore never to enter a Coalition Government with the bourgeois and blamed the Majority Socialists for so doing, are now supporting them. The German Communist Party is pointing the moral.

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The Communist Parties of 56 countries have been requested to send representatives to the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, to be held in Moscow on the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, November 7th.

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The Communist movement is gaining strength throughout Japan. The newly-formed Communist Party has succeeded in winning over the majority of the revolutionary trade unions to its side. The Communist germ has even worked its way into the army, soldiers and officers, it is reported, being arrested en masse. The Japanese J. H. Thomas, Ki-Sa-Tome, was recently expelled from the Japanese Federation of Labour.

OUR GREAT CHARTER By Dick Gifford

Forth, then, ye heroes, patriots and lovers,
Comrades of danger, poverty and scorn!
Mighty in faith of Freedom, your great Mother,

Giants refreshed in joy's new-rising morn!

Come and swell the song,

Silent now so long—

England is risen!—and the day is here.

—Edward Carpenter.

ANATOLE FRANCE has written: "Tyrants do not make slaves, but slaves tyrants." Read it slowly, not once, nor yet twice, but a hundred times, and each time the immense truth will be more apparent. In the history of this country one cannot find a single instance where a tyrant has made a slave. The tyrant is crafty he makes a study of his possible scope, and the successful operation of his tyranny is, as Shaw says of poverty, "based on the tolerance of the poor." The success of tyranny is assured for just so long as people are prepared to submit to it. History teaches us some good lessons in this respect. From 1199-1216, King John ruled England, and for 16 of those 17 years by terror. He succeeded so long because those who suffered tolerated his tyranny. But King John was not discreet. He failed to discriminate between the "common" people and the "barons," and it was the latter who decided that the King should grant the Magna Charta. Stripped of the power he had been so used to wielding, John only survived a year after relinquishing it.

For half a century we have had, in this country, a system of compulsory education, and the incidents of the reign of King John have been, under the heading of history, rammed into us. Yet how many of

the workers who remember this part of their schooling have ever adduced a moral.

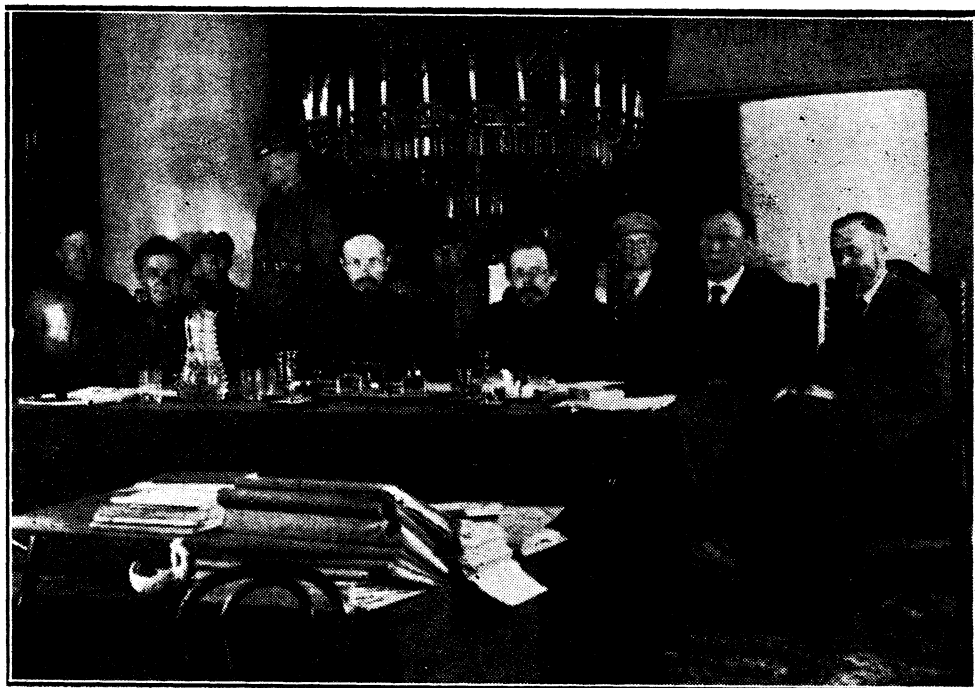
We exist to-day under a social system, more brutal, more tyrannical, and more soul destroying than ten reigns of King John could be. It is a system which, in a few words, compels workers to fill shops and warehouses with the necessities and essentials of life which they are prohibited from enjoying; and while two millions of their brothers and sisters (at a low estimate) are in a state of semi-starvation. Both children and adults suffer premature deaths as the result of preventable diseases. The system has no consideration of the aspiration of the individual. We decry this system as tyrannical, and yet the irony of it is that it is we, the slaves of that system, who make it so tyrannical. We are the masters of our fate—the Captains of our Souls, but we have not, it seems, yet been subjected sufficiently to make us revolt. The system is crafty! It succeeds in treating some people a little considerately, and they, inconsiderate and unconcerned as to the condition of the many, tacitly agree to the continuance of the misery which is afflicted. But in its march, it must even lose its consideration for these "barons" and then, it would seem, and not until then, shall we have the revolt.

The harder we work, using our industrial machinery to extract, all the time, what is our due from the System, the tighter must the system contract its coils, and in its struggle there can be no discrimination. Those who are not with us to-day must be with us to-morrow, or have the life squeezed out of them.

We have our Magna Charta. We await the signature though the ink may be red.

MOSCOW WORKERS' REPLY

To HENDERSON and MACDONALD By T. Bell



THE JUDGES

ON the 20th June, a remarkable demonstration took place in Moscow which, for its magnitude, enthusiasm, and spontaneity, surpassed even the monster procession of the First of May. This time the occasion was the paying of homage to the memory of Volodarsky, Uritsky, and the other victims of the Social Revolutionaries' murder tactics, for which a number of the S.R. leaders are on trial.

I am usually in a position to get first hand information on events such as these, but on this occasion I only learned a couple of days before it took place that such a thing was going to happen. It had all the semblance of that spontaneous outburst of popular feeling, upon which the security of governments so much depends. Better still, it was markedly a workers' demonstration, such as I have often experienced on the Clyde. Here were lined up in columns eight abreast, men and women straight from the factories and workshops; the men in their leathern jerkins and grimy faces just as they had left their jobs and the women in their obviously work-a-day attire.

