

THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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

No. 108

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26th, 1922.

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

TWOPENCE

British Trade Union Blacklegs

By A. B. ELSBURY, V. BRODSKY and J. T. MURPHY

IN the long period of Trade Union history there have been many ghastly spectacles of the treachery of so-called organised workers towards each other. Every thoughtful worker and trade unionist has recognised this fact, and the last twenty years may be said to have been largely occupied by these workers in reforming these abuses to the best of their ability.

THE AMERICAN MINERS' FIGHT.

The greatest coal strike in the history of the United States is now in its fifth month. Six hundred thousand members of the U.M.W. came out on April 1st, and another 100,000 have since joined them. The Miners' demands are for a 24 per cent. increase to bring their wages up to 1,400 dollars for a year, or half the sum laid down by government statisticians as the cost of living standard. The full force of the American Government has been brought against them, together with the powerful private detective, thug and blackleg agencies which are maintained on a huge scale by American "Big Business." Lynchings, shooting and murders are being practised with frequency against the strikers as aid to that greatest weapon of Capitalism, starvation. Still they stand solid. Only one thing can break them—ample

SUPPLIES OF BLACKLEG COAL.

It is impossible to obtain these in America. Britain is doing its best to supply this blackleg coal, every particle of which helps to bring the American strikers to their knees. Viewed from the workers' standpoint, this is tragedy, but it has also its humorous side, though the humour is grim.

Every piece of this scab coal is being brought to the top by union labour.

From the pit-heads it is being transported to the docks by union labour.

At the docks this coal is being loaded on the ships by union labour.

The ship is being taken to America to smash the strikers by union labour.

Let us see now what Herbert Smith, Acting President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, had to say in America two months ago, speaking to the American Federation of Labour Convention:—

"When the British miners had their strike," Smith said, "they received every co-operation from the United Mineworkers of America. Although some American coal was sent to England at that time, I am certain that this was from the non-union mines here (America). The British miners have not forgotten this aid and are standing at the back of the American miners 100 per cent. strong. We will not do anything which might help defeat them in the great fight they are making—a fight which is being watched with the most eager interest by organised labour throughout the world."

Ernest Bevin writes thus to Frank Hodges:—

"We are again being pressed to introduce a third shift of tippers, which, if conceded,

will considerably reduce the earnings of our men. . . . It is due, we are told, to the demand for coal from America owing to the strike there. *It does seem to us that to extend our working hours to get increased orders due to a strike elsewhere would be an act of international blacklegism.*"

We see, therefore, that, according to Bevin, to increase the hours on this work is

Three Cheers for the

RED, WHITE & BLUE



The Board of Guardians has reduced the dole one shilling per head (Children included)

THAT'S THE STUFF TO GIVE 'EM

How does Mr. Braddock and his "bolshy" followers like that?

NO COMMUNISM for LIVERPOOL!

**Loyal Workers Unite!
and have another reduction.**

SALUTE THE FLAG.

*Copy of a Leaflet circulated in Liverpool by
The Organised Unemployed.*

"international blacklegism," whilst there can, of course, be no objection to "blacklegism" during normal hours.

INTERNATIONAL MINERS' CONGRESS GIVES FINAL KICK.

And now comes the final touch, as though these were not sufficient.

The Miners' Federation, to hang matters out and evade responsibility for their blackleg work and Smith's American promises, referred the matter to the International Miners' Congress, which took place in Frankfurt last week. Now at least, it would be imagined, the American miners would receive their just backing. The International Miners' Congress replies:—

"The decision was that there should be no Trade Union embargo on the export of European coal to America, but that £10,000 should be placed at the disposal of the American strikers."

By this decision the American miners are to be throttled by their British comrades after being presented with a cough-drop. The international decision, whilst it was the greatest betrayal, was at least devoid of hypocrisy.

Go ahead now, you British miners, and dig like hell. Every blow you give with your pick helps to knock down the strikers. Possibly they may remember it some day and give tit for tat.

Either that or bestir you like men and play a man's part. You KNOW WHAT TO DO.

A Criticism

To the Editor of THE COMMUNIST.

DEAR SIR,—As a consistent reader of your paper, and until quite recently a member of the Communist Party, I would be obliged if you could enlighten me on Communist policy, in relation to your leader on "British Unionism and the American Strike."

You take exception to the leader in the *Daily Herald* which honestly states that "nothing can be done" to help the American miners. This, unfortunately, is the truth, for the following reasons.

There is over eight million tons of coal on railway sidings at the present time, more than can be moved, even at high pressure in at least two months. That coal has already been cut by union members, and coal that they will be cutting in the next few months may or may not be for use in America, that is a point that the miners are practically unable to ascertain.

The miners have been actually starving for months, and will continue to suffer for some considerable time yet, they want bread for themselves, and their wives and children, and the only way they can get it is by cutting coal, for America or wherever it is wanted.

The coal having been already cut, railway-men feel, on the one hand, they they should not be asked to bell the cat, and refuse to handle it, and also because they are not aware of its ultimate destination.

The position of the dockers is much the same, except that they do know whether the coal is to be used for the purpose of breaking the American strike. Granted that they do know this they also feel that, coal that has been cut and handled by unionists already, is good enough for them to handle. They also have suffered much from under-employment, and unemployment, and there is also a large surplus of unemployed in their industry who are not class-conscious, and who are hungry.

Those, briefly, are the human, or inhuman facts as far as the rank and file are concerned. The next position to face is the officials of the unions. THE COMMUNIST has consistently preached the removal of the present leaders, on several grounds, the main one being that they have not the real working class outlook, and that all they are concerned about is their jobs, their political aggrandisement, and a life as free as possible from strife.

(Continued on page 4)

A PAGE FOR WOMEN—which Men can read with advantage



A group of the Women's Section in the Great Volodarsky memorial Demonstration in Moscow

Women under Tsardom

By Eva Saunders

WELCOME as was the Revolution to the whole of Russia's toiling masses, it came with an especial message of hope to her women-folk.

In the past, that terrible, humiliating past, just over sixty years ago, when serfdom—or, as it has been called, baptised property—was the lot of the great mass of the peasantry, a woman could, at the caprice of the owner, the lord of the manor, be torn from her home, the associates and the soil which for her comprised the whole universe, her husband and her little children, and exchanged (as in a case I knew personally), for a Newfoundland dog in a far distant province,—there to begin a new life at the caprice of a new lord, with another husband, other children and a heart broken with grief.

Or let us remember, for instance, Ivanovka, the well-known girl market, to which came both European and Asiatic buyers.

Again, when serfdom was already abolished, it still remained a misfortune in a peasant family, for the wife to bear a female child. Men only were counted as "souls," and, as such, could claim the right to that microscopic portion of land which was supposed to support the entire family, often of three generations. As a result, the men-folk often drifted out, seeking along the distant riverside wharfs and in the growing industrial centres, some means by which to augment the common funds.

