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TWOPENCE

## Through Toil to Triumph

By FRED WILLIS

**T**HE capitalist attack on the workers' standard of life develops finely. The crushing defeat of the miners was the signal for an assault upon all other sections of workers that now takes on the aspect, not so much of battle, as of indiscriminate massacre.

It is absurd to call this class struggle; class butchery if you like—as much “war” as when herds of wild animals, terrified and cowed by the beaters, are stampeded into an enclosed space to be picked off in detail by the hunters.

Men talked hopefully at one time, in the dear dead days just after the great victory, of getting back to pre-war conditions. Fools! We are slipping back as fast as we can to the “Hungry Forties.”

Mean and unutterably sordid as was the workers' lot in 1913 there is a worse fate in store for them, unless—

The tragedy of it all is that the possibilities contained in that word “unless” have no place in the mentality of a working-class bred from three generations of intensive capitalism and carefully educated into tame servility. Otherwise the capitalists, powerful though they are, would never have dared to launch their present attack.

For the big campaign against the workers is no afterthought. There was a G.H.Q. at work, planning and scheming, long before the first shot was fired. Our masters can afford to buy shrewd brains to work their schemes and develop their strategy. J. L. Garvin, writing with a keen understanding of capitalist intentions, proclaimed in the *Observer* of December 4th last year, the slogan of the capitalist crusade!

“Our desperate prospect of recovery only lies at present in a steady lowering of the standard of life, and the restoration of our selling capacity by the cheapening of labour.”

About a month earlier Sir William Bull, M.P., speaking at Hammersmith, delivered the full gospel, and let out a Cabinet secret into the bargain:—

“I was at a meeting of the Cabinet Unemployment Committee yesterday, and some straight things were said about wages.

I am afraid wages are bound to come down, and the question is whether they will come down in time to save us from a financial catastrophe.

We sympathise with the trade unions in their efforts to maintain a minimum wage, but we find it difficult to see how we can compete in the world's markets while wages are at their present height.”

Such quotations could be multiplied indefinitely if needed, but for present purposes two are all sufficient.

When Mr. Garvin, for instance, writes of “our selling capacity,” he means exactly what Sir William Bull means by “competing in the world's markets.” Both gentlemen assume, that is to say, the permanence of the capitalist system of production. They do not trouble to defend capitalism; they simply take it for granted.

And, unfortunately, that is exactly the state of mind of most of the workers also.

If then capitalism is to continue as tacitly agreed upon both by the capitalists and the majority of the workers, it follows un-

questionably that the maintenance of our selling capacity in the world's markets is a matter of prime importance—nay, one of life or death—to the inhabitants of these islands

Just as unquestionably Garvin and Bull and all the capitalists are also right when they assert that our selling capacity can only be maintained by the workers agreeing to accept a standard of life no higher than that of their competitors elsewhere. What German and Austrian workers are forced to accept must be the measure of the Britisher's reward. Later on it will be what Japanese and Chinese labourers are forced to accept; and the same inexorable logic will still apply; to the infinite content of every patriotic British worker who values the maintenance of the commercial supremacy of Great Britain above all else in the world.

He will certainly have no right to complain. He has no right to complain now. His weekly reduction, his lengthened hours, his unemployment, constitute the price he pays—and must pay—for the capitalism he agrees to support. Only those, who, like ourselves, refuse to give capitalism the longer lease of life it craves, have a logical right of complaint.

But the worker takes precious little heed of logic. A healthy instinct tells him that 16s. 6d. off his wages in three big lumps is not something to jazz about. That he has no logical right to complain does not trouble him in the least; any more than the fact that he is helping to maintain British prestige abroad gives him consolation. He does complain pretty vehemently; and sometimes he kicks. As capitalism in its desperate efforts to recover its old position eats more and more into his standard of subsistence, he will develop an amazing disregard for the capitalist “restoration of our selling capacity,” and a quite proper insistence up-

on the recognition of his own capacity to consume.

Clearly it is a Communist duty to encourage and help him.

The objection of the theoreticians that the mere struggle for higher wages is not a revolutionary objective has no weight beside the possibilities contained in the seething mass of discontent that the workers of our industrial centres must become in the oncoming strenuous years.