Many of course had taken the day off and come out in regular May Day colours, but there was no mistaking the class character of the procession.

The contingents of soldiers without equipment who interspersed the demonstration only served to mark more clearly its proletarian character. One could not fail to distinguish the peasant features and origin of these sturdy youths.

From four different angles these lusty demonstrators came streaming into the Great Red Square, singing the popular songs of the Revolution, and carrying their favourite banners indicating the shop or district they belonged to.

I looked in vain for those evidences of compulsion behind the demonstration one reads about in the *Morning Post* and other scare "rags" in London. Indeed, to satisfy myself regarding the character and demeanour of the demonstrators, I traversed the entire length of one of the columns, stretching along the Tverskaya, from the entrance to the Red Square to the massive Archway at the Alexandroffsky station, a distance of two miles, marking to myself, the type of processionists and their general mood.

If one had any doubts as to the proletarian character of the power behind the

Government, these were speedily removed by the deference paid to the demonstrators by the sightseers and municipal authorities along the route.

Here the situation is completely reversed from similar events in England. I saw types of the new bourgeoisie, driving along in "Droskys" with their souls wrapped up in the cloth or other merchandise they were carrying, who were wakened up when they tried to go through the lines to turn down streets to their profiteering nests. A word from one of these workers was enough and they had to either rest there or go along to the end of the lines. The same with tramcars and vehicles of all kinds. The demonstrators, i.e., the workers, had the complete right of the way, all traffic being subordinated to it—a contrast indeed from the treatment meted out to Labour demonstrators in London, Birmingham, Manchester or Glasgow.

One could see the scowl on the faces of the timid petty huckstering shopkeepers as they stood well in their doorways, or the petty business people as they sheepishly

looked out of their new office chambers, while the singing, cheering and exultant workers triumphantly marched along to the accompaniment of their favourite bands. There was an entire absence of military display on this occasion, except for the special guard drawn up towards the approaches to the Red Square and the great hall of the "Dom Soyusa" (Trade Union House), where the trial of the S.R.'s was piecing together one of the most dramatically illuminating chapters in the history of the proletarian revolution.

As the demonstrators came streaming in from their respective angles, they surged round the tribune that stands near the centre of the wall beneath whose shade lie the heroes of the revolution. Here the workers asked Kamaneff, Radek, Bucharin, Krylienko and Piatakoff an explanation on the process of the S.R.'s and demanded "punishment for the traitors."

After the speeches the demonstrators formed into line and defiled through the great arch of the Iberian Chapel that forms the principal entrance to the Square. Once outside the Square the demonstration passed along to the Dom Soyusa (Trade Union House) where shouts of derision were sent up for the miscreants who tried to assassinate the revolution four years ago.

Deputations were appointed, representative of each district in Moscow, who insisted in making a statement before the Tribunal denying that crimes of the S.R.'s were supported by the workers and demanding that they be rendered harmless for the future and that justice and severe punishment be meted out to them.

The declarations were made by each individual representative of his district so that there could be no mistaking the unanimity of the deputation.

Great merriment was caused by one group of workers who carried an effigy of Vanderveide in the shape of a jumping jack. The legs and arms were held by strings and as each shout went up from the crowd, the figure was made to dance, to the intense amusement of the onlookers.

As I overheard one roguish wit aptly putting it: "Vanderveide used to dance before the King, now he dances before the proletariat."



The Demonstration filing in and out of the Red Square

REVELATIONS By Karl Radek

I.

The Secret Archives of the S.R.'s

THE Soviet Government has succeeded in confiscating the secret archives of the S.R. organisation in Paris. These archives weigh two hundredweight, and until now only a small part of it could be assorted. The material already assorted deals with the activity of the S.R. Party during the year 1921. This material will be the last nail in the coffin of that infamous Party.

In 1921 the SR Party lived on the money furnished it by the Czecho-Slovakian and French Governments as well as by the Russian White Guards.

These facts are proven by the following documents:—

Zenzinow, a member of the Foreign Delegation of the S.R. Party reports to Rogovski, member of the Administrative Center, on the 3rd of December:—

Yesterday I had a conversation with Benesch (Benesch is the Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia) which lasted 15 minutes. He was as usual very amiable and obliging. I think he is upright. In our conversation I described to him our possibilities and actual position. I showed him our situation as a whole. "We believe your work useful and necessary for Russia as well as for us. We will not allow that your work be stopped; from January you will receive from us weekly 50,000 crowns."

(Benesch) will see to it personally that this amount is raised to 60, or 65,000 crowns." On the 21st of December, Zenzinow reports to Rogovski: Four days ago I received 80,000 crowns. This money was paid us without any demand on our part."

In their meeting of April 27th, 1921, the Administrative Center decided to curtail its activities in case the French should stop their subsidies, which proves that up to that time, the Administrative Center had been supported by the French Government.

As a third source of support appears the former Russian Ambassador, Bachmeliev, in whose hands even to-day considerable sums from the Russian Government Treasury may be found.

All Party members who are or may be appointed delegates to the forthcoming Trades Union Congress are urged to communicate immediately with National Organiser at Party Headquarters, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2

On the 12th of April, 1921, Kerensky sent the following coded telegram to Bachmetiev through the Czecho-Slovakian Embassy in Paris:—

I have just received an urgent call for aid from Russia. The money you sent has reached its destination and was a great help.. It is necessary to continue this help without delay. Our penury requires my immediate departure for America." In his letter of March 13th, Zenzinow writes Kerensky: "Yesterday we received your 50,000 francs, and 25,000 dollars from Bachmeliev by telegraph."

The fourth source of help is the White Guard General Bitcherachov. The S.R.'s received from him (according to his letter to Minor) during the year 1918-19, 20,000 francs and in 1920 several hundred pounds. Where did that money come from? The S.R. Terpogossian writes to Minor on the 21st of March, 1921: "The money in the possession of Bitcherachov comes from two sources. After the evacuation of the Persian front, Bitcherachov organised a corps of volunteers. The English paid him a definite sum each month for the support of these troops. The payments were based on a personal contract. The English subsidies were greater than the expenses, so that a large sum always remained in Bitcherachov's hands. He also had at his disposal the money which had been appropriated by the Baku White Guard dictatorship after the overthrow of the Communist Governments in Baku and Petrovsk. These consisted mainly of the railway funds, i.e., State funds. In consideration of these facts we thought ourselves justified to consider these sums not as Bitcherachov's personal property, but as given him for social and political purposes."