And the women meanwhile? To them fell the hard tasks of carrying on the homestead, of tending the livestock, and even of camping out and carrying through the heaviest work in the far-lying allotments.

Again, take the fate of the wife of a "political suspect," the husband exiled to Siberia, the wife by this act legally made a widow and free to marry on the morrow of his departure.

It was as though that ultra-refined (in their own estimation) section of the community, the nobles and the landlords, were unable to realise that the peasant women were made of the same flesh and blood as themselves.

What terrible sights we saw when the men were called out to the Russo-Japanese butchery, and the women blocked the railway lines with their prostrate bodies!

And yet these women have retained a degree of independence and equality with their men-folk, that is striking even to the most casual observer.

Many indeed are the names that Russian women can repeat with pride, in the revolutionary role call of the past. Vera Sassoulitch, Sophie Perovskaja, Vera Figner, Sophie Ginsburg and thousands of others testify to what we find in 1874 to be definitely acknowledged by the governing class—that revolutionary propaganda was carried on mainly by women—and this led to great restrictions being placed on the schools for girls.

To-day, the Revolution has freed these dauntless women, given them unlimited scope for all their energies, and in every field of enterprise and activity, from the university to the factory, from the army to the field, we find them working with the ardour of inspiration, not as rivals with the men, but as units of one great community, equal in the fight and equal, too, in the victory.

WOMEN IN TRADE UNIONS

By LILY WEBB

THE reasons which have compelled the Communist Party to give special attention to work among women are easy to find. The contrasted experience of the two Revolutions in Russia and Hungary of themselves would give them. In Russia the active support of the women saved the Revolution—in Hungary their passive resistance destroyed it. Capitalism inheriting all that Feudalism and Classic Imperialism had done to make women mentally as well as materially dependent upon men has perfected its machinery for making women in the mass a bulwark of Conservatism and Reaction.

* * *

First the women are mentally and emotionally separated from the men; then their isolation is used to intensify the economic subjection which they share with the men; then their inferior position is used as a means of setting them into antagonism against the men; finally the apparent hopelessness of struggle and their alienation as a sex is used to make them active for reaction—against the men leaders of revolt.

* * *

Think of the number of places where women gather with men excluded—not by law but by custom and the operation of economic and social causes!—the factories and workshops employing female labour exclusively the "Mothers Meeting," the Women's Religious Guilds, the Women's Co-operative Guilds, the Women's Political Societies, the Clairvoyant gatherings so widespread and insidious in the industrial North of England. All these are part of the machinery for manufacturing a conservative and counter-revolutionary psychology (which the women in turn impose in the home and the school upon the children and their men folk). All of them with the trade unions in which women predominate numerically (e.g., textile workers) could be turned into germinating centres of proletarian class-consciousness and units in the machinery of a workers' revolution.

* * *

The Trade Unions are an obvious, a glaring instance.

It was the manner in which during the Industrial Revolution the women and children were used to beat down the wage standards of men which brought about the first great extension of trade unionism in this country, and helped to create the great ferment of Chartism, the first definitely working class political struggle in history.

Because most women have a man upon whom they depend, if not for necessities at any rate for luxuries, the women were in their trusting foolishness able and willing to work for less pay than men. Because a woman tramping in search of work was threatened with danger from which men are free, they were more in the grip of bosses, and more easily compelled to submit to exploitation. Then the children were brought in to supplement the family income and—the man thrown out of work because his wage was too high was left idle while his women-folk and children toiled for the maintenance of all.

The revolting excesses of this process were checked by the 10 hours Bill of 1847, won after desperate strife. They have been modified greatly by the subsequent Factory Acts, Trade Union Vigilance and the better education of women and men alike.

But in principle the effects remain to this day. Women expect to get less pay for the same work: they expect to work (in

many cases) longer hours than men; and they expect to take a subordinate place even in those trade unions in which they command a majority of the membership. Often the woman (boss deluded) thinks it "unwomanly" to bother with trade unions or politics at all.

The result is just what the boss class wish. Women in the mass have been trained into regarding the deeds of a blackleg and the thoughts of a slave as their badges of sex distinction—things right, proper and inevitable.

* * *

Women have been told they were weak and trusting so often that they have, in the mass, become by mental suggestion weak and self-distrustful to the extreme limit.

Add to this the jealousies and dislikes arising from their sex-competition with each other for marriage mates—itsself a by-product of their economic suggestion and the helpless ineffectiveness of women in the trade unions, and their easy delusion by the other agencies noted is all too terribly explained.

* * *

The Communist Party Women's Section must change all that.

First of all to break down the mental separation of the sexes Communist men will work in the women's groups and Communist women take their share of the general Party work. Further to this end special means will have to be devised to win the attention of the segregated women to the significance of the Communist message to them.

Among women workers the first endeavour must be to get them to throw off the reproach of blacklegging. They must be got to see how suicidal it is for them to tolerate a miserable rate of pay because they hope to escape from the factory by the door of marriage—only to find that their very toleration has made inevitable by its effect upon the man's wage a life of drudging penury once the "escape" has been made.

In the Trade Unions the first essential is to win the sympathy and support of the men for a forward movement among women. Women speakers sent to trade union branches and Trades Councils should have an easy task in gaining their support and the success will react upon the passiveness and indifference of the women.

As the women are won over to an active interest in trade union organisation and struggle their force can be concentrated upon the removal of their special disabilities whether in wage standards, working conditions or share of trade union control and authority.

If the Communist Women Sections will make a special study of these disabilities and a special scrutiny of the women trade unionists within their purview in order to discover promising types, personalities and capabilities they will be the means of setting in motion forces which will not only stop the ruin which threatens to overwhelm British Trade Unionism but also go far to make inevitable the speedy establishment of the Workers' Republic—for women (and men) the only sure and final hope.

Women Readers are urged to send notes, items and contributions suitable for this page to K. Jackson, c/o Editor, "The Communist," 16, King Street, W.C.2

The Rise and Fall of the Entente

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

Foreword

THE breakdown of the London Conference of Premiers and the agreement of Messrs. Lloyd George and Poincare to disagree makes it evident that the alliance between Britain and France is, to all intents and purposes, at an end.

The partnership of these two Powers began in 1904 as an *entente* and, secretly and imperceptibly, developed into a military and naval alliance against a third party, viz., Germany. With the overthrow and ruination of that party, comes an inevitable dissolution.

A crisis in British foreign relations has been reached, fraught with such grave and far-reaching consequences and calculated so completely to change the face of world politics, that it is extremely desirable and, indeed, vitally necessary to understand the full significance of what is happening. For that reason, in this and ensuing articles, my intention is to examine the Entente between Britain and France, to enquire into its origins, to take note of its operations and to explain the causes of its collapse.

