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TWOPENCE

A CALL TO RAILWAYMEN

By JOHN WALTON

"Railwaymen to-day are in a much stronger position than the workers in practically any other industry."—J. H. Thomas, M.P., *Labour Magazine*, July, 1922.

NO single section of the organised working class stands at the present time at less disadvantage as regards wages and conditions as do the railwaymen.

This has been attributed to various causes. Many members of the N.U.R. are disposed to credit it to their union's superiority of organisation. There is amongst the closest approximations to an industrial union. It contains, if not all the workers in the industry, a goodly proportion of all grades and sections and caters for them all (with the exception perhaps of the clerks).

The N.U.R. is not structurally perfect but it has marked a decided advance on many other forms of trade union organisation. Yet it is not to its strength and activity as a union that we must attribute the superior economic position of its members.

Nor is it due to the wisdom and foresight of its officials. These have understood how to make good bargains in circumstances of a favourable character. They have concluded agreements on terms which, to them as well as to their followers, have had a very plausible appearance of being the result of skilful negotiation.

This semblance has been the greater because, prior to the war, the railwaymen had been for years fighting a stern battle for recognition. The fact, also, that their leader was never a member of the Government and that he had never been in office where he could put his hands on influence and learn from inside the ways of railway directors in their dealings with the Board of Trade, made his success as a collective bargainer seem, indeed, the result of nothing less than genius and acute understanding of the market wherein he was operating.

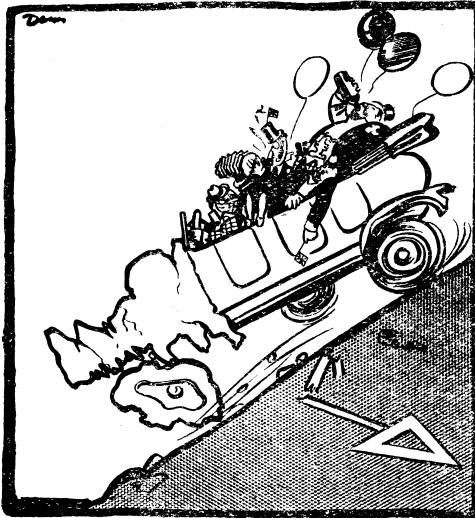
Superficially regarded, the achievements of Mr. Thomas have been in every sense remarkable. As the spokesman of his members and the custodian of their interests, not as workers in general but as railwaymen in particular, Mr. Thomas has seemed to be, within the limits of orthodox trades unionism, a leader who has made good. Certainly, this is the view that is taken of him by the great majority of those to whom he is responsible. There is nothing to be lost in conceding that fact.

There is, however, a gulf, wide and deep, between semblance and reality. Whilst conditions remain good the two may continue to harmonise. When, however, conditions alter for the worse, then the two part company and the disastrous consequences of a leader's mental confusion become obvious. That time is now at hand, if it has not already arrived.

The railwaymen under Mr. Thomas' guidance have become the envy of the working

class not because of the skill and sincerity of purpose with which we may surely credit him or even of the solidarity with which they have rallied to his support. The railwaymen owe their favourable position to the indispensable rôle which they fill in the economy of modern capitalism.

"The circulation of commodities," wrote Marx, "is the starting point of capital." We might add that the continuance of the process of circulation is absolutely necessary to the continued existence of capitalism. Now,



"DIRECTIVE ABILITY,"
or "The Dough at Deauville"

that "process of circulation" is carried on literally, in this and other highly developed capitalist countries, upon the railways of the country.

It is this fact, realised in its full significance by the manufacturers of and traders in heavy commodities who, in recent years, have come into complete mastery of the State machinery and, also, have captured from the landed and oligarchical elements control of the boards of the railway companies, that explains the relative ease with which Mr. Thomas has arrived at agreements favourable to the interests of his union and of his own reputation.

It should not be forgotten, in this connection, that it was the North Eastern Railway Company which first conceded the principle of recognition. Neither should it be forgotten that when the Government had to decide whether to resist the railwaymen's demand of the right to strike as being a menace to the military security of the State or else to concede this right and make friends with the union and its leaders, it was the influence and experience of Sir Edward Grey, late chairman of the North Eastern, that prevailed against that of Lord Claud Hamilton and Sir Frederick Banbury, chairmen of the other two great railways serving the ports of the German Ocean.

When the Government and the Liberal elements of the governing class realised that

they were going to need a smoothly running railway system to facilitate the successful running of a great war, they conceded to the railwaymen's leaders whatever they deemed necessary to secure their "loyal" co-operation.

Whilst the war continued, the executive committee of the industrial capitalist class intended to have no friction either with Mr. Thomas or his men.

But these same industrial capitalists who recognised, also, the need of humouring the engineers during "the engineers' war," the shipyard workers during the submarine campaign and the shipbuilding programme which it necessitated, and the South Wales miners whose steam coal kept their Navy at sea, realised, and still realise, that most commodities, whilst they continue to circulate, must do so in railway wagons, drawn by railway engines, and operated by railway men.

They have been able to snap their fingers at the engineers, to launch great campaigns of wage reduction against the shipyard men, to drive the steam coal miners into destitution because they no longer need their labour.

They have not been able, and will not be able to dispense with the men on whom the circulation of their commodities depends. But—and here is the rub for railwaymen—as a result of the group system and the reduction of the companies from 120 to 4; as a result of economies in the clerical and warehousing and carting departments; as a result of the use of labour-saving devices dispensing with porters, etc.; as a result of the coming introduction of automatic signalling, electrification and other improvements—there is going to be created a great reserve army of unemployed railwaymen. Moreover, there are technical reasons, inherent in the British railway system, that make it impossible to introduce the heaviest engines, bigger coaches and enormous coal wagons such as are used in Virginia. Compensating economies of operation will have to be gained at the expense of the railwaymen and, given a surplus of unemployed and ex-railwaymen, the task of maintaining Mr. Thomas' easily won scales of pay and working conditions will become absolutely impossible.

Meanwhile, thanks to Mr. Thomas' policy in better days and to the egregious vanity of his utterances concerning the truly enviable status of the railwaymen—"the members of my union"—the N.U.R. is becoming isolated from the rest of the organised workers, is being regarded with distrust and positive hostility and will, very likely, in the hour of its greatest and most desperate need, have to fight alone.

Railwaymen, are you prepared to let matters drift, to congratulate yourselves upon your numbers, your paper strength and your waste-paper agreements, or will you rather follow the fighting and far-sighted lead of the Red International of Labour Unions?