The fifth source were the Russian capitalists. During the Kronstadt insurrection, Zenzinow, wrote to the Administrative Center: "To realise all this (the purchase of food for the Kronstadt rebels) a guarantee of 6 million Czechish crowns is necessary. In Paris you will be better able to judge who can furnish this guarantee. Perhaps through the Russian bank and industries, through Denikov; Poslednia Novosti and Obshiche Dyelo write a great deal about their readiness to furnish help to Kronstadt."

This proves that the S.R.'s were supported by French, Czecho-Slovakian as well as Russian White Guard capitalists. Further documents prove that the apparatus of this counter-revolution was placed at the disposal of the S.R.'s.

II.

The S.R.'s are in very close contact with the French Government. The correspondence between Kerensky and Berthelot, the director of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs proves this definitely. On the 19th of February, 1921, Berthelot writes to Kerensky: "In spite of all our efforts, I and the Premier (Briand) will not be able to find any time this week to confer with you. However, I have been able to speak with Benesch on the question which interests you, and we hope that our resolutions will satisfy you." We see thereby, how French Imperialism uses its influence upon the bourgeois government of Czecho-Slovakia to help the S.R.'s.

The S.R.'s sent Colonel Machin to Reval to conduct their work in the North and West. A report of Machin to Kerensky dated June 25th shows what the work consisted in: "Our work for the coming months will consist in the sending of a reliable and capable person to Moscow to obtain information about the situation, to carry on military espionage and to sound the Staff personnel of the Red Army." On the 24th of September, he reports: "These two points (Narva and Petchery) should also conduct their spying to determine the forces of the Red Army." In August, the Administrative Center is notified that the S.R.'s are being supported by the French Military Authorities in all this work: "During my last visit to the French General Staff, I have settled all the questions relating to you in your favour. I was asked to link up connection for you in Reval and Riga so that you may be helped in the organisation of our correspondence and that an automobile may be placed at your disposal. All necessary orders have been given, and in case of need you should apply to the head of the French Military Mission in Riga, General Archard, and in Reval to his subordinates. You may send all your reports through them."

Just as the great capitalist powers, with France at the head, so the vassals of the Entente also helped the S.R.'s. The S.R. delegate in the Baltic States, Brunshvit negotiates with Meverovitch, the Lettish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and with the Minister for Defence, Goldmann.

Brunshvit complains at first about his cool reception in Reval and surmises the cause to be the bribing of the Estonian Government by Litvinov. Brunshvit demands therefore: "an exhortation from the English side would be in place here, pointing out this superfluous sympathy for Litvinov and the much too apathetic attitude towards us." On March 17th, 1921, Kerensky answered Zenzinow by telegraph: "Confer with Benesch about removing the obstacles we meet in the border states. It is necessary that pressure be exercised from London." London must have obeyed: Colonel Machin writes to Kerensky on July 25th: "Diplomatic relations have been resumed. The War Ministry and the General Staff are on our side."

These documents suffice to convince every reading man that it was no exaggeration on our part when we claimed that the S.R.'s were working not only with the financial support of the foreign powers but in closest contact with the latter's whole diplomatic and spying forces. We will show further what the S.R.'s had to pay for the support of capitalistic governments.

III.

In 1921, the S.R.'s stirred rebellions in the North-West and in the Caucasus. This does not relate to the support of Kronstadt alone nor to the attempt to bring grain to Kronstadt, as Zenzinow reports to Kerensky. At the session of August 13th, 1921, the Council of the Administrative Center, discussed the statutes of the Special Division whose task it was to prepare armed rebellions and the way in which experts could be secured for that work. Machin demands the financial and economic preparation for the overthrow of the Bolsheviks. Brunshvit speaks of the necessity to create a strong military organisation. Kerensky declares: "Our experts and leaders are now in the various organisations in Russia, and we demand their signed pledge as guarantee for their political and military actions. They pledge themselves to an exemplary conduct in those matters." At the session of the Council of the Administrative Center, on March 31st, Colonel Machin drew the attention of the Council to the existence in Finland of 15,000 Ingermanlanders, 3,000 of whom could be mobilised. Brunshvit reached an agreement with them in the matter of the material support of this White Guard organisation through the S.R.'s; Tchernov gave them 14,000 Finnish marks.

The Committee of the S.R. group in the North-West provinces reports to the Administrative Center, November 6th, 1921: "To realise the plans of the Committee, the organisation of armed attacks against the Bolsheviks, a special division of the truest and most devoted persons will be formed into a terroristic fighting group." This group shall be composed of a hundred men, disposing of the monthly sum of 559,000 Estonian marks.

In the Caucasus, the S.R.'s ally themselves with the group called The National Federation for the Liberation of the South-East, which was to prepare a general uprising in the Caucasus. In the archives of the Administrative Center we found a draft of a coded letter from one of the S.R. military experts, addressed to Machin, in which the following communication is made: "Two weeks ago a certain Colonel Nelidov addressed himself to us for help; he came to us from the North Caucasus as the delegate of the Union of Insurgent Troops of North Caucasus and of the Cossack, Peasant, and Urban Delegates' Council with the latest news about conditions in that region. The situation in the main is as follows: The preparation of an uprising in the North Caucasus, including Dagestan, the Tver and Kuban Provinces, the Province of Stavropol and the Isal District of the Don provinces had been conducted along the same lines as in the Black Sea provinces, by Boronovitch; that is, central, provincial, district and company staffs were created. Of the 126 company staffs to be created 73 were already functioning. Local conditions make it necessary that the uprising take place no later than October, and Nelidov reports that the uprising would take place irrespective of foreign aid. It was decided to furnish that aid. For that purpose we again resumed negotiations with the French, and they have formally promised us all possible help, naturally on condition that the greatest secrecy be maintained. Boronovitch and Nelidov are leaving on the 20th of August for Constantinople, where they will enter into contact with the central organs, and should the foregoing be found true, they will fix the date for the uprising and with means of transportation previously prepared, they will bring the weapons and ammunition and the necessary personal to points on the shore known to them."

The correspondence with Boronovitch in Constantinople was conducted through the Czecho-Slovakian Mission. In his letter

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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.

Who is Splitting the Workers' Movement

THE decisions of the Edinburgh Conference are bearing their fruit. Having secured their machine-made victory, the middle-class manipulators of the Labour Party thought to complete their plan by excluding at leisure and in detail, all Communist Party members from their seats as delegates to local Labour Parties.