In this country, we have had all too little Marxian literature analysing scientifically the material forces whose interplay has given rise to this and similarly important international political phenomena. We have had to be content with the writings of social patriots (the hacks of the Grand Orient, or the social democratic apostles of petit bourgeois republican "liberty"), or of social pacifists, whose brilliant and exhaustive studies were rendered well nigh useless because of the Liberal viewpoint from which these latterday disciples of "Manchesterism" approached their subject.

Our own people have had, of necessity, to go to the works of such writers as Morel and Brailsford and Buxton, and, in consequence, lack the material upon which to base a sound communist judgment.

Now that the banded bandits of French and British imperialism are parting company and, instead of co-operating to despoil and devour what was predatory Germany, are eyeing each other with nervous fingers toying with the daggers of a new duel, it is imperative that we should understand the basis of their former pact and the causes of their present quarrel.

I.

The Maze of French Politics

The Economics of Reaction

Throughout the period since Waterloo there has throbbled through the brain of France the memory of the fact that, in the wars of the 18th century, she lost to Britain the promising foundations of a world-wide colonial empire. The bourgeoisie of Paris, Marseilles and Bordeaux does not forget that the North American continent was once in the grip of France, and that India might have been theirs as well.

Had it not been for the success of England in repeated wars and armed diplomatic encounters, France would also have, as the ally of Spain, had, as her special preserve, the fabulously valuable commerce of the South American countries.

Prior to the Revolution, France was much richer and had a greater overseas trade than Britain. Political circumstances, at home and abroad, coinciding with great changes in the methods of production, combined to make bourgeois France appear the victim of

a conspiracy organised by Britain and carried through (according to the Monarchists) by the aid of German-Jew financiers.

The Buonopartists, whose original leader, Napoleon I., had sought with an armed nation at his call to break the economic power of England and her allies, and had fostered the old financial interests incorporated in and grouped around the Bank of France (which he created), stood for and left behind them a tradition of a military dictator, serving the cause of an adventurous and prosperous financial oligarchy.

One might say that the Monarchists, represented to-day by the parties of the Extreme Right, have aimed at reviving the ancient glories of France under the Grand Monarch, "le roi soleil," Louis XIV.

Their dream is always of France—victorious on the Rhine, master of Germany, arbiter of Europe. It is this ideal which, diffused throughout the parties of the Reaction, consumes with passionate devotion to "La Patrie," that pious Catholic, Marshal Foch.

The Reactionaries, the party of the Clericals, are, also, as Catholics, animated by a fanatical hatred—after the manner of "Plain English"—of the Jewish banking oligarchy and, as Frenchmen and patriot landlords, incensed against them as revolutionaries escaped from the Frankfurt ghetto.

This political entity lumps together all foreigners, whether Germans, Italians, Dutch or English, as organised conspiracies of German Israelites bent on the ruin of Christendom in general and France in particular.

For the last forty years there have been, really, no Buonopartists and the Monarchists have become less conspicuous as such and more evident as Clericals and Nationalists—which latter category, under one or other party name incomprehensible to the ordinary Britisher, covers the heirs of the Napoleonic tradition of military dictatorship.

The Big Banks

In the centre of French politics are other parties, with weird names, all bent on advancing the cause of the financial oligarchy who, from 1830 and, again, from 1851, from 1872 and from 1883, have, in successive waves of private and public banking and investment houses and companies, established themselves as the *grande bourgeoisie* of France.

These are the people who constitute, for the most part, the owners and administrators of the Bank of France and those six great banks, i.e.: the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, the Crédit Mobilier Français, the Crédit Foncier, the Crédit Lyonnais, the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, the Banque de l'Union Parisienne.

These are the people who dominate the French Colonies; who hold 70 per cent of the Ottoman Debt; who are big creditors of Central Europe and Italy; who had gigantic interests in Russia.

They are an economic amalgam, made up of groups which, in the past, have fiercely fought each other; and, quite naturally, they are the core of the "Bloc National" and the most ardent supporters of Poincare, Barthou and Tardieu.

They are the French equivalents of the British Coalition and, like the latter, their bias is increasingly Conservative.

The Bourgeois Opposition

Prior to the war, there were other interests such as the *Société Générale de Paris* which,

at that time, was roundly accused of being a German institution. It was, certainly, cosmopolitan and it had been, in its origin, financed largely by English Catholic bankers, Manchester textile manufacturers and Jewish cotton brokers.

This "Society" was the main economic prop of the pre-war leader of the French Radicals, M. Caillaux. He, like his contemporary, Lloyd George, mixed up with some queer people—"queer" in the financial sense. He was the political champion of the lower middle class. He wanted to cheapen credit and to emancipate trade and industry from the clutches of the monopolist banks. Needless to say, Poincare and he were pitiless enemies.

He was an intimate of Sir Ernest Cassel (the late lamented friend of Sidney Webb, patron of the London School of Economics and financier of the W.E.A.).

He was, also, it would seem, from his financial connections, the creature of those Greeks who, to-day, having had the *Société Générale* wrenched from their grasp, are running Sir Basil Zaharoff, his *Banque de la Seine* and its associate enterprises. Caillaux is, of course, in eclipse.

Unlike Lloyd George, he took the wrong turning. Now he has to be content with the admiration of the "Labour Leader" which sees in him another edition of Philip Snowden.

Coalition

Between Caillaux and Poincare politically, there stand Clemenceau, of the Republican Left, and Millerand and Briand, the renegade "Socialists." To-day, of course, there is not much space dividing any of these beauties. They all belong to the class of lawyer politicians who, having seen in the votes and briefs of the proletariat and the lower middle class stepping stones to higher things, have eventually "arrived." Like Lloyd George and, in a lesser degree, the kept Labour M.P.s who joined the Coalition, they are now the subservient tools of the industrial magnates and high financiers.

Millerand, as President, and Poincare, as Premier, dance to the pipes of M. Sargent and M. Schneider, the respective heads of the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne* and *Schneider-Creusot*.

Between the big monopolist banks I have named and the *Société Générale* there stood, before the war, but having affiliations with them, the *Banque Française pour le Commerce et l'Industrie*, another concern with cosmopolitan connections and strong links with British and Belgian Judaism. To-day, this bank is lined up with, whilst the *Société Générale* has been absorbed by, the big monopolist banks.

There is, at present, only one big bank which whilst in French finance, is not really of it, viz., Sir Basil Zaharoff's concern, the *Banque de la Seine*. This institution works in conjunction with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and sundry enterprises operating in Egypt and generally throughout the Near East. What politicians respond to its inspiration it is not easy to say.

Such then is, historically reviewed, the background of economics and of politics on which have been chiselled the frescoes of the Entente.

In further articles it will be our task and our delight to examine and to criticise the artistry of this partnership of pirates whose monument is a Continent in convulsions and a civilisation in the last stages of corruption and collapse.