TRADE UNION CONGRESS

By J. T. MURPHY

AFTER Edinburgh comes Southport. After the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress. First the meeting of the leaders—Mr. Webb, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Henderson and Co. Second, the meeting of the political parties and representatives. Third, the Trades Unions. If such a procedure occurs in Russia the above gentlemen describe the process as the dictatorship of a Party. In England, clothes are cheaper, and it is "democracy." But the machine works in very much the same way. Apart from the emergency resolutions, it is easy to tell from the publication of the preliminary agenda what the Trades Union Congress will pass. After the Labour Party Conference we know what the speakers will say. And this year the Trade Union Congress will be as reactionary and counter-revolutionary as the Edinburgh Conference of the Labour Party.

The Hodges Policy

The principal issue before the movement, as shown in the preliminary agenda, is the General Council and the granting to it of greater powers. The amendment to Standing Order No. 11 (re duties of General Council) is too long to quote. In effect, the 5 clauses impose obligations on the unions to keep the Council better informed, ask for power to raise funds to assist in disputes, and strengthens the General Council as a body of mediators.

This resolution as it stands indicates the consummation of the Henderson and Hodges policy of Industrial Truce. It clinches the policy laid down at Edinburgh, and makes of the General Council a strike-breaking machine operating in the garb of the peace-maker. The policy pursued by the General Council in the Engineers' lock-out, hated by every trade unionist who participated in the fight, becomes the classic path to peace in the eyes of the General Council.

Deprecate strikes! Limit the struggle! Do nothing, in fact, that could be regarded as hindering the re-establishment of capitalism! Resolution after resolution rings out the same old tune. Resolution 20 even worships at the shrine of the League of Nations.

On not a single issue before the masses to-day has the General Council or a single large union given a lead. It is remarkable that practically every resolution of any importance (they are but few) emanates from one small organisation. Resolution 18, which provides an alternative policy, in some respects not satisfactory, but still an alternative, is moved by the Laundry workers. On the wages question the General Council has nothing to say, in spite of the 18 months' onslaught on wages. Apart from requesting greater strike *stopping* powers, it has nothing to say on anything. Nothing on the American coal strike; nothing on the South African trials; nothing on re-organisation of the unions; nothing definite on unemployment; simply a general resolution which may mean anything or nothing.

It has no lead on the International situation, nothing to suggest or propose as to how the workers are to get out of the present mess, nothing but measure of adaptation to the convenience of the capitalist class.

The General Council should be told frankly that greater powers involves greater obligations.

That the rôle of a general staff of Labour is not that of a mediator but a leader—to help the unions to be strong and to conquer. Not to be simply a subsidiser of strike funds and the handrag of the bosses.

The Extras

But let us not forget the emergency resolutions. Will they forget South Africa in

their haste to join the Edinburgh Conference in its abuse of the Workers' Republic of Russia? Whatever the resolution before the Congress may be, we appeal to the delegates to force the pace on behalf of the South African workers now being "tried" in a way which should make every British labour leader shut his mouth about "unfair trials" in other countries. *Save the South African strikers from the hangman's noose.*

The ordinary agenda is so empty of the things that matter that it would be the easiest thing possible to draft an emergency agenda. But only three resolutions are permitted, and these must come from the General Council. So whatever one may think ought to fill the bill we must anticipate what are likely to be the resolutions. Look out, therefore, for a "No More War" resolution and for the German Democratic Party's appeal to the Trades Union Congress to save it from losing capitalism.

The "No More War" agitation is a pacifist appeal which refuses to face life's realities. It is, in part, an instinctive reaction against

Congratulations to the Dockers, Railwaymen and others who are refusing to permit the Italian Black and Tans—murderers of the workers—to land in Britain.

1914-1918 and a deliberately fostered policy on the part of the ruling class to maintain the present relation of the classes. As Mr. Henderson so glibly argues:

"If you can appeal for no more war between nations, why not no more industrial war?"

In a world ruled by force how shall we enforce the demand for no more war? It is futile and cowardly to escape the implication of the slogan. If it is meant, it leads to war—the war of the classes. If it is not meant, it is sheer hypocrisy engineered for the purpose of blinding the workers to the real issues and tasks before them. But the leaders at the Congress will say they do mean it and table the Rome resolution for a general strike, upon which they agreed to disagree. They will fail again as they did in 1914 because they are not agreed, have done nothing to make possible the fulfilment of the resolution, and are the intellectual slaves of capitalist culture.

The Mark

And that is why they will also pass the demands of the German Trade Unions. Again they will not mean anything. The German leaders refused to lead in the one great hour since German Republic was established. That hour came in March, 1920, when the reaction from the "right" gave the opportunity for the seizure of power by the workers. There was no lead. The same opportunity approaches, and again the same leaders refuse to lead and prepare to retreat into deeper chaos. That way lies no escape.

The British Trades Union Congress may pass their resolution. If they attempt to support it by any other means than that of a deputation to the Reparations Commission they will intensify the situation from which they try to escape. If they do nothing the situation still intensifies. The German workers cannot escape their revolutionary tasks any more than the British workers can escape.

* * *

The Congress will pass. Its leaders will move to the "right" just as they moved at Edinburgh.

But the masses—?

Back to the Unions

A CALL to the unions of London District has gone out from the R.I.L.U. for delegates to a special conference. This conference is for the purpose of discussing the important questions of (1) wage reductions; (2) lengthening of the working hours; (3) the reorganisation of the union movement locally, nationally and internationally; and (4) the sending of a delegate to the Second World Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, to be held in Moscow, October 25th, 1922.

Fred Thompson (of the Dockers Union) will be in the chair; Comrade Tom Mann will address the conference on the issues indicated and the following resolutions will be before the conference:—

1. **WAGES.** "This conference of delegates from the Trades Union organisations view with grave concern the continued attack upon the wage standards of the working class and urges the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to immediately organise a united resistance of all labour organisations and to demand that the existing rate of wages be regarded as the minimum standard rates below which there shall be no further reductions."

2. **HOURS OF LABOUR.** "This conference declares against all attempts to lengthen the hours of labour and urges the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to take more vigorous action to prevent such attempts from being successful and to resist the extension of the 'spread over' system which we are convinced is only a means both to the extension and intensification of the hours of labour."

3. **UNION ORGANISATION.** (a) This conference considers that the best means of securing the united labour front in its local application to be the concentration of the unions, working class political parties, co-operative societies and unemployed organisations in the Trades and Labour Councils which should be re-organised into industrial, political and co-operative departments to effect the greatest possible co-ordination and effective unity in action.