This comfortable plan for leaving Messrs. Webb, Macdonald and Henderson comfortably enthroned dictators of the mind and will of millions of rank-and-file trade unionists has met with a check.

The Communist Party did not wait to be pulverised at leisure.

The following resolution communicated to the Press this last week-end summarised the decision arrived at:—

The Executive of the Communist Party having considered the decisions of the Edinburgh Conference of the Labour Party, and having recognised in them attempts on the part of the bourgeois elements in the Labour Party to eliminate the revolutionary expression of the working class, is determined to combat this attempt.

And accordingly upholds its policy of claiming affiliation to, and working within the Labour Party.

And for this purpose (as an expression of the sincerity of its wish to maintain solidarity with the organised movement, decides to withdraw all candidates running in opposition to official Labour Party candidates.

It accordingly instructs all its members on local Labour Parties and similar organisations to resist any attack upon their representative rights as delegates from working class organisations.

The Communist E.C. saw that the middle-class leaders of the leaders of the Labour Party were with characteristic cunning seeking to drive it into a policy of direct and unqualified antagonism—a policy of pure and simple Communism *versus* Labourism.

Seeing this, it saw also that, had that course been adopted, the way would have been clear for the Webbs, Macdonalds and Hendersons to take up once again their old slogans of Unity, Solidarity, Toleration, and their old denunciations of the dogmatic sectarianism of the Communists whom they had driven into opposition.

The bulk of the workers would by then have been led to imagine that it was the Communist Party which, in the spirit of dogma, had gone out to smash the workers' solidarity, which they (the wise and benevolent middle-class manipulators) had sought generously to build up. They would have called the Communist Party "political black-legs," and it would have died—to their intense joy—stabbed by a phrase.

The Communist Party is not to be disposed of so easily.

It has set itself the task of winning first the ear, then the confidence, and finally, the backing of the working mass; not to serve ends of its own, but because it is itself part of that working-class whose emancipation it lends every effort to secure.

First it resolved to re-affirm its right to affiliation to the Labour Party.

Secondly, and in consequence, it resolved that all its members who are delegates from their trades unions to the local Labour Parties, should maintain their positions at all costs.

And, thirdly, it resolved to remove the only obstacle arising by reason of the cunning constitutional amendments adopted at Edinburgh, and accordingly withdrew such of its candidates as were in the field against Labour Party nominees.

Let nobody mistake these decisions. Here is no question of compromise, concession, or surrender. The middle-class leaders of the leaders of the Labour Party, sought to effect a permanent division between the Communist Party and the rank-and-file mass of the Trade Unions.

To do that they (taking advantage of the political innocence of these masses) created a cunning technical obstruction.

The Communist Party has perceived the trap and evaded it, and the result is that the whole rank-and-file (at any rate in the local Labour Parties) have been made aware of the vindictive eagerness with which these middle-class manipulators rush to do the Communist Party harm; and secondly, that under no circumstances will the Communist Party be either goaded or tricked into pursuing a path other than that which it has mapped out for itself as one calculated to best rally the workers for the struggle against Capitalism and the Bourgeoisie and so best prepare them for the day of their ultimate triumph.

We call upon every worker, member of the Labour Party and every rank-and-file trade unionist, to lend their aid in defeating this sinister endeavour to split the Labour Movement and deliver it up a helpless victim to the pigeon-holed schedules of Sidney Webb and the megalomania of Ramsay Macdonald.

REVELATIONS (continued)

of the 21st of September, Boronovitch gives a report of his negotiations with the representatives of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks in Georgia, referring to their common action. He organised in the Caucasus a military espionage system and sent through the Czechoslovakian Mission the most detailed information on the position of Soviet troops in the Caucasus.

Until now, only a small part of the material in the hands of the Soviet Government has been examined; but this material is sufficient to convict the S.R.'s of co-operation with foreign powers for the overthrow of the Soviet Government, helped in that work with the money and the military espionage systems of the Allies. The documents justify, nay, oblige the Soviet Government to treat the S.R.'s as an organisation of military spies, of inciters to insurrection for the benefit of the Allies, of intervention instigators.

The Soviet Government will treat the S.R.'s as they deserve; and we do not doubt that all the honest elements still to be found in that Party, all those who have not dishonoured themselves as spies of the Entente, will turn their backs upon this criminal band who have driven the S.R. Party into the hands of the Allied spy service.

IV.

A Few Questions

We bring this material before the large masses of the working class. We bring it also before the defenders of the S.R.'s. In the first period of the Revolution, in 1918, Russia had given up the war. The S.R.'s however, felt themselves bound to the Allies. They attempted to overthrow the Bolsheviks by force of arms, and formed an Opposition Government. Since the defeat of their Government, since its overthrow by Koltchak, they organised no more uprisings, they gave up the fight with the weapons, they severed their connections with the Allies. This is the claim of the gentlemen of the Second and 2½ Internationals who accuse us of conducting a policy of revenge, for actions long past. The documents now published show this to be nothing but a tissue of lies. During the whole of the year 1921, the S.R.'s were preparing themselves for armed uprisings. They conducted these uprisings with the money of the Allies, they worked in the closest connection with the Allied General Staffs and the Allied spy-system.

And now we have a few questions to address to the Second and 2½ Internationals and in particular to some of their parties.

First question: The Second and 2½ Internationals believe in national defence. As long as the bourgeoisie holds the reins of

Government, national defence means the defence of capital. We have rejected national defence; but the Second and 2½ Internationals still stand upon that ground. How is this standpoint consistent with the support of the party which conducts a system of military espionage in favour of foreign capitalistic governments, organises insurrections to prepare for a new intervention by these governments, as the S.R.'s have clearly done during the Fall of 1921, when they demanded from the French, transport ships, weapons and military experts for the insurrection they had organised in the Caucasus.

Second question: If the Second and 2½ Internationals think it permissible to form a spy-system against the revolutionary government of Russia, to organise uprisings in Russia, and to accept for that purpose money from foreign governments, is this espionage work, the organisation of insurrections admissible for all capitalistic governments or only for the Entente? If the Second and 2½ Internationals agree to the first, do they not believe that it will result in the split of the S.R. Party into two parts, one of which will conduct their spying for the benefit of the Allies and the other for the benefit of the German Government? But if this espionage work is permissible only for the Allies, how can the German and the Austrian Social Democracies support this espionage for the Allies and defend the spies of the Entente? We shall not object that this is against the Rapallo Treaty, but only insist upon the fact that spies have a tendency to enlarge their field of activity. Why should not the S.R. Colonels Machin and Boronovitch, who are conducting the espionage in Russia for the Entente, with the consent of Tchernov, member of the Central Committee of the S.R.P., also conduct the espionage in the service of Germany? We believe that this espionage International is a more influential factor than is the Second International, and we point out to the German Social Democrats the dangers which menace their fatherland.