BRITISH TRADE UNION BLACKLEGS

(Continued from page 1)

THE COMMUNIST has declared often that these leaders have betrayed their members, and then your leader asks and expects them to "give a clarion call to the miners and transport workers." If you are honest with yourself, you can answer the question, as to whether they will give such a clarion call. You know that they won't for all the reasons that you have given, in addition to those I have mentioned.

You claim to be realists, yet knowing these facts to be true, you expect something to be done, when you know that nothing will be done.

THE COMMUNIST has consistently attacked the officials of the unions, not in my opinion, without justice, but I feel that no benefit accrues to the rank and file by continuing in these attacks, without giving constructive and practical alternatives to their policy. No amount of shouting "Long Live the Revolution" will ever bring revolution, no amount of invective used against the present leaders will remove them. It is work that does these things.

A class-conscious membership of the unions, led by class-conscious, revolutionary and not reformist leaders could, in twenty-four hours, help the American miners, could stop coal going out of this country, could stop the attack on wages and conditions. You and I both know this, but you also ought to know, out of your own mouth, that a consciousness does not exist. The job clearly for you and I is to speed up our organisation, to wake up our comrades, to get them to take control of their unions so that they can control production and distribution. We have got to get back to our Workers' Committees and build up One Big Unofficial Union inside the present trade unions. Then will the leaders bend to the real desires of the members, and not until. They control the machine, and not the members, and as long as such control rest with them nothing can be done nationally, let alone internationally.

Briefly, my criticism is that you are not consistent; branding yourselves as realists, you expect miracles; your energy is misdirected, it should not be directed at the leaders but at the rank and file, in getting them organised effectively, for if all you say of the leaders is true they will be making the rope to hang themselves with, while you are organising. To use your own favourite expression, "get down to earth," organise for revolution, don't talk about it. Believe me, comrades, the high sounding theatrical stuff has got to be cut out, and I have got to get back to the plain and simple elementary facts if we will convert and organise the proletariat. Abusing "J.H.T. and Uncle Arthur" and all their colleagues does not cut any ice. If you think it does, I, like the man from Missouri, will have to be shown.

In conclusion, I ask, as does many other workers, what is the practical policy of the Communist on the industrial field, not the ultimate aim, or the advanced steps, I know them by heart, but what is your immediate

plan and method of getting my mates to think and act intelligently, and to acquire that blessed solidarity that is as scarce as bread in the coalfields.

Yours fraternally,

V. BRODSKY.

P.S.—Anent your frequent criticism of the *Daily Herald* I think that it ill becomes an organ representing the class-conscious to jeer at the official policy of what is now an official paper, only because you and the people you represent, did not give it the support that would have kept it independent. Be realists.

A Reply to Brodsky

By J. T. MURPHY

COMRADE BRODSKY is not a Labour leader, but he has evidently got their disease very bad.

No one will deny that the miners are suffering and that there are difficulties to be

Help the Y.C.L.

Will comrades interested in the educational work of the Young Communist League, send along to the Education Department of the Y.C.L. any suitable material they may have and can spare (books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc.) that would be useful for reference, and suitable for Communist students and propagandists.

The importance of this department of our activities cannot be over emphasised. Comrades who can, will be helping us greatly by rallying to this appeal. Send to:—

JOHN RUSKIN, Secretary,
Education Department,
35, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

overcome in any attempt to enforce an embargo on the export of coal to America. We know these difficulties, but the facts remain. Coal from Britain is going to smash the American strike. Orders are being placed for at least 2,000,000 tons per month to go from Britain; the Dockers' Union know the ships that are chartered. (Brodsky admits that.)

If the Dockers know this, the other unions know or can know. Concerted action on the part of the unions involved, viz., the Dockers, the N.U.R., the A.S.L.E. & F., and the Miners, could make it a really live issue in British Unionism that an embargo should be enforced. It depends initially upon the will of the leaders of these unions whether assistance will be rendered. No one knows better than they that the defeat of the American miners will have a tremendous repercussion on the coal industry of Britain and Europe.

To plead that nothing can be done because of poverty here compels us to ask the question: Do strikes arise because of the affluence of the workers or because of their difficulties? To put off action until the workers are well enough off to afford a strike is to postpone strikes until some happy Utopian era—an obvious absurdity and worthy only of a McDonald or Henderson.

Mr. Bevin has admitted that the unions are blacklegging. Does Comrade Brodsky approve of blacklegging because the workers are poor? If so, at what particular stage do we get solidarity? After education and the production of class-consciousness through affluence?

The task which we at least are trying to accomplish is this—to rouse the workers to action because of their poverty and misery, because only by united action can they get out of their poverty. That is why we appealed to the union leaders to get together, and devise with us ways and means of overcoming the difficulties enumerated and by a deed of international solidarity pave the way to real international organisation and policy.

But Comrade Brodsky follows his fit of defeatism with a bout of "leftism"! We have criticised the leaders; how, then, can we expect them to act and how dare we ask them act?

We reply: So long as they are the bona fide leaders of the masses organised in the unions having authority to use the union apparatus we must perforce appeal to them to do what we think they ought to in the interests of the working class.

Does that mean they are immune from criticism? We must point out what ought to be done on all occasions or from whence comes the basis of criticism, and how can we make it clear to the masses that they are being misled?

It is not a question of what we expect from the leaders, but a question of what ought to be done and who is in a position to do it. To talk of organisation for "revolution," "class-conscious unions," etc., etc., sounds a little ridiculous when the same writer talks of the impossibility of a sympathetic act which is at one and the same time an act of self-interest in terms of ordinary trade unionism. It is not we who are "up in the clouds," but Comrade Brodsky himself when he sets before us the great goal of one big union, prior to doing anything in the ordinary everyday affairs of union life.

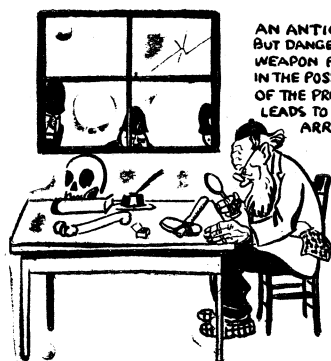
The immediate practical measure relating to the American coal strike is to bring the unions we have named together so that they may place an embargo on coal for America. This becomes increasingly important in view of the failure of the Frankfurt Miners' Conference.

If Comrade Brodsky can suggest anything better we shall be right glad to consider it.

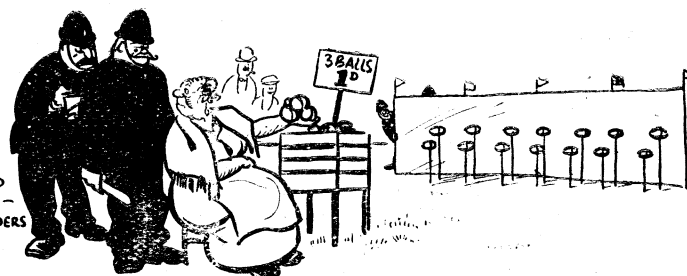
As to our criticism of the *Daily Herald*, we have no apology to make even for that. From no part of the Labour movement has the *Daily Herald* received greater sacrificial efforts than from the revolutionary sections.