(b) This conference calls on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in conjunction with the Executive Committees of the Trades Unions to introduce immediately a plan for the complete amalgamation of the Trades Unions into Industrial Unions centralised in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

(c) This conference declares that the Amsterdam International is a stumbling block to unity of action and calls on the Unions of Great Britain to sever their connection with it through the Trades Union Congress and affiliate to the Red International of Labour Unions.

4. "This conference declares itself heartily in favour of the Red International of Labour Unions and agrees to send a delegate to the Second World Congress of the R.I.L.U. Such delegate to report back to a re-called conference for the purpose of acquainting the union movement of this country with a fuller knowledge of the international situation and the growth and activity of the R.I.L.U."

Without mass interest there can be no mass organisation or action. Send your best men or women as delegates and give a rousing lead to the whole labour movement.

Remember September 16th, 1922. Send your delegates.

Delegates Fee of 2s. per delegate to cover cost of conference.

Do your part to save the unions and build the Red International of Labour Unions.

Voice of the Workers' International

By KARL RADEK

At the close of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow the representatives of the Workers' International addressed the tribunal. Karl Radek thus describes them and their demands:

AFTER the opening speeches by the representatives of Workers' and Peasants' Russia the representatives of the Communist International spoke.

CLARA ZETKIN

Clara Zetkin accused the S.R.'s of the betrayal of the World Revolution.

Clara Zetkin is the guardian of the revolutionary tradition of the working class movement. She entered the movement at a time when the German worker was bound hand and foot by the Bismarckian Socialist Laws; when the French worker still felt the depressive influence of the Commune's failure, that glorious uprising of the Parisian proletariat.

Clara Zetkin is a pupil of Marx and Engels. She received her lessons in Socialism within the walls which had witnessed the murder of the Communards, where small pilgrimages of the workers still met yearly, on the birthday of the Commune. She learned to know Socialism when the persecutions of the "Iron" Chancellor forced the German Social Democracy to live illegally. She learned to know Socialism among the Russian Revolutionists, to whom her husband belonged. And she remained true to the revolutionary ardour of those young days.

During many decades, this wonderful woman went from city to city, from factory to factory, arousing the workers to combat and teaching them the ways of their struggle. No one among the teachers of the proletariat, outside of Bebel, was so adored by the workers. They felt in her words not only the profound culture of the fighter, but her deep-felt convictions, for which she was ready to sacrifice her life; they felt her intense love for the abused and the oppressed.

The old Bebel used to say: "There are only two men in the party outside of myself, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin."

And then came the times of ordeal. Guns let loose their thunder, and the Social Democrats ran to cover. These years of betrayal show how right Bebel had been. From the first day of the World Revolution, Clara Zetkin took her place in the ranks of those revolutionists who fought mercilessly against the Second International for its betrayal of the Socialist cause, and who were gathering the working masses for the War against War, the World Revolution.

Who still remembers how Clara Zetkin came to the First International Conference for the War to end War in Berne, Easter, 1915—how she sang the "International" at the farewell meeting for those members who were leaving to conduct illegal work—how from that aged voice and that white hair the true faith radiated upon those present—who still remember these things, will never forget what Clara Zetkin means to the international proletariat.

On account of her activities she was sent to prison. The death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, murdered by that same Scheidemann band which is now squealing so loudly against the trial of the S.R.'s, did not daunt her. During the first period of the Revolution, Clara Zetkin was the flaming torch which pointed to the world proletariat the way to battle, to victory.

And in memory of the revolutionary past of the proletariat, of its hard waged battles for freedom; in the name of the future of

the working class, Clara Zetkin accused the S.R.'s of the betrayal of the World Revolution.

The Russian Revolution is the first victory of the world proletariat. Soviet Russia is the stronghold of the World Revolution. Who raises his hand against Soviet Russia, raises it against the international working class, and must perish.

MUNA

Muna also brought the S.R.'s face to face with their crimes. And no one has a better right to do it. The Czech worker Muna, a war prisoner, understood that it was his duty to fight heart and hand with the Russian proletariat for the Soviet System. Muna fought at the front against the Czech-Slovakian legions financed by the French Government. He fought for the World Revolution against the vanguard of the Russian counter-revolution, against these supporters of the S.R. dictatorship in Samara. When the revolution broke out in his native country, he hurried to the Czech-Slovakian workers, who had been misled by the nationalistic crowd.

The Czech-Slovakian Social Democrats, the same who are now protesting so loudly against the S.R. trial, often attacked him bodily at workers' meetings and mishandled him shamefully. They called him a paid agent of the Soviets, and threw him into prison for supporting the Soviet Power in Hungary.

Muna did not despair. His work is bearing its fruits. When millions of Czech-Slovakian workers, exasperated by the impudent provocation of their government, declared a general strike, Muna was sent to prison for a second time.

Vain persecution. Success crowned the work of Muna and his comrades. The great majority of the Czech-Slovakian workers left the treacherous Social Democracy and created a Communist Party; so that Muna is to-day at the head of one of the greatest proletarian parties in the world, a party which, in a land of 3,000,000 workers, counts 300,000 members.

In the name of the workers, he accused the S.R.'s of having corrupted the Czech Workers' Legions and placed in their hands weapons against the workers' government, by covering the machinations of the Entente capitalists under the flags of Socialism and Revolution.

BOKANYI

Further were the S.R.'s indicted by the leader of the Hungarian workers, Bokanyi.

The appearance of this adored leader of the Hungarian leaders revealed like a flash the historical significance of this S.R. trial.

Bokanyi has been fighting for thirty years among the Hungarian workers against the Hungarian capitalists and landowners. He remained, in the corrupt, opportunistic atmosphere of the Hungarian Social Democracy the apostle of the workers' revolutionary spirit. When the proletariat proclaimed its dictatorship against the capitalist forces of the whole world, Bokanyi was made a People's Commissar of Soviet Hungary. After the defeat, after the capitulation of the Social Democracy before the white guards, after the dissolution of the Communist Party, Bokanyi did not abandon the working class. He faced death in the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, just as hundreds of other Hungarian workmen, who were murdered without a trial, before the eyes of civilised Europe.

"Vandervelde did not come to our help then," said Bokanyi to the S.R.'s. Coolly

he looked death in the face, calm before his Hungarian executioners, and proudly maintained his allegiance to the World Revolution. On the day when he was condemned to death, nothing could be heard in the factories of Budapest but: "Long live Bokanyi, leader of the Revolution!"

The helping hand of Soviet Russia saved him from the hell of the Hungarian counter-revolution. He now appears before the court, draws for the S.R.'s a picture of the fall of the Hungarian Soviets and the ensuing carnage, and asks the S.R.'s: "Do you realise that had you been able to overthrow the Soviet power in Russia, you yourselves would then have been overthrown by the White Guards, who have instituted a dreadful reign of terror?"