We know that these questions will raise the loud cry: "We never knew anything about it!" Good, we will excuse your ignorance. If you have defended the S.R.'s only because you yourselves were betrayed by them, then now is the time to change your position on the basis of the facts that we have laid before you. You should now declare: Yes, we now break loose from the Social Revolutionaries. The Soviet Government has absolute right when it defends itself against these brigands with all the means at its disposal.

We now await this declaration, and should it not be forthcoming, we await what the honest workers of the Second and 2½ Internationals will say when they learn that their leaders have made them the allies of Entente espionage.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

By W. H. HARDING

What does the Communist Party Want?

It wants to see the working class freed from exploitation; it wants to see capitalism abolished, and industry, together with every public service and source of wealth, in the hands of Labour. It believes that only the working class has got the sense of social solidarity and collective responsibility which is required to eliminate the criminal waste of energy and wealth we see all round us, and use them in the interests of society as a whole.

Where does the Communist Party differ from the other working-class parties?

It believes that the working class will not arrive at a position of control without a hard struggle, in which every inch of the way will have to be fought. In the course of that struggle, it considers, and international experience shows, all the world over, from Russia to the Rand, from Hungary to America, that many of the institutions now looked up to will be outlived. It thinks there is sufficient evidence to show that the British capitalist class itself is determined not to let the outward forms of democracy prevent it from retaining power at all costs. It is convinced that the rule of the workers can be secure only when it is based upon workers' control in every separate district, through workers' councils or Soviets.

Is there need for a common front at the present time?

Yes, never more. The criminal and insane Peace Treaty has effectively completed the work of the criminal and insane war, by ruining world industry and commerce, while at the same time confusing the real minds of the workers of every country as

to who is the real enemy. In every country the real enemy—the capitalist class—has taken advantage of this situation to launch an attack upon the workers, who won unheard of privileges during the war, and were becoming dangerously inspired by the Russian Revolution. In every country the workers have been beaten to their knees: and this is particularly true of Great Britain. By a series of clever manœuvres and sectional attacks, the most gigantic and old-established unions have been defeated, their funds exhausted their members forced back upon low wages and increased hours. An effective assistant has been the spectre of unemployment and short time, partly caused by the Peace Treaty and partly artificial which haunts millions of British workers to-day. At the present moment the capitalist spokesmen in Parliament, emboldened and drunk with success, are openly attempting to force through a Bill to prevent the weakened trade unions from seeking redress on the only field in which they are still unbroken. We refer to the attempt to cripple the Labour Party by the Trade Union Act Amendment Bill.

Can terms for a common front be agreed upon by the working-class parties?

Yes, they are:—

- (1) Insistence that unemployment and underemployment shall be a charge upon industry, and maintenance of the unemployed worker at trade union rates, pending his re-absorption into industry, made a case of the State.
- (2) No reductions in wages or increases in hours. Establishment of a national minimum wage and national standard working week.

(3) The distribution of taxation so that it falls directly upon the enormous profits accumulated by big industry during and since the war, and not upon the food and clothing, and the small luxuries of the working class household.

(4) The revision of the Versailles Peace Treaty, involving the cancellation of debts all round and the renunciation of indemnities.

(5) Full diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia, and acceptance of her invitation to a great world conference for real disarmament.

(6) The election of a Workers' Government, pledged to carry out the above programme without delay.

Why does the Communist Party persist in its application for admission to the Labour Party?

Because it considers that sectional dignity and pride are of no consequence when the vital interests of the working class are concerned. It is convinced, as every thinking worker must upon reflection be convinced, that the real interests of the working class require a programme such as that outlined above—and its application immediately. The Communist Party wants to be able to advocate the working class programme on an equal footing with any other party, before the whole organised proletariat as its audience and judge; and it cannot do this effectively outside the all-embracing working-class organisation—the Labour Party. Naturally, it is willing, once it is inside to accept the decisions and abide by the rules of that organisation. The Communist Party is convinced that the correctness of its programme, the desperate character of the situation, the genuineness of its determination to hold with the workers through thick and thin, must, either now or at some later date, convince the rank and file that the interests of the working class demand its admission to the Labour Party.

MONEY TALKS By F. Tanner

SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY has been reading the COMMUNIST. Well! not exactly that. But we have it on the authority of the gentleman himself that he has seen a COMMUNIST poster.

What is the duty of a faithful devotee of Golders Green on finding himself suddenly confronted by a sight so disturbing both to his own feelings and the cause of law and order? Obviously to take immediate and full advantage of the most effective medium for exposing the insidious fallacies of Revolution—in other words, write to *John Bull* about it.

To which combination of circumstances the bull-dog breeders are indebted for a series of quiet talks (under the homely title of "Bread and Butter Economics") from the inspired pen of the author of "Riches and Poverty."

Striking a note of pained surprise, No 1 of the series opens thus:—

"Strange that among those who denounce war abroad there should be found men to advocate disturbance, disorder and revolution at home—but so it is. When the other day I saw a placard urging hard-working men to 'Fight, Damn it, Fight' I wondered whether they had reflected what the breakdown of British order and British credit would mean to the masses of the British people."

No worker who has ever enjoyed a "Pay-Day Talk" with his boss can fail to recognise the style which grows more and more pronounced as Sir Leo warms to his theme. "Britain," he continues, "earns her bread and butter by hard work; but no amount of work, however hard, could give her bread and butter unless (order please!) we maintained our reputation for honesty."

Our ingenious bread-and-butter economist then proceeds to explain how this nebulous abstraction has saved the population of these islands from starvation. He works it out somehow like this:—

We are not, as "extremists" fondly imagine, a self-supporting people. On the contrary, most of our food and raw material come from abroad. Consequently "our" industries would promptly shut down "unless ships constantly brought to our shores

a copious supply of the raw materials which nature has denied us."