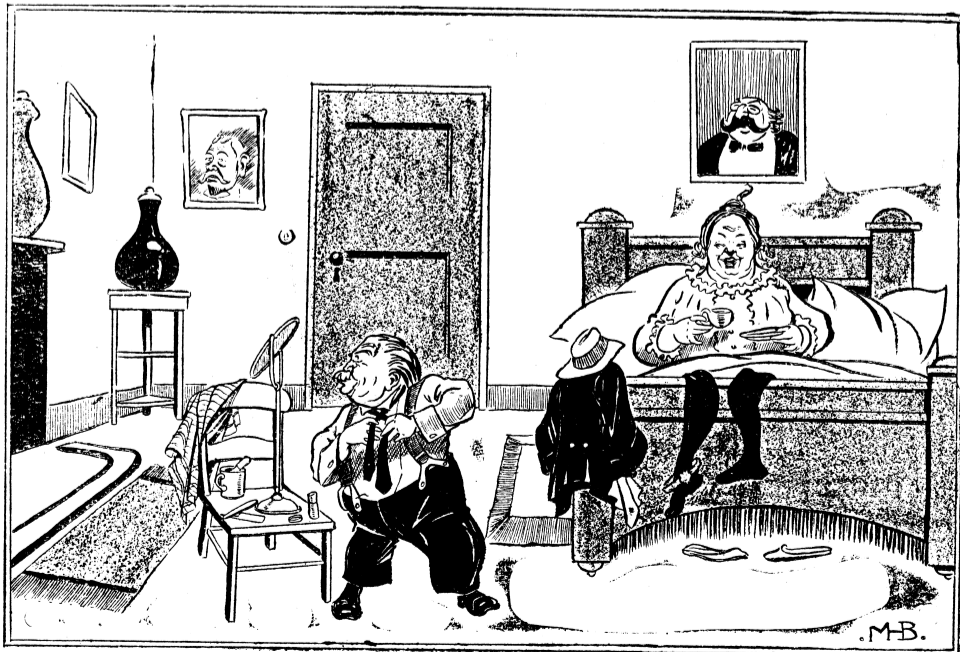
Only experience in the actual struggle for bread will create the revolutionary atmosphere. We know that the struggle cannot abate. While not unmindful of possible reserves of strength in the capitalist order, we believe that order to be fatally undermined. The attacks upon wages must continue because of the desperate situation of the very capitalists themselves.

If capitalism lingers, thirty years of hopeless misery and struggle lie ahead of the workers.

Blindly exhausting every possible form of error, they will, if their past history is any criterion, avoid the revolutionary solution till the last moment. But, while the Communist Party exists, no really class-conscious employer will sleep more soundly o' nights because of that tragic procrastination.

For the Communist duty is clear. Let the capitalists take heed. Every false step they take shall be exposed and exploited to the full; every desperate expedient unmasked and fought. No occasion shall be lost to rally the workers to the standard of revolt.

Ten years peace, forsooth! Peace is for the victors resting fat and contented on their laurels. For the defeated nothing honourable remains but constant planning, unremitting organisation, and the sublime hope that the vanquished feel in snatching from the ashes of defeat the crown of a larger victory.



THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM SOLVED

LLOYD GEORGE: Yes, my dear! They could all write their memoirs for £100,000 each—but they're too lazy. They like queuing up at the Exchange!

# THE GREAT RED DRIVE

## MINERS' MINORITY MOVEMENT By J. T. MURPHY

THE Blackpool Conference saw more than the casting of 118,000 votes in our favour. It saw the beginning of the first real attempts to organise the strength of the R.I.L.U. influence in the Miners' Federation.

This takes the form of a powerful minority movement within the Federation. The need for such a movement has been felt for some time. Our influence has been growing rapidly, but has lacked organised expression and leadership.

The R.I.L.U. Bureau and the Communist Party recognised this weakness. Two months ago it set the pace for a campaign and set up special committees to conduct the work of agitation throughout the industry.

Many of the districts had already elected their delegates to the Conference by the time that these districts were reached. Notwithstanding this the results have been excellent.

Instead of the Blackpool Conference registering a final defeat of the Red International, it marks the beginning of a great process. Arising directly from the Conference and the agitation we have conducted, has sprung a new leadership challenging that of the old gang—an organised endeavour to harness the present minority forces with a view to winning the Miners' Federation completely to the Red International of Labour Unions.

The lead in this Minority movement comes at the moment from South Wales. Comrades S. O. Davis and A. H. Cook (who led the Conference on the Red International resolution) along with Comrades Ablett, J. Thomas and Dagger, all of whom are prominent leaders of the South Wales Miners' Federation, have led the way with a clarion call to the whole Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

Great discontent exists throughout the Federation. The great downward push in wages since the lock-out of 1921, the bitter sufferings of the miners and their families throughout the length and breadth of Britain, the refusal of the leaders to face the demands arising from these terrible conditions, all are contributing daily to inspire the miners to look for a new lead.

The new lead has come and it cannot help but gather strength.

The Minority Movement is demanding the complete reorganisation of the Miners' Federation, the fusion of the County organisations into a single industrial union, the elimination of non-unionism from the coal-fields, the repudiation of the Amsterdam International, and the tackling of the miners' problems on an international scale by the building of the Red International of Labour Unions, the admission of the Russian miners into the International Miners' Federation, and its affiliation to the Red International.

Never in the history of the working-class movement has the international character of the workers' struggle been so clearly demonstrated to the masses. And never in the history of the Miners' Federation have their leaders demonstrated such incapacity to deal with the everyday struggles of the miners or shown such treachery in the face of urgent demands.

Mr. Smith told the American miners *when in America* that the British miners were 100 per cent. strong in support of the American miners' strike. On his return to England he has shown himself to be the echo of Mr. Hodges (the pioneer of the "industrial truce"), and has done nothing to substantiate his American pronouncement.