The S.R.'s did not understand this—for they did not want to understand. The most upright among them declare that they prefer the dictatorship of capital and the large landed proprietorship to that of the proletariat. Zenzinov says: "Let Koltchak win, and I will pardon him, however he may treat us S.R.'s."

In the name of the Hungarian proletariat, which has suffered all the pains and difficulties of the revolutionary struggle; which now, under the yoke of the White Dictatorship, raises to us its bleeding hands to swear that it will continue the struggle until the Red Flag of Communism again flies over Budapest; in its name, Bokanyi demands that the S.R.'s should answer for their crimes against the Proletarian Revolution. They are responsible for those who have betrayed the Hungarian proletariat.

The inducements pronounced by the representatives of the Communist International are the voice of the international proletariat, demanding the punishment of the S.R.'s. They should not seek satisfaction in the fact that the Communist International does not as yet represent the majority of the workers. True, it has not the majority of the working class behind it yet. But when Karl Marx sounded his great call in 1847: "Workers of the World, Unite!" only a handful of revolutionary workers stood at his side.

He had, nevertheless, the right to speak in the name of the whole world proletariat, for he represented its interests and its future. Millions of workers are still attached to the traitors, millions of workers have not yet broken away from the bourgeoisie, millions of workers have not yet found the courage for a war to the death with capital. They are still the dumb slaves of the bourgeoisie. On that account only, could Vandervelde and Henderson, Renaudel and Scheidemann have defended the S.R.'s in their name. All those workers who fought during the war for the maintenance of the International, all those workers who have languished in prison for its restoration, all those workers of all countries who have given their lives for the Proletarian Revolution, from the 20,000 Germans Noske shot down, to the workers in the South African gold mines, whom English capital, Henderson's patron, murdered—all the living elements of the international proletariat which represent the future of the working class are behind us in our fight against the S.R.'s.

"A PITILESS JUDGMENT"

In the name of the Communist International, that is, in the name of the future of the international proletariat, comrades Zetkin, Muna and Bokanyi demanded a pitiless judgment of the past, present and future of the S.R. party.

The American Coal War

A CALL TO SOLIDARITY

The Policy of the "Communist" Endorsed Manifesto of the Communist International

THE bitter struggle between the coal miners and the coal barons of America has now been raging for four and a half months. Over 600,000 workers, without distinction of race or language, have been resisting for months all the assaults of the American Money Kings.

Armies of strike breakers have been called into service; military units have been mobilised in fifteen states; and a whole multitude of provocateurs are set in motion. But all this has failed to break the solidarity of the miners, and force them back to slave conditions of labour.

Their heroic resistance has begun to bear fruit. The coal reserves which the capitalists had piled up for the struggle have given out. American industry is beginning to gasp for breath, and the American exploiters are faced with a great defeat.

The British capitalists know very well that the defeat of the American coal barons will signify their own defeat as well, and the strengthening of British labour. They have immediately realised their class interests, and they are hurrying to the aid of the hard-pressed mine owners of America. They are loading whole fleets with coal and sending them to the United States. Every cargo of coal which enters the harbours of North America during the strike strengthens the

forces of the capitalists and robs the fighting workers of the successes which they have so far gained in the struggle.

There is a danger that the struggle which our proletarian brothers have been carrying on with such unexampled endurance will be defeated by the international solidarity of the capitalists!

This danger must be met by the international solidarity of the workers!

The International Congress of the coal miners which met in Frankfurt should have brought about this solidarity. But it remained true to the spirit animating the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and it did not dare to apply the only effective means, namely, the tying up of the coal export to America. Thus, the Amsterdammers have shown once again, as they have so often done before, that they do not want to fight the capitalist class in earnest. They have left the American strikers in the lurch.

This desertion has weakened the fighting front of the American miners. Unless the British workers step into the breach by resolute action they will be partly responsible for their defeat.

Transport Workers, Dockers and Coal Miners of Britain! *It is your turn!* You must understand that every shipment of coal

leaving for America is a blow in the back of the workers struggling there! You must realise that you are performing strike breaking service, and supporting the capitalist oppressors, if you do not put a stop to the loading of coal for America!

The defeat of the American workers will react upon you. The reduction of wages in America will prompt the British coal capitalists to launch another attack upon your wage standards with the cry that they cannot compete with cheap American coal.

But if you show your solidarity now, if you meet the united front of Capital with the united front of Labour, you will increase the fighting power of the American miners and help them on to victory. And you will also share the fruits of the victory with our American fellow-workers.

Therefore we call upon you:

Hasten to the aid of the American strikers!

Refuse to perform strike-breaking service for the capitalists!

Load no blackleg coal for America!

Long live the solidarity of the British and American workers!

The Executive Committee
of the Communist International.
Moscow, August 19th, 1922.



"HOW WOULD I LOOK IN THESE?"

POINCARE: "All the best Emperors come from France—and the air of Moscow might agree with me, after all!"

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Humbug—The God of the Respectable

THE death of Michael Collins gave the press a fine chance to show at once their zeal for things as they are and the propagandist arts by which the working mass are deluded into supposing that it is all done for their good. In the first excitement of the news the posters proclaimed the bare fact—"Michael Collins shot dead." Later the propagandists recovered their balance and we were invited to shudder at the "Murder of Michael Collins" and to deplore his "Assassination."

The fact that Collins, Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army fell in battle against the Irish Republican Army—fell before a stray bullet fired at the close of a fight during which he had himself used his gun for over an hour—the fact was discreetly hidden in the maze of letterpress; the comment ("Murder," "Assassination," and so on) was blazoned on posters and in screaming headlines.

It is thus that "public opinion" is manufactured in bourgeois society and in this incident is revealed the humbug of the whole bourgeois "horror" and "indignation" at "violence" and "bloodshed."

Michael Collins, gun in hand, fighting with the I.R.A. against the Black and Tans, was a murdering head of a "murder gang." Michael Collins, gun in hand, falling in a fight against the I.R.A., is a hero, a martyr, and the "finest spirit then existing in Ireland."

The White Terror and the Red

It is the same the world over. When Henry Wilson, Field-Marshal, organiser of pogroms, fell before the anger of victims of those pogroms, bourgeois indignation knew no limits and its horror no bound. But who among them suggested so much as a hint of horror when the brains of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were dashed out by swaggering junkers—and every fresh story of the assassination of Lenin or Trotsky is received with open rejoicing by a press only too glad to give publicity to such, to them, welcome news.