Our criticism stands good.

(Miners International Conference
see page 7)



A PIECE OF WASTE GROUND USED FOR BOMBING PRACTICE WAS DISCOVERED BY THE POLICE—THE RINGLEADERS WERE CAUGHT RED HANDED.



Rounding up the Red Revolutionaries; or, "Where

The Communist

An Organ of the Communist International
Official Organ of the Communist Party
of Great Britain
16 King Street, Covent Garden
London, W.C.2

Post paid, 1/3 per quarter. 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 BURNING QUESTION of the LABOUR PARTY

THE following letter from the Musselburgh comrades is typical of one or two letters that have been received at the Party headquarters from branches of the Communist Party relative to the decision of the National Executive to withdraw its parliamentary candidates standing in opposition to official Labour Party candidates. The reply of the Executive Committee to the letter is attached.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GT. BRITAIN.
(Musselburgh Branch).

12/8/22.

Dear Comrade,

I am instructed by my branch to inform you of our objections to the decisions arrived at by the E.C. meetings of July 29th, 30th and 31st. While we intend to carry out your instructions to the best of our ability, we unanimously disapprove of your decision to support the Labour Party at the General Election.

We also disapprove of the action of the E.C. in instructing Communist delegates to the Labour Party to accept the constitution of the Labour Party, thereby pledging themselves to support the Labour Party when the Labour Party had already endorsed certain amendments to the constitution which could be utilised for the purpose of ousting all Communists representing Labour Organisations on local Labour Parties.

I can assure you that we find the struggle to exist as a branch is keen enough without involving ourselves in shaking hands with men at political meetings when we are knocking hell out of the same men at our Trade Union branch meetings.

Nevertheless, we intend to carry out your instructions in spite of our disapproval.

Yours fraternally,

W. BRACKENRIDGE,
Acting Secretary.

Reply of the Executive Committee

18th August, 1922.

Dear Comrade,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 12th inst. In reply I am directed to express regret that your members disapprove of the decision of the National Executive to withdraw the Party's parliamentary candidates from those constituencies where Labour Party candidates are in the field, as a manifestation to the workers of our desire to form a united working class front against capitalism, and in order to strengthen the position of Party members whose representation of trade union branches on local Trades and Labour Councils was threatened by the Edinburgh amendments to the Labour Party Constitution.

When the Executive Committee made their decision they had before them demands from branches all over the country for an immediate lead in the direction of combating the attempts being made to exclude Communist Party members from delegate positions in the local organisations. More than a month

NEXT WEEK

Special Article on the "Voice
of the Workers International"
By Karl Radek

had elapsed since the Edinburgh Conference. Action had already been taken by the Labour Party headquarters, supported by reactionary elements in Trades and Labour Councils and trade union branches, to enforce the Edinburgh amendments against C.P. members acting as delegates of their trade organisations. In a number of important industrial centres the retention of Party members in key positions in the Trades and Labour Council and of a large number of members as trade union delegates was involved. The situation was urgent and the need for immediate action was imperative. Had the Executive Committee hesitated to accept the responsibility for an immediate decision and failed to meet the demands of the branches for a clear and definite lead, they would have betrayed the trust reposed in them by the Party and forsaken their rôle as a guiding Party Centre. To have waited for the long drawn-out process of a Party Conference or referendum would have been simply pandering to the "democratic" sentiment that is largely responsible for the deplorable condition to which the working class movement in this country has been reduced. Valuable points of contact with the workers would have been lost which are essential to the successful carrying on of the Party's work, more especially in view of the pending organisational changes necessary to bring the Party into conformity with the needs of the every-day struggle against capitalism, and the requirements of the Communist International. These points of contact, once lost, would have taken months of weary effort to re-gain.

The Executive Committee fully thrashed out the possibilities and probabilities of trade union branches putting up a fight to retain the right to appoint C.P. members as delegates to local Trades and Labour Councils. There has never been any question but that that right must be vigorously upheld and that our Party members in the trade union branches must bend their energies to that end. But the Executive Committee had to face the realities of the situation, and not to allow their imagination to overshadow their judgment. At the best, an effective fight could only be expected to be waged by trade union branches in a small minority of cases. Even in such cases, with all the subtle influences that would be brought to bear by official Labour Party and Trade Union circles, the opposition to accepting the amendments would inevitably be worn down. Refusal to pay the political levy is condemned by Communist principle and practice, whilst a spectacular policy of re-electing rejected delegates would sooner or later lose its glamour. A more sure and effective method of defeating the purpose of the amendments and maintaining our positions was to deprive the amendments of their point.

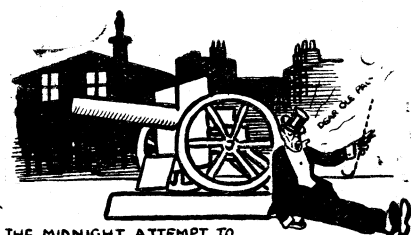
There are no grounds for assuming, as some appear to do, that the withdrawal of our oppositional candidates constitutes a departure from the policy of the Party as laid down at the Policy Conference. On the contrary, it is a step in the application of that policy that is necessitated by an offensive on the part of the reactionary leaders of the Labour Party who seek to isolate the Communist Party from the organised working class movement. The withdrawal of our candidates will have the effect of securing the contact of our Party members with the local working class organisations, or it will force those reactionary leaders to place a still more rigid interpretation upon the amendments in the endeavour to exclude us. In either event the advantage is to the Communist Party. In the former, the ground will be clear for a further effort in the struggle to secure our right to affiliation. If the latter, the onus of splitting the Labour Movement in the most critical period of its existence will be fastened even more definitely upon our opponents.

Your members may be assured that the decision of the Executive Committee was not taken without the most careful thought and deliberation, and in the full sense of responsibility of all that was involved. They see no reason to regret that decision, but are prepared to uphold and justify before the membership the step they have decided to take.

We note with approval that although your members do not agree with the decision of the Executive, nevertheless they will loyally endeavour to carry its implications into effect. We also hope that further consideration will convince them of the wisdom of the decision and its ultimate benefit to the Party as a whole.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) ALBERT INKPIN.
Secretary.



THE MIDNIGHT ATTEMPT TO
REMOVE A FIELD GUN FROM A LONDON SQUARE
WAS FORTUNATELY OVERHEARD.