Why is it that we are able to get these things (in exchange, of course, for manufactured goods, etc.)? Because of the mutual dependence of nations upon each other's surplus products? Nothing of the kind! It is by reason of the sublime but simple trust placed by the extractors of surplus value in each other's honesty (especially if they be British).

"Thus it is," triumphantly concludes the one-time statistician of misery, "that nearly 48 millions of people live and thrive in two small islands which 150 years ago supported only 10 millions." (italics mine.)

Having established these premises—to his own satisfaction at least—he romps home. Revolution would, needless to say, "play havoc with British economy," since the moment the "forces of disorder" laid sacrilegious hands upon its moneybags, British "honesty" and "order" would no longer be available to stand between a thriving community and extinction.

From which it follows as the night the day that "the revolutionary is everybody's enemy but especially the enemy of the poor."

How people who not only "live" but "thrive" can also be poor seems puzzling on the surface; but doubtless Sir Leo would have no difficulty in explaining away the apparent discrepancy to the prosperous residents of Poplar, Shoreditch, and Blaina. By-the-way, they would all appreciate a copy of "Bread-and-Butter Economics." It might help them to digest their bread and margarine.

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Ode to Liverpool

Written on quitting Manchester in the manner of Edward Carpenter

O excellent city of Liverpool,
O detestable city of Manchester,
In Manchester it rains filth and there are
no inhabitants but Jews and
Americans,
Also they have no lavatories.
But Liverpool is desirable and lovely.
O excellent smell of the Mersey, particularly when the tide is out,
O desirable trams, quivering like an
amorous but fat woman,
O most desirable of all, "First Class
Trams," inciting to class consciousness,
O delectable architecture of the Liver
building,
With decorations suitably modelled upon
the human gumboil,
O lamentable absence of the New
Brighton Tower,
Ugliest of all towers, and one which had
killed three men and a dog,
O unfortunate disappearance of its caretaker,
Who would tell you that from its top you
could see Belfast,
A lie, and not even a pleasing lie,
O musical names of shipowners,
Elder Dempster, Lamport and Holt,
Cunard,
Ellerman, Papayanni,
O delicate minded Yid and Dago owners
to retain the old names,
Because it profits you.
O amiable Communists at Byron Street,
Who when they saw me decided that I
was a police spy,
Therefore I left swiftly, having said but
little of my desire,
So that to this day,
They still talk of "the copper's nark,
"Who didn't get Braddock,"
O amiable stiffs,
O admirable bums,
O glorious Liverpool.

R. W. P.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Labour Party and the Rand Terror

Dear Comrade,—

Please find enclosed letter sent to me by the secretary of the National Labour Party in answer to a resolution of protest passed at a mass meeting of the citizens of Greenwich and Deptford, held at Stockwell Street, Greenwich, on Sunday, July 16th, 1922. The resolution was the one suggested in the COMMUNIST dated June 10th, 1922. Personally, I did not expect much from Eccleston Square, but I did not hardly expect such callousness as they have shown by their answer.

Yours fraternally,

R. PEEK,
Greenwich Branch, C.P.G.B.

33 Eccleston Square,
London, S.W. 1.
18th July, 1922.

Dear Sir,—

I have your letter with resolution respecting the Rand Strike. This matter was brought before the Party Executive at a recent meeting when it was agreed that action by the Party on this side should only be taken on direct representations being received from the South African Labour Party.

I do not know whether you are aware of the very conflicting reports that are being circulated with respect to the origin and conduct of the strike and the events following.

We are collecting data on the subject from various sources, and have also had an opportunity of interviewing a visitor to South Africa who was in Johannesburg during the outbreak.

One fact must always be kept in mind and that is that South Africa is a self-governing Dominion, with a Parliament elected on a democratic franchise. Any power that is possessed by General Smuts under the South African Constitution has been given him by the people of that Dominion.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

J. S. MIDDLETON,
Assistant Secretary.

Valleyfield Protest

Dear Editor,—

The members of the Valleyfield Branch C.P. protest against the dirty attempt of Frank Hodges to libel our friend and trusted leader, Robert Smillie.

We realise the trade union movement is not what we would like it to be; but if Frank Hodges had it his way, we would be worse still.

Does Frank Hodges realise the conditions in this mining village to-day? The tired pinched faces of the miners, their children crying for bread and none to give them—it would break the heart of a stone.

But he wants a ten years' peace for the capitalists to recover their trade!

We never hear him shouting about black-legging on our comrades, the American miners, to whom we are affiliated, oh, no!

Peace for ten years. Does he intend to bring us back to a period of chattel slavery when we were the property of the Boss? But, Christopher, weren't they better off? They had to be fed and clothed then. But we have to work now in this great 20th century of civilisation under conditions which are most degrading.

The manager says if you don't like it, leave it: we will get some other Henry to do it. Any work which cannot afford to pay its workers a decent standard of living should stand still.

The American miners will go back beaten, crushed to the wall, and the American capitalists, with the machinery they have in use and the geological con-

ditions, will under-cut us out of the market. Next winter will see miners in worse conditions than they have seen yet.

How are we going to alter? We can do so by joining up with the Red International of Labour Unions and giving Hodges the heave.

The way to achieve happiness is to join up in the Communist Party and realise you are social beings, capable of performing great things, or else you are infernal machines for making profits for the Boss.

Yours fraternally,

FRANK CONNELLY.

Low Valleyfield, Fife.

A Visit to the s.s. Bolshevik

To the Editor of the COMMUNIST.

Dear Comrade,—

By an extraordinary coincidence, I was informed that a boat from Soviet Russia was in one of the English ports near me. I naturally hastened to the spot.

It is hardly possible for me to express the feeling when I saw this boat, but you may understand it when I tell you, that whilst a young girl, I took part in the revolution of 1905, and never dreamt that in my days

I should see the revolution so far accomplished as to view a socialist boat—flying the red flag, with the initials R.S.F.S.R.—bearing the detested name ss. Bolshevik in Russian and Latin characters.

The comrades showed us into the captain's cabin, saying, "This is our captain." A young English girl who was with me, was amazed at the freedom with which they marched into the cabin, and how comradely he greeted us. On the walls of the cabin were photos of Karl Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, and many other well-known men of the Revolution.

On deck they had a piano, and one of the comrades played amongst other sweet Russian melodies as a greeting, "The International."

In the news I have heard, every one of your readers will rejoice, namely that the famine is decreasing enormously, still more that its greatest danger has passed. In fact, in those parts of Russia which were worst affected by the drought and could not be sown with seed, crops have sprung up.