As with individual killings so with killings in mass. Amritsar was a "salutary exercise of the forces of order and restraint"—the Bolshevik resistance to invasion and to a campaign of individual assassination of the Soviet leaders and Commissars is (according to Winston Churchill) a "bloody baboonery."

When British miners, driven to desperation, throw a few stones at blacklegs it is an "outbreak of barbarous lawlessness"; when gangs of *Fascisti* burn down Trade Union Halls, Co-operative Societies, Socialist and Communist club rooms, beat up, maim, wound, and slaughter every leading Communist in sight, this is a "fine exhibition of the manly patriotism of the new Italy."

Everywhere the Bourgeoisie through its press values the killing and violence by the class objective of those who kill.

The Moscow Trials and Verdict

The Labour Party under its present leadership shows its bourgeois affiliation in nothing so clearly as in its reaction to the stimulus of each successive outburst of horror in the bourgeois press. When Wilson fell they, too, fell—in a fever of anxiety to "deplore" the deed and "repudiate" the assassins.

Just as if anybody were ever likely to suspect them of a tendency to do anything one-tenth part as positive as the killing of an enemy.

When, however, the Social Revolutionaries were put on trial they led the world with a campaign of indignation. The ordinary bourgeoisie would have bothered little. If one fraction of what they had said about the Bolsheviks was true it was a great concession for them to hold a trial at all. The Social Revolutionaries had proved a failure and a costly failure at that. It was therefore to the bourgeoisie an anti-climax to raise a scream over their possible fate. And besides the bourgeoisie knew to an hair and to a penny just what was the complicity of the S.R.'s and just what sort of

fate they deserved were their deeds valued from the standpoint of a bourgeois state.

The bourgeois press would, therefore, have remained silent—but the Labour Party and its European confreres rushed into the gap and everywhere their sphere of influence spread the woes of the Social Revolutionaries formed the theme of a tale of anguish.

When Connolly died—hardly a murmur. When Liebknecht died—a few whimpers and a sigh of relief. When it was believed that Lenin was dead—a stately silence concealing a great joy. But when his would-be murderers were put on their trial, and when they are sentenced to death—Litanies of horror and howls of execration.

In their case the humbug was even more intense than the normal of the bourgeoisie. They "do not believe" in violence, they do not "believe in force." They stand for peaceful and "democratic" procedure.

In the name of righteousness and justice they stand for "No more War"—and demand the release of the men who aided and instigated four years of war against the Soviet Republic.

In the name of peace and of democracy they oppose violence and murder—and cry out for the cancellation of all penalties upon the murderers of Volardarsky and Uritsky, upon the organisers of violence, sabotage and bloody civil war.

The humbug of the bourgeoisie is (like their system) gross, brutal and obvious, but the humbug of the petit-bourgeois leaders of the Labour Party is slimy and nauseating—like evil things creeping by night.

Force and the Workers' Republic

It is the claim of the Labour Party theoreticians that a reliance upon constitutional forms will suffice to bring the workers into their own.

Just as though we had not historical examples enough the past few weeks have been crowded with concrete demonstrations of the contempt in which the bourgeoisie hold all such "democratic" devices as fail to serve the purpose of holding the workers in deluded quiescence.

The German Republic totters economically under the blows of the Versailles Treaty—and as it totters in Bavaria and elsewhere throughout Germany the junkers re-gather in their armed bands ready to inflict a bloody vengeance on the proletariat who were prime agents in their political overthrow.

As Poincare (driven on by the French Steel and Iron Masters) gets ready to seize the Coal and Iron of the Rhine provinces so the junkers get ready to rush back in power. And the Social-Democratic rulers of Germany (friends and co-idealists with Macdonald and Henderson) repudiate the proletarian revolution and persecute the Communists in order to win the confidence of the Stinnes and Co. who alone can, they think, supply the money power which will save them from their junker foes. Tried as with fire the Social-Democratic crew casts aside its revolutionary garb and stands up plain in all men's sight—bourgeois, enemies of the proletariat, naked and unashamed.

In Italy the case is even clearer. Politically and Economically bankrupt Italy trembled, so balanced upon the brink of the torrent of revolution that Socialists split from Communists on the express ground that revolution was so inevitable that further preparation and the organisation of means of defence for the Workers' Revolution were rendered unnecessary.

Now the organised terrorism of the Fascisti—a cross between the British Legions and the Black and Tans—has cleared out the Socialist districts, destroyed the meeting places, dethroned the municipalities, and threatened to march upon Rome 300,000 strong in order, if need be, to take over the government and exterminate Socialism, Trade Unionism, Communism, and any other "unpatriotic" proletarian activity.

Whenever the proletariat shows a sign of making themselves masters of their means of life, then the bourgeoisie find dupes and allies who leap to arms in order to crush out every possibility of anything of the sort.

The Labour Party theoreticians would have us believe that nothing of the sort is possible in England: that the country which produced the Black and Tans could not conceivably produce a White Guard: that the country which gave shelter, aid and comfort to Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel would never give shelter, aid and backing to an English Horthy bent on a bloody suppression of a British Workers' Rising.

If ever the British Workers get near to their goal—and although it looks a big "If" even Webb, Macdonald and Henderson cannot delay it quite for ever—they would find that the British Bourgeoisie is like that of all the world—as merciful as a tiger robbed of its whelps.

All Party members who are delegates to the Conference of the Municipal Employees Association on September 18th and 19th are urged to communicate with Headquarters.

Nat. Organiser

Agriculture and the Worker

By A. B. F. WHITE

MANY Communists are now enjoying their annual holidays in the country. It is to be hoped that they will spend some of the time telling the people they meet there something about the Labour Movement. Now is also the time for the local Labour Parties and Communist Party branches to send out their members on cycles to hold meetings and distribute literature in the remote parts of their constituencies. In winter, the roads are almost impassable with mud. Rooms for indoor meetings are hard to obtain, and the workers and their wives do not feel inclined to turn out into the cold from the warmth of their firesides after a hard day's work.

There are still many villages in all parts of England which the trade union organiser has hardly visited and no Labour Party or Socialist speaker has ever come, where nothing has ever been heard of the Labour Movement except a few weeks before the Parliamentary Election of 1918.

The people of these villages are generally glad to argue and talk with the Socialist visitor from the town. They will attend—at a safe distance—a Labour meeting on the village green. They are usually very hard up for something to read, and eagerly devour Labour leaflets and literature.

It must be remembered that the agriculturists are important people. It is they who largely supply the nation with food. Their support, or at least neutrality, is essential if the transition from the capitalist to the Socialist system of society is to be effected permanently and with the minimum of friction.

THE AGRICULTURAL WORKER.