Mr. Hodges and Mr. Smith travel to Frankfurt—and muster support for the American miners to the extent of about 3d. per miner on strike, whilst agreeing to do nothing to stop the export of millions of tons of coal from Britain which it is known is going to break the American miners' strike.

International union blacklegging is a problem they are afraid to tackle.

Let them sit up and listen! The 1922 Blackpool Conference marks the beginning of the fight of the revolutionary miners' minority against such leadership. 1923 will see that minority near to becoming a majority.

The Great Red Drive has begun in the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and NONE CAN STOP IT!

## Organiser's Notes

THE final report of the Party Commission is expected to be ready and on hand this week end. This is the complete report on which proposed organisational changes will be made. The first and second interim reports contain the principal proposals of change. It behoves every Party member to get down to a serious consideration of the main lines of departure from present methods, particularly in those areas like Birmingham, Coventry, Newcastle, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, etc., where aggregate meetings are being arranged. This week-end the Liverpool meeting will take place on Monday the 11th, and the Manchester meeting on the 19th. All comrades in these areas should rally up when Comrade Pollitt will explain the implications of the commission's recommendations.

\* \* \*

The struggle with the middle-class junta of the Labour Party locally continues. If we could collect the debates that have taken place and are going on within the trades and labour councils we would have a fine contribution to the history of the modern Labour movement. Here is a gem worth preserving that comes from Glasgow Trades Council: Asked if Clause B excluded as delegates members of a Party running candidates not endorsed by the Labour Party, even if they accepted Clause A, Mr. Wake of the National Labour Party replies: "Clause B of the new rule expressly makes provisions for candidates who are in association with the Labour Party, such as co-operative candidates, although *not actually endorsed* by the Labour Party, and that the rule really applies to organisations, particularly definite political parties who exist for the purpose of running candidates under their own auspices and in opposition to Labour candidates."

Mr. Wake is now being asked to state categorically if delegates belonging to the C.P. were debarred by the new rule.

\* \* \*

Birmingham Trades Council are calling a National Conference for the 14th of October. Already circulars have gone out to local T.C.'s and we believe there is likely to be a grand rally. All Communists should support this important new move.

But we want to complete our record of members who are delegates to the Trades Councils. Communist groups should send us on the latest and complete list of delegates and the unions they represent.

\* \* \*

The November Municipal Elections are approaching. Branches should be getting busy right away in the preparation of their candidates, etc. Literature should be prepared and the general plan of campaign mapped out NOW. Last year, in the wards we contested, reports indicated enormous meetings and plenty of enthusiasm but the complete failure to mobilise the voting strength warranted by the efforts made by our members. Above all get a move on to collect the requisite funds to ensure the widest possible publicity and results for the Party.

\* \* \*

The new Minority movement started by the South Wales miners already shows promise of success. The manifesto issued by S. O. Davies, Miners' Office, Dowlais, on behalf of the committee, is to hand, and we notice has provoked the wrath of the *Western Mail* of South Wales. Miners in other districts should secure copies of this manifesto and help to boost this new committee in their own territory. The object of this movement as the manifesto declares is to tackle the present plight of the miners; to resurrect their lost faith and widen their outlook towards bringing the M.F.G.B. to the Red International.

There is no question here, be it noted, of setting up a rival organisation. It is a call to officials and rank and file alike to present a united front against the capitalist offensive; stiffen up the M.F.G.B. as the mass movement for the miners of this country and link them up with the Red International of Labour Unions.

## THE RAND MEN

COLONEL CRESWELL (Labour Leader) made his maiden speech as a member of Stanford Hill. The occasion for the speech was the second reading of the Appropriation Bill. But it will perhaps be best to take the points he urged as far as the Rand Strike is concerned. Colonel Creswell made a powerful appeal to General Smuts putting forward a plea to grant an amnesty to all those who were involved in the Rand Strike. In all the history of South Africa, he claimed that the policy of clemency had been proved to bear good fruit. And this, he said, would go far to allay the bitterness which still prevailed on the Rand among many who were convinced, rightly or wrongly, that agents of the Government were equally culpable with some of those who rose in revolt.

He (Col. Creswell) did not know how many thousands had been convicted, but he did know, that men had been convicted for what in normal times would be looked upon as venial offences. He (Col. Creswell) quoted an instance of a man who, ten days after the strike had been arrested. He (Col. Creswell) was astonished. He (Col. Creswell) had known the man in their own Councils as one who was always hammering away and sitting on anything in the way of wild talk. He heard the man was arrested for violence. He was able to interest himself (Creswell) in the matter, and see that he got bail. Some time later he was asked to go and satisfy in the man's character. He (Col. Creswell) went away, but later on the man was fined £50 with the alternative of three months' imprisonment. What did his offence consist of? It appeared that he had said in January that the late Sir George Farrar had once said that the miners would be eating grass, and he remarked: "Before I would eat grass

and allow my wife and children to eat grass I, myself, would go and steal," and for that he was fined £50.

Another Labour member speaking in the House of Assembly said: "Men were refused bail, and men had, long after the event, been arrested at three o'clock in the morning."