Russian people think that nature is compensating them for their terrible sufferings, the same as, when one winter during the fighting, the cold was so severe, that it froze their enemies who were not used to that climate, and therefore helped them (the Russians) to beat them.

They also informed me that they have some wonderful theatres, and some of the best artistes are sent to the remotest villages, so as to give the peasants a chance

of listening to them. In general, life is very interesting and jolly.

In education they have made a big stride. There is not a language in the world that is not being taught, either in day or evening schools. Art is developing very rapidly too. The Russian Government, having given so great a scope for developing every genius, wonderful artists are springing up everywhere.

They are also greatly amused in Russia with the outside press, as for example, "Lenin has been poisoned," "Lenin is surely ill," "Lenin is dying." The truth about all these rumours is, that Lenin was overworked, and at that time had to be operated upon to have one of the bullets taken out of his body. He is much better now, and owing to the decreased work, the Republic could afford to give him leave, and he is at present resting in a village outside Moscow.

Asking whether they think that the British worker is patient, they said "No," they think that they are afraid and would not be able to stand the terrible struggle for six months, that the Russian worker stood for seven years.

I personally may have paid a terrible price for this great achievement as there are rumours that my husband, who returned to Russia in 1917, has fallen in defence of the Revolution. Therefore that day of my visit will for ever remain in my memory, as it has convinced me more than ever, that he, and thousands of others have not sacrificed their lives in vain, like the millions that have died in the capitalist war for the lust and greed of their masters.

Yours fraternally,

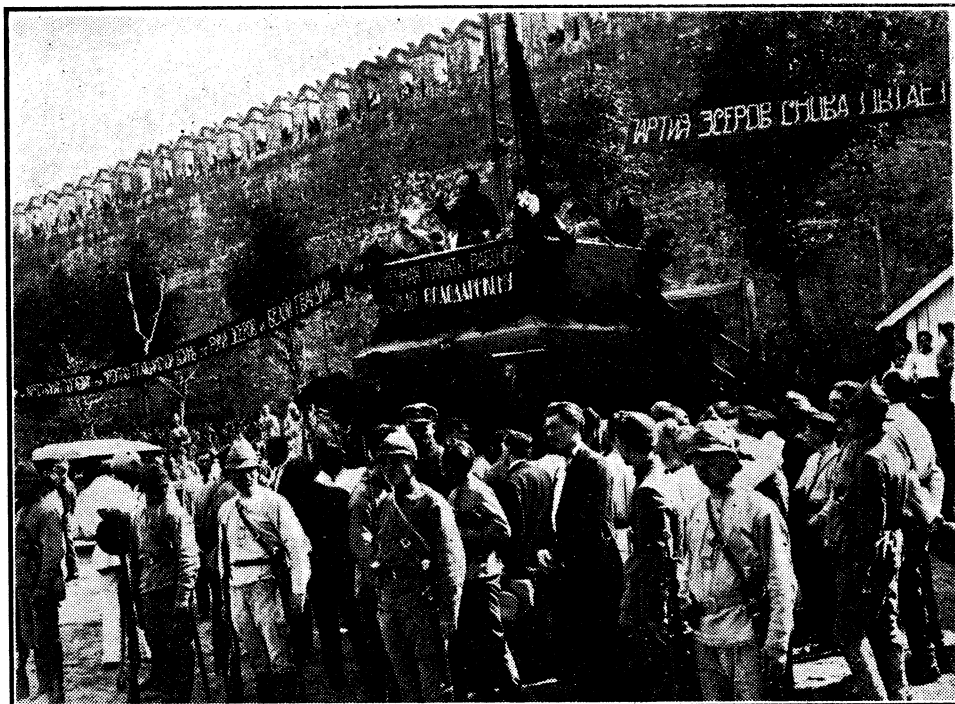
M. L. D.

A Good Example

DEAR COMRADE,—This branch recently made an effort to reach people and deliver the Communist message to members of the working class who, for obvious reasons—lack of decent clothing, etc.—do not put in an appearance at the pitches where our speakers usually speak. We put our speaker up on a Sunday afternoon in the middle of a back street, and he took for his text "Education," based on the chapter on Communism and Education from Buharin and Preobrazhensky's A.B.C. He held forth for about an hour; not a single man, woman or child came near, but on every doorstep the families stood or sat and listened attentively, and when he had finished speaking a collection was taken and supply of COMMUNISTS all sold out. The collection and sale of literature was more than is usually taken at the pitches where we get a fair crowd. What struck the comrades most was the attentive way the women, who had just finished washing up after dinner, listened, and in districts like ours I really believe much good work can be done in this way, carrying the message to their doorsteps.

Yours fraternally,

JACK JONES, Pontypool.



The Great Moscow Workers' Demonstration—The President of the Tribunal addresses the Demonstration (see page 3)

THE OPTIMISTIC NOTE

By J. T. MURPHY

MR. HODGES' speech at Blackpool struck what is known as the "optimistic note!"

"It was not to be expected," he said, "that the working classes would completely escape the evil consequences of war." "I am not a pessimist," he told the delegates, "I am certain we shall come out of the present position within the next year."

Talk about faith and hope—but where are the facts and the reasons for the faith in him?

Facts and figures, ways and means, clear explanations of the international situation, these are not for conferences, controlled by Mr. Hodges and his "Erb."

* * *

The delegates badly needed a lead. The miners' agreement of 1921 was one of the most vicious documents ever put into practice. It has broken them into factions and fastened them to a kind of profit-sharing scheme, which is being handled by Mr. Hodges and his colleagues in the most reactionary fashion. His colleagues don't always understand. But Hodges understands. He knows quite well that refusing international solidarity on this issue and standing for a narrow British unionism he is turning the M.F.G.B. into an international 'scab' organisation.

We are confident that once the rank-and-file of the miners see this it is all up with Mr. Hodges and his policy.

Some Facts

Within the last few months coal has poured into Northern France at cheap rates, driven the French miners on to the streets and set the pace for attacks on wages and hours of labour in all European coal producing countries. Of America we shall speak later. But in this crisis the miners have either to force the pace against the Hodges' policy and insist upon an international solution, or be used in turn with the miners of other countries to defeat each other.