Agricultural workers are being forced by present circumstances to consider very carefully their relation to the rest of the nation. Unemployment is with them to an unprecedented extent. The Union of Agricultural Workers alone registered over 20,000 of its members unemployed in July.

In 1920, 3,000,000 acres of land changed hands. Much of this has been bought by big city capitalists and middle-class triflers. These know very little about farming. They can only manage by picking the brains of some agricultural worker whom they have installed as bailiff at a little higher wage than his fellows. From these people's dependence on them, the workers are realising very definitely that they have as many brains and are quite as capable, or more so, of running a farm as their employers.

Wages have gone down rapidly and show signs of a further decline. The average rate is now 30s. for a 50-hour week. In one or two counties it is even lower. It is obviously impossible to bring up a family with even a moderate degree of comfort on this sum.

THE FARMER.

In spite of paying his employees almost starvation wages, the small English farmer is complaining that he can hardly make both ends meet. Though farmers are proverbial grumblers, the number of ex-farmers seeking jobs as labourers and cowmen and the frequency with which small farms have changed owners in many parts of the country bear witness to the fact that their present grievances are substantial enough.

The fact is that with land at its present rent, and feeding-stuffs at their present cost, it does not pay the farmer to supply milk at the price he is getting for it at present. It will be remembered that the recent strike of the farmers against the Milk Combine was unsuccessful.

The farmer is also losing money over his store cattle. A commentary on this is the

calculation that in 1922 there were half-a-million less head of cattle in the country than in 1914. The figures for sheep are very similar. It is said on good authority that the 1923-4 figures will show a further decrease.

The farmer is led to risk little for small profits and possible loss. He only troubles

WORKERS AWAKE!

The Liverpool Board of Guardians have introduced a LABOUR TEST for men receiving relief. Batches of a few hundred men are chosen at a time and compelled to work THREE DAYS for which they receive NO PAY, in order to prove that they are willing to work.

INDIVIDUAL refusal of these brutal and degrading terms means DISQUALIFICATION FOR RELIEF.

Is it seriously contended that those workers who are in receipt of relief do not want work? Is it a plan for getting work done cheaply? or, is it simply another way of harrassing and browbeating men who cannot get work because those who are in control of the present rotten system cannot find work for them?

How long will men in jobs retain them, if those out of work can be forced to work for nothing?

We, the Provisional Unemployed Strike committee call upon those who still have an ounce of manly dignity left, to refuse work unless it is paid for,

**ORGANISATION WILL GIVE YOU STRENGTH TO RESIST!
BE MEN: STAND TOGETHER.**

We call upon you, Workers of Liverpool to heed the call of your own class!

Meetings will be held on
ISLINGTON SQUARE
every day at 2.30 p.m.

**SIGN THE DECLARATION AND
DAMN THE TYRANTS!**

DECLARATION

I hereby solemnly promise, bad as my own conditions are, that I will not allow myself to be used to make the conditions of my fellow-men worse than they are at present.

I am willing to work, but those who offer it must pay me for doing it.

Name.....

Address.....

(Sign the Declaration and hand it to the Strike Committee).

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

to till the best land. Between 1920 and 1922, 830,000 acres of land went back to grass. What with land going out of cultivation and the amount of animals kept diminishing steadily, the reason for the increase in unemployment is obvious.

THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

To be quite candid, there can be no future for English agriculture standing by itself. It cannot compete with other countries climatically more favoured and where large scale production is possible. Even now it cannot

compete with Ireland, rottenly as Irish agriculture is now organised. If protective tariffs were imposed to help it along, the whole body of the consumers, including the agricultural labourers, would have to pay for dearer food, which they would not and could not do.

Under a "world economy" British agriculture would fulfil its natural function; that is, it would supply its immediate neighbourhood with what it could most easily produce. But "world economy" is only possible after the collapse of the capitalist system throughout the world. In the meanwhile there are many points of organisation on the labour programme which must be adopted if the industry is to live at all.

Much could be done by the elimination of private enterprise. For example, the productivity of the land has hardly increased at all during the last 50 years, simply because centralised scientific treatment and experiment are incompatible with private ownership. The average yield of hay is 5½ tons per acre, while experts give 16-17 tons as a possible, and 9 as a satisfactory average. In yield of most cereals per acre, England compares unfavourably with most Western European nations.

The milk supply again is unsatisfactory. The average yield per cow is 500 gallons of milk per year, while good animals give 1,000 gallons, or even more. If records of each cow's performance were kept, it would be comparatively easy and quick to remove this disparity. But records cannot be exacted under private ownership. Again, the wholesale price of milk might be raised without injury to the consumer if distribution were properly organised. Why should there be six milkmen to a street and only one postman?

SOCIAL SERVICES IN COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

There are other points in the Labour programme which will interest agricultural workers. The villager has to take any cottage he can which is near his job. This makes the landlord careless about repairs. In one village of about a hundred inhabitants there are nine houses with leaking roofs. The housing question is very acute in the country. Many cottages were allowed to fall into decay during the war. Few have been built, and most of these have prohibitive rents.

Town women will shudder on hearing that hardly any houses have sinks and that all water has to be carried in and out of the house. It has to be pumped from a well often a considerable distance away.

Some cottages have no gardens, and indeed many workers find it poor fun spending their evenings on the allotments or gardens when they have done nine hours of similar work during the day.

The agricultural worker's child is often handicapped for life by an inferior education. It is seldom that a child, however bright, coming from the tiny "church" school of a small village, is in a position to compete with the child from the large and well-staffed and equipped school in the neighbouring town.

In fact, there is no end of things to put right when the workers gain political control of the county social services and industrial control of the land.

There are many isolated Communists in rural districts who will find it very hard to take part conscientiously in the ordinary activities of their local Labour Party, and the only opportunity of getting a free hand in propaganda is in this work on virgin soil, which the Labour Party has in most places neglected.

To show dwellers in the country how it may be made more comfortable and interesting to live in, is an effective way of preparing for the revolution.

The Rise and Fall of the Entente

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

II. Economic Origins

THE multiplicity of political fractions, which has rendered the interplay of French affairs almost unintelligible to the English observer and which has now been modified very considerably by the formation of the "Bloc National," had a basis in the economy of the Third Republic.

The Home of the Bourgeoisie

France is, and has for a century been, the fountain head of bourgeois democracy.

It has been thus, the nursery and school house of middle-class politics, because it has been the one country in which material conditions have made for the survival of the middle-class as the dominant class.

Capitalism in France grew up in and has continued to draw its substance from an economy of land cultivation and the working up for the market of the produce of the farm, the field and the vineyard.