General Smuts, replying to the appeal said: "They had the rank and file in the recent trouble whose cases had been disposed of in magisterial courts, and in regards to those cases, the Minister of Justice was going to investigate them and would exercise a wide and proper clemency. A small number of cases had been reserved for trial in the High Court, which the Attorney General in his discretion had decided should go for public trial before a judge and jury. There were 122 names which would figure in these latter cases. According to the Minister of Justice there were still more. In regard to those men who were the ringleaders in the recent strike, the Special Court dealing with them had only started its operations that day and he considered that it would be out of place to appeal for amnesty. Those people must stand their trial. It would be obviously unfair to have punished through Magisterial Courts the rank and file and to let those who had committed the most serious offences go free. After the Court had dealt with them they would go into their cases and see what could be done. A Judicial Commission will go into their cases, and on their report the prosecutions will take place."

The first case before the Special Treason Court was that of Commandant R. P. Erasmus.

He was found guilty and condemned to ten years' hard labour.

## By F. Vermont

# The Rise and Fall of the Entente

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

## III.

### Sassoon and Ralli

**W**HILST the French bourgeoisie was pre-occupied with the problem of securing possession of those basic materials of capitalist production (wherewith nature had not endowed the soil of France) and, thereby, rendering itself self-supporting alike in peaceful industry and warlike enterprise, the British bourgeoisie was concerned rather with the safeguarding and continued development of the territories already beneath its flag or within its spheres of influence.

The British Empire rests to this day upon the basis of Sea Power.

It was no mere poetic rhodomontade which prompted Tennyson to say that the Fleet was "her all in all." "Whosoever," said Sir Walter Raleigh, in the romantic youth of England's imperial brigandage, "commands the sea, commands the trade of the world and therefore, the world itself."

That was, emphatically the case during the greater part of the bourgeois period and has only been modified as a result of the extension everywhere of railway and motor transport.

The Crown Colonies, Commonwealths, Dominions and Protectorates which, together with the Homeland, constitute the British Empire were, to begin with, mere hinterlands at the rear of trading posts and garrison points scattered here and there about the coasts of the seven seas of the world. The British Empire is linked by ocean trade routes, patrolled by an ever restless system of cruiser squadrons, backed by the mighty battle fleets.

That is the actual mandate by which the British bourgeoisie holds and holds together the British Empire.

### The German Challenge

To this mandate (unquestioned for nearly a century) the German Navy presented itself as a challenge. The British bourgeoisie knew this and the British bourgeoisie began at once to spin the threads and make the net wherein to entangle this interloper.

But—more than that. The German and Austrian bourgeoisie was reaching out across the Balkans and the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire towards India. The Central European Powers, equipped with a greater capital and an immeasurably higher technique of commodity production and military might, were seeking to traverse the territories which, in the last years of the nineteenth century, became quite obviously the pivot upon which the British Empire must be poised.

After the preliminary conquests which gave them their foothold in Canada, India and Cape Colony, the British bourgeois were able, without interference from other bourgeois, whose capitalism was yet in its infancy, to extend their rule over and to impregnate with their capital those great stretches of North America, Africa, South-East Asia and Australasia which form the major part of the Empire. Without much difficulty they added to these new areas and knit them together more closely into an economic and administrative unity.

### The Road to India

But there remained and grew more urgent two problems, one political and the other economic, each clamouring insistently for solution.

First, there was the problem of making safe not only the old but also the new (or Mediterranean and Red Sea) route to India and of preventing approach to that keystone of the whole imperial fabric by any other of the European Powers.

Turkey was going rapidly into decline as a state and was deep in debt to the cosmopolitan bourgeoisie of France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany and Austria and not merely to that of Britain. Her absorption by Germany or her partition amongst others whose nationals had claims upon her was only a matter of

years. Whoever gained control of Asiatic Turkey would stand on the very edge of the ever expanding domain of what we may call greater India.

### Cotton—Always Cotton

Second, there was the problem, vital to the Liberal bourgeoisie of Lancashire and Paisley, of finding or developing new sources of raw cotton to meet not only the increasing demand of the world market but to make up for the greater volume of fibre absorbed by the rapidly expanding industries of the United States and Japan.

At the same time, the industrial population of the several capitalist countries—especially the U.S.A.—was making big calls on the wheat supplies of the world.

Now, there are obviously, three great branches of trade wherein fabulous fortunes must and to my knowledge have been piled up throughout a whole century of capitalist production.

These are the supply of corn to the proletariat of Western Europe, the supply of raw cotton, as also of raw jute, to the textile industries of these same countries and export of cotton piece-goods to India and the East.

The merchants who have had, during the whole of this time, the lion's share of these three branches of commerce must, of necessity, have accumulated surplus values which they had to invest again as capital in new enterprises, such as railways, irrigation works, tramways, steamships, mines, oil-wells and banks. They must and have been participating in the development of new territories where they, or their competitors, might obtain new sources of supply of their staple commodities. They could not and cannot as individual capitalists, whatever they may avoid in their capacity as firms, have kept out of credit operations, investment trusts and the like. Their profits have been so stupendous that their economic power—these mighty corn and cotton traders is, to-day, staggering in India, Persia, Irak, Egypt, Greece, Argentina, Canada, Uganda, East Africa, and everywhere where raw cotton and corn are grown and piece goods are made and sold.