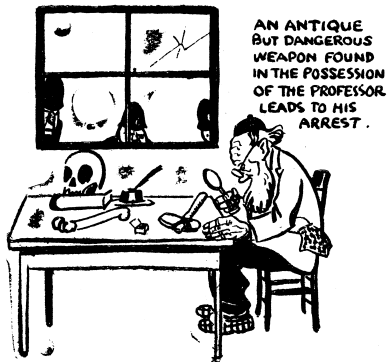
SMART WORK BY THE
C.I.D. UNEARTHES A
REBEL ARMS DEPOT



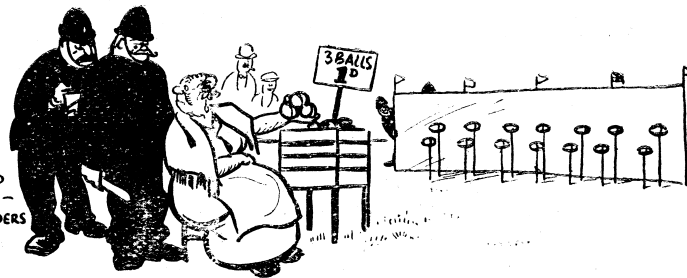
THE DESPERADOES
ROUNDED UP

DUNN

Where Have you hidden that Bomb?



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Rounding up the Red Revolutionaries; or, "Where Have you hidden that Bomb?"

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Postgate Gets His Own Back

DEAR COMRADE,—May I assure W. J. Braddock—in our hours of ease, uncertain, coy and hard to please—that I meant no offence by the words “bum” and “stiff?” These words, which I do not find in Webster (that is, not in the sense I used them) I take to be words first used by the American capitalist to indicate workers whom he found it very difficult to extract profit from.

And that, it seems to me, shows that they are honourable titles.

Also, I bear no grudge for the Byrom street suspicion of me. I quite agree with Braddock that it was natural. One can't welcome everybody who just rolls in without credentials.

But as for the Editor's notes on Braddock's letter—here words fail me.

He enquires “how Edward Carpenter left Manchester” heedless of the fact that that particular piece of bad grammar was marked out in the original MS*. But Comrade Jackson (I gather) does not check proofs when they come from the printers: his attitude to all matter that proceedeth from the lino is that of the German trombonist, who, when reproached for making a foul moaning noise in the *Moonlight Sonata*, pointed to a squashed fly on his music score and said, “He vos dere, and I blayed him.” Whatever comes from the printer, “he vos dere,” and Jackson puts him in.

And next he tells the world that I have not “a respectable appearance.”

This from Jackson!

This from Jackson!

THIS FROM JACKSON!

Ever taken a good look at this modern Petronius who calls me unfashionable,† comrades? Why, I only have to see him to feel like Burlington Bertie from Bow.‡

Yours fraternally,

R.W.P.

* A tarradiddle! invented to drag in that gibe about proof reading and that old chestnut about the German musician—the truth being that the effect of verse upon R.W.P. is totally demoralising. He may have meant to cross it out—he succeeded in putting it in italics. And who am I to correct the grammar of a sometime Scholar of St. John's, Oxford?—T.A.J.

† The mean swab! Who said anything about “unfashionable?” “Respectable,” damn you! “Respectable.”—T.A.J.

‡ The question of the relative architectural and sartorial magnificence of T.A.J. and R.W.P. is referred to the arbitration of that eminent Mancurian, the “Beau Brummell of Bolshevism”—J.T.W.N. Otherwise this correspondence is closed—with a bang!—ED., COMMUNIST.

Birth Control *

DEAR COMRADE,—How true it is that we see our own faults reflected in others. Comrade Stella Browne's exclusively feminist opinions make an unbiassed statement on Birth Control appear exclusively masculine to her. She fails to find any indication in my article that women were concerned in the matter as well as men. Yet nowhere throughout the article do I use the words “man” or “men” except in reference to a quotation from Mr. Harold Cox. As a Communist I viewed the question solely from the working class point of view, a class composed of equal numbers of either sex who must jointly work out their emancipation.

Comrade Browne states that “Birth control is woman's crucial effort at self-determination and at control of her own person and her own environment.”

This as Communists we entirely repudiate, stating on the contrary that woman's control of her own person varies in accordance with her economic position. Under primitive communism, before private property broke down the matriarchal system, there was true economic equality between the sexes, while man dominated in war and hunting, woman dominated the home, where not content with merely controlling birth, she entirely controlled all sex intercourse. Among the Patuans of German New Guinea this state has existed down to recent time and there the women insist on late marriages and compel the men to live separately from the women, the men being deprived of sex intercourse to such an extent that homosexuality is largely resorted to. And the women do this without any knowledge of the New Generation League!

Now compare this with the terrible conditions exposed before the war in an outpost of the British Empire where in order to keep up the supply of “blacks” who were dying like flies under “civilised” conditions, the women were herded into corrals and

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compelled to breed as rapidly as possible, a few black males being sent to act as stallions. Suppose the Malthusian League had succeeded in getting one of its little leaflets on contraceptives into the hands of one of these women—would that have enabled her to “control her own person and environment?” The idea is ridiculous! Why? Because she had been stripped of every vestige of economic independence and reduced to the lowest form of chattel slavery.

The point would therefore appear too obvious to labour further; whatever period of history we examine, the amount of woman's control over her person varies with her economic position. To-day a woman of independent means or capable of earning an efficient wage can refuse the sex act or can make a fair bargain with any male she desires. But the woman who through lack of training or opportunity finds herself without the means of subsistence must sell herself by the hour or for life to some male possessing the necessary wealth, and he will determine the terms of the bargain because he holds the economic whip.

At the advent of monogamy, woman was a mere chattel, man absolutely dictated his own terms for the marriage bargain; to-day women are earning their keep on the industrial field, consequently man has to offer her inducements to marry.

As Communists we look to the day when women will have attained the co-equal of man on the economic field. But as Communists we do not join with the “exclusively feminine” element who desire to see the tables entirely reversed and women “determining” or dictating her own terms. On the contrary the sex act involves the participation of two persons and we are content that there will be no coercive pressure giving either an unfair advantage in forming whatever contract they desire.

As Communists we are not concerned with the use of contraceptives—that is a question for individuals—but we are concerned in combating the claims that by their aid sex equality, sex solidarity and the emancipation of the workers can be accomplished. The enemy of woman is not man but the capitalist class. Working women are chained with iron, bourgeois women with silk, sex degradation exists for both. (Comrade Browne, by the way, exhibits a woeful lack of knowledge in sex psychology in supposing that the capitalist's doll needs a knowledge of sex control less than the average working woman. Like Harold Cox, she appears to think that desirable parentage is determined by the possession of wealth).

In the case of working women capitalism has already loosened the bonds of sex but rebound them with the chains of wage slavery. These can only be burst asunder by the united effort of the entire working class. The emancipation of women is not therefore a woman's question but a problem for the working class as a whole to solve.