Thus in its earlier stages (i.e., in the 18th century) French Capitalism was a stronger and richer growth than its English and Scottish contemporaries.

Fortified by these resources, the bourgeoisie of France tried conclusions with the autocracy and its landlord supporters and, in the great Revolution, swept them away and built up a new political system on the razed ruins of the old.

Immediately thereafter, it sought, under the eagles of Buonaparte, to recover the fields of exploitation which it had lost by reason of the ineptitude of the later Bourbons and its own absorption in the revolutionary struggle.

It failed. It failed heroically under the spectacular leadership of Napoleon the Great. It failed less conspicuously but none the less surely under the Restoration and under the rule of Louis Philippe. It failed melodramatically under Napoleon the Little. It failed obscurely in the earlier years of this, the Third Republic.

The reasons for this failure—long drawn out and productive of so much discontent within and disturbance without—were not to be sought in the political crises and upheavals which accompanied it.

Cotton and Corn

The French bourgeoisie failed in the 20th century because, after the Industrial Revolution in Britain (which occurred simultaneously with their political Revolution) the material basis of British production became bedded in just that prime necessity in which France is so conspicuously lacking—Coal.

Not only had and has France very inadequate supplies of coal but those she has lie in scattered fields, remote from her iron mines and distant, also, from good harbours and navigable waters.

Moreover, the great cotton manufactures upon which the Liberal bourgeoisie of Lancashire and the West of Scotland grew rich and prospered so exceedingly, took their rise just at the very time when the Blockade prevented the French obtaining adequate supplies of cheap raw material. Thus, the French cotton manufactures laboured under an enormous initial handicap. Furthermore, there has been no heavy import of foodstuffs in France to foster a big export of finished articles. The textile manufacturers of the North have had to depend on sources of raw material dominated by British capital. Cotton has contributed much, directly and

indirectly, to the establishment of the Entente.

Credits and Colonies

Then, at successive periods, British financial houses have done a great deal to help French governments to stabilise themselves. The Restoration in 1816 drew upon the Barings. The men who imposed their will upon Louis Philippe in 1830 were financed by the Rothschilds or by the Liberal Catholics who had financed Daniel O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation. Other British bourgeois lined their nest in aid of Napoleon III.

When in 1848 not only did the Liberal bourgeoisie of the Rhineland fail to set up a German Republic financed and ruled by Frankfurt capitalists but the process of unification under Prussia made Berlin and Dresden of more importance, many of the Radical bourgeois hived off to Antwerp, London, Liverpool and Paris.

These gentry became very powerful in the Third Republic. They were cosmopolitans. They were an influence making for solidarity between Britain, France and Belgium. They desired the overthrow of the Brandenburgers' Kaiser and a bourgeois alliance of republics run by and in the interest of bankers.

In the Third Republic, Gambetta, Rouvier and Painlevé successively pursued the aim of establishing an *entente* with the Liberal and the Liberal Unionist bourgeoisie of Great Britain.

Such were the deepening currents which made for co-operation with Britain, with Liberalised Britain, as a definite principle of French bourgeois statecraft.

Not, however, until the Monarchist-Clerical-Nationalist Reaction had finally been pulverised into acceptance of the Republic as a *fait accompli* was it possible to set about deliberately to cement an alliance with the State in whose Empire and whose spheres of influence the banking oligarchy of Republicanism and Radicalism had so many milliards of francs invested.

Because of their material interests in the Rand, in Egypt, in Argentina and in the strategically exposed areas of Madagascar and Indo-China, the bankers (whose agent was Rouvier) made an entente with Britain.

Not only so, but in 1898 it became obvious to all the parties of the French bourgeoisie that in opposition to Britain they could not hope to extend their Empire.

But the year that saw Fashoda saw, also, the passing through the Reichstag of the first German Navy Law.

The logic of the situation was plain. The lessons of history were obvious.

Here was the hereditary enemy of the seas challenged by the hereditary enemy of the land. Here was Britain challenged by Germany as she had been of old by Spain and Holland and France. Here were the two great industrial capitalist Powers coming into conflict.

Coal and Iron

These two rivals were each rivals of France. They were each more powerful than her in this stage of economical development by reason of the fact that they had what she lacked. They had coal and iron in abundance and organised industries, reared upon the exploitation of both in conjunction.

France needed to gain control of coal and iron.

As yet she scarcely understood the immeasurable potentialities of the iron-ore fields of Normandy and Anjou but she had just begun to appreciate the riches and to exploit the ore field of Briey.

The latter field was, besides, a part of the great Luxemburg-Lorraine field, exploited and contributing almost the whole native supplies of ore to Germany.

It was, however, on the very frontier.

It was necessary to bring Briey, to bring the whole field, back behind the frontier of France, safe behind the guns of French fortresses.

Britain was in need of iron-ore. Britain was jealous of Germany's competition in the steel trade. Britain was jealous of Germany's increasing coal exports.

France had one important coalfield, but this was only part of a larger field underlying both her own soil and that of Belgium. It was, moreover, a field that continued eastward and emerged again in the Ruhr Valley. *It would be possible, by arrangement with Belgian capital, to unite in one productive system the colliery industries of the Nord, the Pas de Calais and Belgium.*

This arrangement could, however, only be arrived at in conflict with the German capital already involved in its development and by agreement with Great Britain, the friend and patron of Belgium.

To safeguard the Nord—producing three-quarters of her coal—and the Meurthe and Moselle—producing nine-tenths of her iron-ore—as well as to extend the areas of exploitation was possible if only she could pick a quarrel with Germany in which she could throw one great industrial rival against the other.

France learned the lesson of Fashoda and set herself to teach Britain, who never needs much instruction in such cases, the lesson of the German Navy Law.

First, Germany must be destroyed and, if possible, argued the bourgeoisie, the typical bourgeoisie of France, dispossessed of both her iron and her coal. Then, Britain, weakened in the struggle, might be overwhelmed in a second conflict with the already powerful and increasingly ambitious Empire of the United States.

Cold, calculating, relentless, ruthless, inexorable logic of the most true-to-type bourgeoisie in all the world, logic such as we are familiar with as the logic of M. Poincaré, mathematician, Premier of France and tool of the Comité des Forges, is it not thus that the *haute banque*, i.e., French high finance, may have argued it out amongst its own experts and advisers?

Communist Party of Great Britain

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THE S.S. STAR CHAMBER

By WILFRID BRADDOCK

THE name of the prison ship does not matter, sufficient that it is a Star Chamber afloat, a veritable hell hole and is the result of years of religious bigotry and filthy Boss Class propaganda.