This is the real prospect supported by facts which do not strike an "optimistic note."—

"Coal Crisis in France.—British unscreened costs 28s. or francs 73 the ton. French unscreened costs francs 75 the ton. British screened costs francs 95. A year ago no English coal was being imported into France, but the cut in the British miners' wages now enables English coal to enter into serious competition with French coal. . . . British coal is being imported in ever increasing quantities. . . . In the North there has been no reduction (in wages) and it is difficult to see how any effective reduction can be made, since the cost of living has not fallen in the least. Several mines in the North have already closed down, as the owners could not make further cuts in prices or any reductions in wages."

7th April, 1922. M. Darcy, Chairman of French Coal Owners' Committee in his Annual Report for 1921:—

"France is swamped with foreign coal in the West and the East. . . . The French colliery owners have struggled hard against the crisis. They have lowered their costs of production by cutting down wages, and reduced their sale prices to consumers. But all these measures have not been able to counteract the evil results due to the 8-hour day."

5th May, 1922:—

"Strike movement in Belgium, notably among. . . the coal-miners. The object of the movement is to protest against the reduction of wages."

This quotation from the "Compendium" (May) is to the like effect:—

"Coal Mining Trouble in Spain.—The employers have notified their men of the decision stating that it is impossible to compete with foreign traders unless wages are reduced the only alternative being to close their mines and factories. . . . the cost of living continues to increase."

Can there be any solution apart from international workers' action?

The International Conference

There is to be an International Conference at Frankfurt next month and, added Mr. Smith, in response to the American miners' delegates: "a statement would be made of the kind that would be appreciated—that the mines should be for the nation and not for the millionaires. A statement which will please you"!!!

When will the cackle cease and the miners' leaders get down to the task of helping the miners now to resist further degradation? That is the question every miner should be asking.

Equally fatuous was Mr. Hodges' approach to the question of the R.I.L.U.

Misrepresentation seems to be Mr. Hodges' principal weapon. Not once has he faced up to the task of answering the case against the Amsterdam International, by an examination of its composition, its principles and its history.

Who is doing the Splitting?

He says that we split the French Trade Union movement.

It is true that the French Trade Union movement was split, but the full responsibility for that rests on the shoulders of the Amsterdam International.

So long as we were in the minority there was no split. As soon as we won a majority to our side then the minority, who were now the Amsterdam crowd expelled the majority, in spite of all the appeals of the Red International against the splitting tactics.

Hodges' statement with regard to the activity of Amsterdam during the Russian Polish war is equally misleading.

He says: "It (Amsterdam) was the only organisation in Europe that effectively prevented munitions going into Poland. . . ."

Here they are at it again, claiming credit for the actions of the masses inspired by the Revolutionaries, which forced the leaders of Amsterdam to make a call. The sincerity of their call and how anxious they were to assist Russia, was shown at the Rome Congress this year, when the Polish Trades Union delegate took the E.C. to task on this very incident, Finnes, the secretary of the Amsterdam International, declared that the blow was not aimed at Poland but at Allied Imperialism and they would have stopped munitions going to Russia also, if that had been possible. (See Labour Mag., June.)

Amsterdam Impudence

Again he claims the Amsterdam International helped the miners in the lock-out, but on his own showing demonstrated the ramshackle character of the Amsterdam International. The Dutch and Belgian organisations started sympathetic action, but were let down by the French Trades Unions. But where was the International? What call did it give for sympathetic action? Everyone knew that the fight was coming and at the International Miners' Conference preceding the lock-out, the leader of the German miners warned the whole conference that great stocks of coal were accumulating in Germany for the purpose of use against other mine workers.

Even the miners' International did not meet during the lock-out, nor did the Amsterdam International harness the Transport Workers to refuse to transport the coal. And don't forget 1,500,000 tons, is no small amount to trickle in during a miners' lock-out.

The facts are against you, Mr. Hodges and against the Amsterdam International. Your reply to Cook and Davis was an evasion of the issue and a dirty one at that.

The vote on the issue, Red International versus Amsterdam, was not so much a defeat of the Red International as a warning to the Hodges' and their kind that the days of their "leadership" are numbered.

The "optimistic note" is false. The succeeding conference of the Miners' Federation will prove our contention.

NOW READY

THE

Communist Review

FOR AUGUST

Every reader of the COMMUNIST, who wishes to understand the full significance of the international struggles at present being fought out between Capital and Labour must read the *Communist Review*. The August issue deals with the following important subjects:—

Pacifism or Class War

By E. VARGA.

This is a masterly analysis of the present "No More War" agitation. The writer, who is one of the master minds of modern Marxism, shows the different economic interests that lie behind the new pacifist movement. Labour and Capitalist pacifist tendencies are dissected and shown to be opportunist and even reactionary. The Communist attitude on war is brilliantly stated.

The German Crisis

By WM. PAUL.

Here we are treated to a careful examination of the problems brought to light in Germany, by the murder of Rathenau. Paul presses home each point by a quotation from some capitalist newspapers.

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By WM. HAYWOOD

Miss Emma Goldman, the well-known American anarchist, who was deported to Russia by the U.S. Government, has followed in the wake of Mrs. Snowden by attacking the Soviet Government. Big Bill Haywood simply pulverises Miss Goldman in a trenchant reply, written in his best style.

The Russian Famine

By E. ROY.

This is a clever exposure of the sabotage tactics adopted by various capitalist States which imagined that the famine would weaken the Soviet Government.

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By J. T. W. NEWBOLD.

The second article by this specialist who is unmasking the influence of high finance on the foreign policy of the Allied States.

Bolshevism and the Church

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A brilliant review of the policy of the Bolsheviks towards the Church during the Revolution and at the present moment.

International Review

Review of the Month

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MEETINGS

Communist Party Branches

CENTRAL BRANCH. M. H. Dobb will give a lecture on "Modern Imperialism and the War 1900—1914" on Aug. 12th, 8.30 p.m., at Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn.

CROYDON. Satur'ay, 7.30 p.m., Le-lie Arms. Sunday, 8 p.m., Katherine Street, outside Town Hall. Prominent Speakers.

KENNINGTON. Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park, 8 p.m. August 13th. Speaker: Harry Webb.

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*.

Grand Garden Party & Fete CASTLE HOTEL, WOODFORD

Sunday, September 3rd, from 2.30 p.m.

Tea, Sports, Concert, Dance, etc. 2/6

Your Secretary has Programmes. Large Hall inside if wet.
Organised by Walthamstow C.P. & Y.C.L.