These mighty merchants are the two firms of Sassoon and the world's greatest firm of traders, the Anglo-Greek house of Ralli.

### The Sassoons of Bagdad

The Sassoons had the cotton piece goods trade of Bagdad with Persia. Then they developed an enormously profitable opium business between India and China. They built up great cotton manufactures in Bombay and went heavily into banking in India, China, East Africa, Uganda, and Persia. They were big men in the "sixties." They are infinitely bigger men sixty years later. Why, one of them, the head of the clan, has been private secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in France and Parliamentary private secretary to the Premier himself.

### The Rallis of Ionia

The Rallis, who commenced business in the corn trade at Marseilles and London about the same time that the Sassoons slid down from Bagdad to Bombay, were closely connected with the latter, as with the great French banks, in the "sixties." To-day, when they are infinitely more influential, they never show up on the surface of investment. They have, however, enormous credits to extend and do so through those forms of investment bankers and trust companies that nowadays enable the really big capitalists to remain hidden from sight. They do an immense business in India, Egypt, the Levant, Argentina, and everywhere that corn is bought and sold. The *Economist* described them in 1911 as "the largest shippers of Manchester goods to India." They are the biggest jute pressers in Bengal and do a huge trade with Dundee.

"One fact," said the *Hellenic Herald* (March 1908) "will suffice to show how immense is the trade done by this firm. From one Indian port alone, Karachi, Ralli Bros., export in one year more than 1,500,000 tons

of cereals—a quantity which far exceeds the total exports of cereals from all the Russian Black Sea ports together." It also described them as "the pivot of all the present Greek colonies in England."

Should Mesopotamia, under irrigation, become again a great wheat growing area, should Ionia—the Rallis came originally from Chios, near Smyrna—again become "the granary of the old world"; should the whole of Asia Minor revert to the Greeks, under the ægis, of course, of Britain, what sources of corn, what markets for piece-goods, what openings for credits will be spread before "our Anglo-Greeks, passionately devoted to the great and glorious Fatherland"—to quote the panegyric upon them written by the Greek Envoy to St. James, J. Gennadius, in his "Hellenism in England."

The Sassoons and the Rallis and all those lesser but more noisy fry—the Inchapes, Greenways, and their kind—are the real owners of India, the real masters of the East, the real powers behind the throne of His Most Gracious Majesty and the Cabinet chair of the other George.

### The End of Empires and Ententes

Because of them and their ambitions and their interests, Turk and Greek are locked in mortal combat; the peasantry of Irak are in revolt against the British intruders; Egypt and India are on the verge of open outbreak; Britain has alienated Italy and is at variance with France.

Those who joined forces to snap the backbone of German Imperialism as it crept across the East, are now joining issue as to which of them shall possess the lands from which the Germans have been driven.

In the Near East, the bourgeoisie is digging a grave, British for French and French for British. May they dig it big and deep enough to hold them both!

## Communist Party of Great Britain

16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 2

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# TO THE French & German Workers

## A CALL TO ACTION

### WORKERS AND COMRADES!

The London Conference of the Entente governments, the 13th of a long series of futile conferences, ended in complete failure. The world bourgeoisie has proved itself absolutely incapable of solving the acute economic and political crisis, into which it plunged the world through its murderous imperialist war, and through its imperialist "peace" treaty.

The result of the London Conference, far from effecting a solution of the crisis, intensified it and brought the working classes of France and Germany into new and imminent dangers.

In view of the total incapacity of the capitalist classes, of the "victorious" as well as the vanquished countries, to meet the threatening catastrophe and to prevent new wars and the complete ruin of the world economy, it is clearly the historical task of the working-class, particularly of the French and the German proletariat, together to seize the initiative and to open a common fight against their capitalist classes and governments in order to meet the dangers that threaten the working-classes of these two countries, and to effect a final solution of the catastrophic situation.

The dangers of the present situation are apparent. Under the pressure of the war burdens and the permanent economic insecurity, the economic ruin of Germany was rapidly accelerated. The German mark has fallen with unprecedented speed, and its value has already reached 1-400 of its pre-war value.

To the broad masses of the German population, to the workers, employees, and lower-officials, the consequent rise in prices means a frightful and unbearable burden which is directed against their very existence. The present real wage of a skilled German worker amounts to less than one-fourth of the pre-war wage. The wage of the worker no longer suffices to provide him with the necessary food. Meat, and fresh vegetables have almost disappeared from the German workers' table. The children are undernourished from lack of milk and other nutritious foods.

The entire misery of the German proletariat and the whole criminal policy of the bourgeoisie of both countries are embodied in the one frightful fact: that to-day, in an industrial nation of over sixty million people, which has the capacity to provide half the world with its products, scurvy, the disease of hunger and malnutrition, and tuberculosis, rage throughout the country and register a terrifying number of victims.