Yours fraternally,

CLETE.

DEAR COMRADE,—I hope you will find space for the views of another woman who, although a believer in individual birth control, does not see eye to eye with Comrade Stella Browne.

I did not see in Comrade Clete's article any suggestion of condemnation of birth control for the individual, but merely a timely reminder that we should be Marxians first and Malthusians afterwards.

Birth control is of no more importance to women than is workshop control. The latter should not be the man's prerogative any more than the former should be the woman's. The husband is as much a slave to his wife as she is to him, and both are slaves of the capitalist system.

I do think if women were a little more willing to take their share in the fight against present working class conditions and a little less ready to talk about the evils of child-bearing and the domination of man, we should be nearer to that true equality of the sexes only to be attained when we have established true economic freedom.

On the subject of sex equality, the majority of my women comrades are as unsound as their capitalist-minded sisters. It is time that some of our sex-obsessed comrades realised that woman's so-called “slavery” to man is solely owing to her economic dependence on him and can only end when the capitalist regime ends.

Meanwhile, there are other things in life besides the sex act, and although an enthralling pastime is somewhat necessary to health, I think, personally, that if our comrades in general were to spend less of their energy on that, and more on the teaching of Marxian ethics, the C.P.G.B. would be a more efficient section of the Third International.

S. FRANCIS.

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Miners Congress at Frankfurt

By Our Special Correspondent

THE results of four days' conference of the organisations affiliated to the International Miners' Bureau at Frankfurt last week showed two things. First, that until the unorganised mass of the American miners are brought into their own national miners' movement the prospects of a successful international miners action in Europe are small. Secondly, that even within the organisations of the European miners themselves there are still important differences, coinciding to some extent with the national difference on economic policy which divide the capitalist governments.

* * *

The three most important questions which came before the conference were (1) The Spa Agreement; (2) The Workers' Control and Miners' Councils; (3) The American strike, and connected with it the whole question of international action against the capitalist offensive. On the first point the conference arrived at a unanimous decision. Here undoubtedly the miners of all Europe are interested in putting an end to the present state of affairs. For the miners of England and France are suffering unemployment because of the German reparation coal, while the German miners are being continually threatened with the necessity to work overtime in order to give the French financiers the chance to dominate the coal markets of the Continent. The resolution adopted, however, was of a moderate nature, and only went so far as to request the Reparations Commission to receive a deputation from the International Executive "with a view to securing a modification of the Spa Agreement, so as to ease the present economic situation in the coal industry." The speech of Frank Hodges, proposing the resolution, characterised the tone in which this subject was approached. "If the German miners," he said, "should be forced to undertake *regular* (Italics mine) overtime, it would be a black day in the history of the miners. In demanding a revision of the Spa Agreement, we are not touching the political problem of the Versailles Treaty, but the international coal problem and the coal question in each country separately. The conference will only set out to realise practical points."

* * *

The unity which characterised the realising of this program of "influencing" the Reparations Commission, stood in sharp contrast to the lack of unity which characterised the proceedings on the other days, particularly when the question of organisation for international action against the capitalist offensive was discussed. The first sign of disagreement arose over the debate on the question of workers' councils in the mines. The Germans pointed with some pride to their own "Betriebsrate Gesetz," and advocated agitation for workmen's council laws in other countries through the national sections. The French miners, however, took the view that the International Executive and not the national sections should take the initiative in this matter. They apparently had no faith in the latter and put all their faith on "l'internationale d'action."

Then commenced a skirmish between the French delegates and the delegates of the small nations, including Czecho-Slovakia, of whom seven were Communists and two Anarchists, Luxemburg and the Saar. The latter declared that all attempts to establish the German workmen's council law in the two latter countries were suppressed by the French military authorities. Whereupon the Belgian, Dejardin, asked how was international action possible, if the national sections did not use more effective pressure on

their governments than was done hitherto. They in Belgium had forced their government to enquire into cases where the Belgian military authorities had interfered with the rights of workmen's councils in German occupied areas. Why did they not find the same pressure exerted by the French? In reply to this the French delegate Barthuel, an imposing figure with an apparently strong, revolutionary temperament, could they say: "nous demandons une federation internationale d'action, pas une de morale." In contradiction to what he had said before, he now maintained that a matter of this sort did not concern the international, but was a domestic matter, which only concerned the national sections! The contradictory utterances of the French delegation are attributable to the fact that, while the rank and file of the French miners are living under the very worst possible conditions and are daily becoming more exasperated, nevertheless they are numerically weak (only 100,000 organised men) against a capitalist class, relying on the greatest military power in Europe. In fact, one had the feeling that their gestures were those of helpless rage.

The greatest struggle at the conference took place on the question of international action against war and the capitalist offensive, with which was closely connected the attitude of the European miners to the American strike. Here the French delegation showed an attitude which was at once clear, unequivocal and free from any suggestion that it could have been even unconsciously influenced by its own government's policy, as was the case with its attitude on the workmen's council question in Luxemburg and the Saar. On this point it was the British delegation, which seemed, whether consciously or unconsciously, to be playing the game of the British coal exporters, who are reaping profits out of the American strike.

* * *

The French introduced a resolution, which called firstly for a 24 hours' strike on an international scale, as a first warning to the capitalists of Europe and America, secondly, for an international strike of longer duration to secure a minimum program for the miners of all lands, and thirdly, for the drawing up of this program by the International Executive, which should also work out the details of a general strike to stop war. On this resolution Barthuel, in a powerful speech, said that only action of this sort would be of any avail. It could, however, only be put into practice if the British miners agreed to take action with the rest. The conditions of the French miners were no less heartrending than those of the British miners, unemployment and wage cuts being everywhere the order of the day. Yet the situation could only be saved by direct action on an international scale. If England, however, permitted the export of coal to break the American strike, this action was impossible, and the defeat of the Americans would come back on them in Europe. "The International, as we have it, is a conglomeration of impotencies." Against it stood "an absolute international of the employers." "We must have an international that acts—not one only on paper. Otherwise we shall be compelled to say frankly, 'the International does not exist.'"

Impossible!

Whereupon Robson, on behalf of the British miners, arose with a resolution confirming the decision of the Geneva Congress in favour of a general strike against war, instructing the Executive of the Miners' International Federation to arrange that the questions of ways and means of international

miners' action be placed on the agenda of the congress of each national section, affiliated to the Miners' International, instructing the international committee to consider measures to be taken, in order to bring about closer relations with the American miners' organisations. Robson vehemently opposed Barthuel's idea of a strike or of direct action in the interests of the American miners.

It was impossible to carry out, and did not frighten the employers. Barthuel's misfortune was that he did not realise how the present relations of strengths lay. Unity of aim and organisation was necessary. "We demand," he concluded, "political action, and we are out to capture parliaments." Robson had the support of the great majority of the conference, the German and Dutch delegates referring to Barthuel's ideas as dangerous and misleading.