It personifies the actions of Frothy Freddy Smith and Bulldog Craig, it is a minor detail in a ceaseless "divide and conquer" that is used so successfully in Ireland to-day.

The S.S. "Star Chamber" (for want of a better name) is a ten to fifteen hundred ton steam-driven wooden vessel lying in Belfast Lough and it is used as a prison for the opponents of Carsonism.

Many sleepless nights must have been spent in devising ways and means of rendering the ship unseaworthy—picking out an anchorage which would give the prisoners must trouble and torture and generally arranging things so that she could be sunk ("by accident") at a moment's notice.

To begin with, this floating torture chamber lies in the fairway. In other words, it lies in the track of inward and outward-going ships and is in hourly danger of a collision. She is riding at two anchors and the kindness of this act has been amplified by the fact that the anchor-chains have fouled and are crossed four or five times.

The authorities have placed her in the worst anchorage possible—exposed to westerly gales and all rough weather. To men not used to the sea this, of course, means double pain—the horror of imprisonment in such a place, and the pain and discomfort of seasickness.

No one but political prisoners are aboard and the cargo space is devoted—most benignly—to four or five hundred men (for further particulars see the slave carrying ships of other days).

The foredeck, which is used as an exercise ground, is well guarded with steel mesh work—in case any misguided prisoner should prefer a watery grave to a wooden torture pen. There is also a suspicion that it may be intended to lessen the prisoners' chance of escape should an accident occur. No more than one at a time could get out of the cage: a bright idea must have struck the Wee Parliament—"it may be a slow job and they may have time to all get out"—and so they provided two lifeboats to carry five hundred men.

Whichever way the men turn they are in danger of death. The ship itself is likely to break loose from her anchorage at any time. She is in the fairway and may be run down at any time. To assist this she carries no riding light. To amuse the prisoners until either of the two accidents occur she is placed so that all the force of the wind and sea strike the ship. And the ship is running more risks than any merchant ship would ever dare to chance.

Thus we wage the war for the Empire. Arson, ruthless and brutal murders, child killing, floggings, starvation and now—the brain wave of S.S. "Star Chamber."

Truly the workers of Belfast are paying for their solidarity during the general strike for 44 hours.

The Napoleon of Fleet Street

A BOURGEOIS civilisation stifles originality in the masses and breeds hypocrisy in the classes; so we get a Hypocritical Age and the apotheosis of the Second Rate. Hence dead Alfred Harmsworth and his weird evolution from *Home Chat* to the *Daily Mail*.

The feeblest mind can follow the mental development of a genius who incepted *Answers*, *Home Chat*, finally soaring to the dizzy height of the *Daily Mail*, and eventually destroying the *Times* just as dead Arthur Pearson did the old *Standard*.

Newnes, Pearson, Harmsworth are Destroyers, not Builders; they have not created a single idea; their quality of thought has never risen about the Pound Sterling; all their gold has been the veriest brass, highly polished to create the illusion.

Even the Gods, ever-patient, grew weary of the great Alfred's verbiage; and in infinite pity they touched his brain and made him—madder even than the readers of the *Daily Mail*. Then Siva, the destroyer, undertook his dissipation and recreation.

The world has lost little except a windy lord-man, a very cute tradesman in mere words, a typical Bourgeois; and Alfred has not missed much; for average human life is surely ten times more cruel than mere Death.

The Great Crime was merely a new stunt to this bright Fleet Street impressario. A Hypocritical Age produces only Lying Prophets; the leaders of the Bourgeoisie are third-rate simply because they are insincere. Even their virile singer, ill-trained but wonderfully expressive, Kipling, uttered so many shrieking falsetto notes that his throat burst when he attempted to voice the Great Horror. Imperialism came; and the singer was dumb. Harmsworth, however, the mere showman, beat the hypocritical drum of Civilisation right valiantly almost to the bitter end.

What, in reality, was the mission of this drummer of the Bourgeoisie? Alfred Harmsworth kept his thumb on the pulse of that strange entity, the general reader; and when he sensed a demand, he ministered to it, however base, provided it were within the law and likely to yield a handsome profit. As a Sycophant, Fleet Street, the home of the breed, did not possess his equal; and he dolled up the oldest and stalest Bourgeois maxims in a brand new print dress—the *Daily Mail*.

His most glaring mistake was effected when he rashly attempted to pour new wine into an ancient Bourgeois bottle—the *Times*, undismayed by the face of the Old Lady of Shoe Lane. Pop went the weasel! The crude Carmelite vintage made a sorry mess in Printing House Square; and the *Telegraph* and the *Morning Post* took heart of grace and sang a pæan of passionate Bourgeois relief.

Alfred was no Napoleon of the Press after all. The *Times* exploded and saved Fleet Street, placing the man for us, compelling him to retreat in alarm to his Citadel, and brew the famous orange-juice, his especial and profitable brand of revenue-producing cordial, sweet to the taste, frothy—a drink exactly suited to weak stomachs and feeble minds.

The Mystery is solved. Harmsworth was *Home Chat*; he developed into the *Daily Mail*; and the *Times* finished his career just as the *Standard* did that of dead Arthur Pearson. He never gave expression to one great thought; but he created a new print-dress for time-worn Bourgeois platitudes and hypocrisies, decked out in pink streamers, the Recruiting Sergeant of the Bourgeoisie—the *Daily Mail*.—L. P. QUAD.

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

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MEETINGS

Communist Party Branches

BIRMINGHAM. Sundays, Bull Ring, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Barton's Arms, 7 p.m. Wednesday, Adderley Road, Saltley, 7.30 p.m. Fridays, Small Heath Park, 7.30 p.m. Tuesdays, Branch E.C., A.S.E. Club, Spicel Street. Intending members apply to T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

DOVER. Meetings every Sunday, Eythorne, 11 a.m. Dover Market Square, 7 p.m.

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

FARSLEY FEAST MEETINGS. J. T. Murphy (Sheffield) will speak opposite Feast Ground, 2.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m., September 3rd.

KENNINGTON. Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park. 8 p.m. September 3rd. Speaker: T. A. Jackson (Editor of *Communist*).

NOTTINGHAM. Wm. Morris Institute, Heathcote Street. Meetings on market place every Sunday morning and evening. All varieties of rebel and educational literature on sale.

SOUTHWARK. Sundays, 11.30 a.m. East Street. 8 p.m., St. George's Circus.

SOUTHEND. Sundays, Marine Parade, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Branch meetings, Fridays, 8 p.m., Labour Institute.

WOOLWICH. Sunday, September 3rd, 7 p.m., Beresford Square. Speaker: Minnie Birch.