Responsible for this catastrophe, is the German bourgeoisie and her so-called democratic government, no less than the bourgeoisie of the allied countries. A handful of German industrialists, bankers, wholesale dealers and junkers take advantage of the depreciation of the mark and suck the last drop of blood from the German working class. The government, whose main support are the Social Democrats and Independents, oppresses the working-class with an unbearable burden of direct and indirect taxes, at the same time giving its bourgeoisie a thousand and one opportunities to evade taxation. Although it is clear that the only solution can be brought about through decisive revolutionary steps towards Socialism, the German bourgeoisie, with the aid of its reform-socialists, even did away with the scanty state economic control which was instituted during the war, thus clearing the way for the oppressive regime of a handful of capitalist monopolists, like Stinnes, Thyssen, etc. The same reform-socialists who relinquished their Socialism in order to ally themselves with the German capitalists against the working class, have, for fear of the impending radicalisation of the masses, refused to defend the wretched bourgeois republic against its deadly monarchistic enemies. Step by step, they betray it into the hands of the monarchistic bureaucrats, officers and junkers, contenting themselves

with the fact that they are still permitted to sit at the table of the republic.

It is obvious that the economic ruin of Germany and the absolute pauperisation of her proletariat will drag the French proletariat with it into the general abyss. With the mark, the franc too will fall. The high cost of living in Germany will create a similar situation in France. The bankruptcy of German finances will also bring the bankruptcy of French finances. And, like the German bourgeoisie, so the French bourgeoisie seeks to shift the burden of economic and financial ruin upon the workers, by means of direct and indirect taxes. The French capitalists, aided by the cut-throat competition of the German worker, have now launched a great offensive against the French working-class, in an attempt to reduce them to the same frightful condition.

Simultaneous with the acceleration of the economic catastrophe, the failure of the London Conference and the continuation of the imperialist robber policy, threatens the working-class with immediate and acute political catastrophes.

The conflict between France and England is becoming more intense every day. Both of these countries are in perpetual contest for military domination, particularly in the aerial field, which will constitute the most frightful weapon in the next war.

But the immediate danger lies in the unfolding of a new international conflict and the approaching of a new catastrophic world war. The world is once more threatened by a clique of financiers who are extending their greedy imperialist arm after the Ruhr region.

### Workers!

No one can doubt that under Socialist regulation of production, which would be under the control of truly workers' governments, the combination of the Lotharingian ores and the Ruhr coal would mean a step forward. But such a combination, if accomplished through capitalist violence, or through an understanding between the capitalists of both countries, can only be effected through counter-revolutionary means and through the increased suppression and exploitation of the working-class of both countries,—a condition pregnant with new imperialist wars.

The occupation of the Ruhr would mean a conflict with England, the destruction of Germany, and the encouragement of all monarchistic restoration elements in Germany. Although Germany is not in a position to offer military resistance, the occupation of the Ruhr would so strengthen the political and industrial predominance of the French bourgeoisie, that a new world war would be rendered inevitable. A part of the German bourgeoisie desires the occupation of the Ruhr for through it, it hopes to be secured against the impending proletarian revolution. The occupation of the Ruhr would mobilise the strongest forces of the German and French bourgeoisie under the protection of the French generals, and lead them in a bitter offensive against the working classes of both countries.

### Workers of France and Germany!

You must unite in order to avert the dangers of the economic catastrophe, and of a new imperialist slaughter by capitalist regiments.

You must manifest your will against the bourgeoisie in simultaneous demonstrations and actions. You must put an end to the craze that drags both countries into the abyss of economic ruin.

Demonstrate your will and readiness to uphold the slogan which the reform-socialists have trampled underfoot: Revolution rather than war!

### Workers of France!

It depends mainly upon you whether and how long the robber Treaty of Versailles shall exist; the Treaty born of hatred and revenge; the Treaty that brings untold

misery upon the working-class. It is up to you, to halt the clique of generals and bankers which now seek to build up a new colony on the Rhine, and to inaugurate a new military regime in Europe. It is up to you to shift the burdens of the last imperialist war upon the bourgeoisie.

### Workers of Germany!

Together with the French workers you must open the fight against the capitalists of your country; you must subject them to your control, in order to open the way to an effective reconstruction through Socialist measures not only of Germany, but also of France and of the whole of Europe; you must disarm the bourgeoisie and rut out the monarchistic counter-revolution.

### Workers of France and Germany!

In this struggle for your economic existence and for world peace, you are opposed by the bourgeois republic, the old French and the new German money republics. Your common war-cry should be the creation of a truly proletarian regiment, of a republic supported by armed workers and proletarian class organs.

We call upon the proletarians of both countries to take up the struggle with the following slogans:—

Cancel the Peace Treaty of Versailles!

Joint Proletarian Reconstruction at the

Expense of the Bourgeoisie!

No occupation of the Ruhr!

Evacuation of the Occupied Territories!

The closest economic and political alliance between Germany, France, and Soviet Russia!