* * *

An interesting episode, which throws some light on events of the last 18 months, took place when the Belgian, Dejardin, spoke. He supported the Robson resolution, and opposed Barthuel. Nevertheless, one had the impression that his words were addressed not solely to the Frenchmen, but were meant also to be heard by a certain young miners' leader across the channel.

Dejardin declared: "We also are for a general strike, when it is necessary; for instance, when it is against war. But where was the international solidarity during the English strike last year? *Belgian miners were ready to back it and struck work weekly for one day (Monday) for six successive weeks.* But from Dunkirk French and Dutch coal went to England. Where was the French solidarity then?" This statement came as a great surprise to the German delegates, who learnt now for the first time that the Belgian miners had declined to work blackleg coal during the great British coal strike. In private conversation Dejardin stated after that he had come to London and had made arrangements with Frank Hodges that this should be done in Belgium. Yet the Belgian action was fruitless, because not only did the French continue to work blackleg coal, but so also did the Germans, in spite of the fact that the latter were only waiting for the word from England to take the same action as their Belgian colleagues. In fact, the late Otto Hue informed the writer in the autumn of last year that he

HAD TELEGRAPHED DIRECT TO FRANK HODGES INFORMING HIM THAT HE WAS READY TO STOP WORKING ALL COAL INTENDED FOR ENGLAND AND KNOCK OFF A CERTAIN NUMBER OF SHIFTS A WEEK FOR THIS PURPOSE. THIS TELEGRAM, ACCORDING TO HUE, WAS NEVER ANSWERED, AND NO ONE KNOWS TO THIS DAY IN GERMANY WHY THIS SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MINERS' FRONT WAS SO, APPARENTLY WANTONLY, LEFT OPEN.

Nor did the decisions of the Frankfurt Congress indicate that the mistakes of the past were being learned, for the French resolution, which, in spite of some unclear passages, provided a basis of action to help the American miners at a point where they are now being hit, viz., blackleg coal from Europe, was turned down, only the seven French delegates and five Communist and two Anarchist delegates from Czecho-Slovakia voting for it. The Robson resolution was then passed, and, as a sop, £10,000 voted for the American miners in aid of their strike fund.

To ALL RAILWAY WORKERS

By HARRY POLLITT

THE ferment inside the N.U.R. Shopmen's branches as well as the branches of the various Craft Unions catering for railway workers in respect to the Shopmen's Arbitration Award, is easily understood.

For years the interests of railway shopmen have been shamefully neglected, owing to the internal quarrels between the N.U.R. and those Craft Unions which have members employed on the railways, as to which Unions had the right to negotiate on behalf of the shopmen. The N.U.R. claimed that all men employed on the railways should become members of the N.U.R. The Craft Unions contested this point of view, and always tried to establish for their members working on railways district wages and conditions.

At every Trade Union Congress, there are appeals either from the N.U.R. as against the Craft Unions, or vice versa. The poor shopmen are always between the "devil and the deep blue sea." They always get advances of wages weeks after other workers who may be working on precisely similar work. All their negotiations are prejudiced by these quarrels. The shopmen are the Cinderellas of the railway industry.

A Base Award

The culmination of this "from pillar to post" policy has been to place the shopmen in that position, where their claims have had to be considered in a period of exceptional trade depression, while the traffic workers of the N.U.R. had their claims considered in much better circumstances. This is clearly seen. The base rates for traffic workers under their Award are 100 per cent above their 1914 rates, whilst the base rates for the shopmen (including the craftsmen) are only 30 per cent above 1914 rates.

True the shopmen have a bonus of 26s. 6d. on the top of their base rates, which will bring their wages up to a level approximating to the cost of living, or the district rate of wages paid for similar work in private locomotive shops, *but we must remember that this bonus is not a permanent bonus*, indeed to the consternation of the very men who negotiated the Shopmen's Award, certain Railway Companies are already asking for 16s. 6d. to be taken off this bonus immediately.

It will cause Splits

It was obvious that this attack would be made. The Unions in the Engineering Industry have suffered a 16s. 6d. reduction, which affects craftsmen and unskilled workers in locomotive firms building new rolling stock for Railway Companies.

Is it not clear that these Railway Companies will want the same reduction in their locomotive shops? This will bring the wages of many classes of shopmen below the district rate for similar work, even in the same town. It will revive the old quarrels and intensify the friction which has always existed even among members of the same Union, some of whom have been working in railway shops, and others for private firms.

To the shopmen in the N.U.R. it means that their wages will be below the traffic men on less skilled work. This will prompt the Railway Companies to try to persuade the traffic men to agree to a lower base rate; and if persuasion fails then force will be used. The shopmen's low wages will be a lever to force further down the wages of the traffic men.

Reject the Award

Already the boys, juniors and women members of the N.U.R. have had reductions. Shopmen and traffic men did not realise the necessity of making a united move to prevent this. They thought their positions secure. Now it is the turn of the shopmen; and unless this award is rejected it will be the traffic men who will be attacked next. They will find the full force of the Railway Companies exerted to force a reduction in their base rates; just as and when all other sections of railway workers have had their wages reduced.

Traffic men and shopmen must combine to reject this award.

The shopmen stood by the traffic men in the 1919 strike. The traffic men must stand by the shopmen in their attempts to reject this award. The Craft Unions whose members are affected must come to an agreement with the N.U.R. so that all can combine in a united attempt to reject an award, which will not only intensify the quarrels between the Craft Unions and the N.U.R., but will split the various Craft Unions also.

United Action Now

Whilst we realise the only solution for these internal conflicts between the various Railway Unions is *One Big Union for all Railway Workers*, we understand the nature of the immediate task. The shopmen's Award must not be looked at from a sectional point of view. It represents an insidious attempt on the part of the Railway Companies to force wage conditions on one section, which must inevitably react on all other sections of the railway workers.

We therefore urge that an immediate campaign be inaugurated to negotiate an award that gives the same increase in wages to the shopmen over their 1914 rates, as the traffic men have over theirs.

This will make a united front of all railway workers and prepare them for the coming struggle on the question of working hours.

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MEETINGS

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CLAPHAM. Sunday, 11 a.m., Common. 6.30 p.m. The Triangle.

DUNDEE. Sunday Meetings, Albert Square, 2.30 and 6.30. Business Meetings every Monday, Unity Hall, Hilltown, 8 p.m.

FULHAM. Branch meets every Tuesday, 9, Gowan Avenue, 8. Open air meetings every Wednesday, Effie Road, 8.

KENNINGTON. Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park, 8 p.m. August 27th. Speaker: W. Vaughan.

HAMMERSMITH. The Grove, Sunday, August 27th. Speaker, T. A. Jackson. Subject, "Justice and the Social Revolutionaries."

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