No High Prices! No Tax Robbery!

Cologne, August 26, 1922.

Central Executive of the Communist Party of France.

Central Executive of the Communist Party of Germany.

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J. SHAPHIR

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I remain,  
Your obedient servant,  
General Walker."

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# The Communist

A Weekly Organ of the Third (Communist) International  
Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain  
16 King Street, Covent Garden  
London, W.C.2

Telephone . Gerrard 877

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

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

## WHEN THE DEAD AWAKEN

THE *Daily Herald* on the eve of the Trade Union Congress prophesied that the delegates would meet "in good heart and spirits."

The chairman, it is true, endeavoured to put on a bold face and talked bravely of "challenging." But who is there that looks to the future with greater hope because the Trade Union Congress has once again met, discussed and dispersed?

The plain truth is that little less than a revolution must take place before the Trade Union Congress becomes such that the news of its meeting arouses hope and enthusiasm in the breasts of the toiling millions.

The chairman spoke plainly of the ferocity with which the Capitalist Bosses (the workers "temporarily at their mercy") beat down all resistance.

Yet who is there that has any belief whatever that there would be found in the serried ranks of the officials who applauded even ten men of whom it could be said: "he will never consent to the loss of a shilling or the addition of an hour to the day of toil"?

Nobly expects any such thing because at every Congress the traditions of a dead past rise and refasten their grasp upon the brain of the living.

Once to be a trade unionist meant to be engaged in a "seditious conspiracy"; to be an official of a union to be risking a long term of imprisonment. It was in circumstances such as these that trade unionism was cradled and the winning of the legal right to form trade unions was naturally regarded as a splendid triumph for the workers.

From that hour a tradition has lingered. The men who thrilled with triumph at that great victory passed under the spell of a great illusion. Because their enemy had "gone underground" they imagined him broken and changed. For a full generation they lived. Under their care the unions grew in bulk and in opulence. The old wild guerilla warfare of the early illegal days was abandoned and the trade union army settled down to drill itself for great battles in the full light of day—which battles, however, might never come off.

There grew up steadily and insidiously a reverence for the trade union machine as a machine and a fear enlarging into a hate of the spirit which alone can set the machine into action.

Because they had been legalised by the State,—because trade union leaders were consulted with flattering deference by politicians eager to score over a rival—because the employers developed to a fine art the tactic of deferring to the trade union official as a man with large responsibilities like themselves—because of all this there grew up an official tradition according to which the trade union, the Trade Union Congress and the trade union official were all integral parts of the machinery for securing the State.

In theory the Trade Union Congress should be the most important gathering conceivable. In practice it is the least significant of those many excuses for a holiday jaunt that the official machinery of the Labour Movement makes possible.

It should be the most revolutionary in the land—it is, or has been, the best guarantee against a workers' revolution yet discovered.

Why? For no other reason than that long ago noted by Karl Marx—"the tradition of the past weighs like an alp upon the brain of the living."

Meanwhile, what of the mass?

Bruised with many stripes, the workers are torn between a cruel experience which impels them towards revolt and a dead and paralysing tradition that regards all revolt as a sin and blasphemy.

Their misery grows, their sufferings multiply, and the official tradition offers them as a consolation the machine and the method which has brought them to their present pass.

What wonder that the mass sinks into an apathy and a despair as deep as though they were dead?

The Trade Union Congress offered the spectacle of the dead Past active and dominant over the supine and corpse-like Living.

The Dead are Living and the Living are Dead.

But in this as in all things there is an inevitable Resurrection.

The same spirit that founded trade unionism in the old days of persecution still lives, and the nearer the Boss Class in their triumphant arrogance manage to bring conditions back to the level of the Hungry Forties, the more certainly they will bring back to life the old spirit of the early pioneers which made the name of "Chartist" feared as never name was feared until Time and Fate brought "Bolshevism" into the ken of a conscience-stricken ruling class.

Already we see gleams of that old spirit. The chairman of the Conference struck a "fighting note" more in deference to the unconquered and unconquerable among the rank-and-file than in accordance with any plan or prevision. The spirit is there among the rank-and-file—it needs but the necessary touch and those that were Dead will awaken and the whole mass spring living and active into the front line of battle.

Picture it! Five millions of workers organised in trade unions affiliated to the T.U. Congress. Another three millions are (so we are told) organised in unions not affiliated. An army of eight millions! What could they not do if they did but will it?

When the Dead awaken there will be a new heaven and a new Earth. It must be our task to sound the trumpet at whose blast they will rise up, quit them like men, and be strong.

## The Grave of Karl Marx

THE September *Plebs* draws our attention to the neglected condition of the Grave of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery. They appeal for the sum of £5 to put the grave in order, restore the lettering of the inscription, raise the stone, etc., and an annual sum of 30s. to provide for its care.

We second their plea.

It will be a discredit to us (in common with all British Marxists) if we allow this to continue.

We will gladly receive donations to be forwarded to *Plebs*, or they may be sent direct marked "For Marx's Grave," to *Plebs* Office, 162a, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W. 1.

## Communist Party of Great Britain ANNUAL CONFERENCE

THE Annual Conference of the Communist Party will be held in London on Saturday and Sunday, October 7th and 8th.

The draft Statutes and Rules suggested by the Party Commission are now in the hands of the branches and amendments to the same are receivable at the Central Office up to and including Saturday next, September 9th. The agenda for the Conference, together with the amendments to the draft Statutes and Rules will be issued to the branches on Saturday, September 23rd.

The following arrangements for the Conference have been adopted by the National Executive Committee:—

1. Branch representation at the Conference shall be on the basis of one delegate for every 50 financial members or part thereof.

2. All delegates' travelling expenses shall be pooled, a delegate fee of 35s. being charged for each delegate out of which headquarters will pay all delegates' travelling expenses.

3. The delegate fee will not cover payment in respect of the accommodation of delegates, which must be a responsibility attaching to the delegates themselves. Every effort will be made to find provincial delegates accommodation with London members free of charge (food excepted).

4. Branches in the same division having a membership of 12 or less, and being unable to raise the delegate fee of 35s., shall be entitled to group together for the purpose of sending a common delegate to the Conference, such delegate being entitled to cast a vote for each individual branch he or she represents.

Applications for delegates' credentials and voting cards should be sent to me at the Central Office of the Party, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.

Branches should see that their headquarters' subscriptions are duly remitted to the end of June, in order that there shall be no question as to their eligibility for representation at the Conference.

As soon as delegates are appointed by their branches they should communicate with the London Divisional Organiser, E. W. Cant, 35, Gray's Inn Road, W.C. 1, letting him know their requirements in the way of accommodation. Applications for accommodation will be dealt with strictly in the order in which they are received.

All enquiries respecting the Conference, other than those dealing with the accommodation of delegates, should be addressed to me at the Central Office.

ALBERT INKPIN, Secretary.

## LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES DIVISIONAL COUNCIL

Notice to members of the Bow, Barking, East Ham, N.W. Ham, S.W. Ham, Poplar and Ilford Branches.

### AN AGGREGATE MEETING

of the members of the above branches will be held on Saturday next, September 9th, at the Minor Public Hall, Barking Road, Canning Town (5 mins. from station), at 3 p.m. Chairman, George Deacon. The agenda will include a Statement on Re-organisation by R. Palme Dutt (of the Party Commission). Important decisions will be taken on the future organisation and work of the Party in East London.

All comrades are required to attend.

ERNEST W. CANT, London Organiser.

# SIXTY HOURS A WEEK

By WILL LAWTHOR

Parliamentary Labour Candidate for South Shields

**W**HATEVER phase of activity the working class movement has taken, industrial or political, since the issue of the Communist Manifesto, it has always had an immediate programme. In other words, something that the average worker could realise would mark an improvement in his everyday lot. Generally it has been the forty-eight hours week.

To-day we are moving backward.

Conferences are being held, by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, to which Trade Union branches are invited to send delegates. I attended one as such in Newcastle recently. A resolution was put forward asking the work of the I.L.O. to be made known to our fellow trade unionists.

We listened to a gentleman, Mr. Robbins, explain all the wonders of that organisation, what it is, what it might be, and one or two things they have done.

The title at the head of this article is one of the great achievements. The Indian worker has been given a sixty-hour week! Wonderful are the ways of these worshippers of international capitalism. Their excuse, which masquerades as a reason, is that the backward countries have to be helped. Allowance we suppose for the Asiatic mind! When we suggested to this well-groomed, smooth-tongued mouthpiece of international capitalism that they had agreed to this, in order to serve the interests of British bondholders,

his face assumed that grin that £300 per night Horatio wore at recruiting meetings.

One other item, last year at Genoa, this organisation spent three weeks discussing whether white lead should be allowed in paint. And after all that confab they had a compromise on the subject!!

My object is to urge all who have the interest of their fellows, to attend these conferences and urge the point of view of the Red International of Labour Unions. We feel that too often this is neglected, and all sorts of will-o-the-wisp ideas are allowed to pass without comment. The worker is beginning to understand what internationalism means, consequently the bondholders' interests are being put forward in second-hand ways. There has never been a crime without an advocate to defend it, and Capitalism will not hesitate to use any and every means to keep its end up.

Here and there, well-meaning, pure and simple trade union leaders (as Jim Larkin used to say, "maybe more simple than pure") will give their support to this new show.

Our duty is clear: sixty hours for Indian workers will mean sixty hours here, 'tis only one other step in the united front of capitalism's attack on Labour. Heed not, then the kites that are being flown, we must build up our own international. Capital has built its in the shape of the I.L.O. to keep the workers on a slave basis.

## COMMUNISM and EVOLUTION

By S. PICA

**O**PPONENTS of Communism sometimes claim that Darwin's Law of Natural Selection utterly destroys the idea of ever introducing a Communist system of society.

Far more living things (say they) are born into the world than nature can possibly sustain. Hence there arises a struggle for existence and in this life-struggle only those individuals who are best equipped to meet their particular struggle will survive. Nature, in other words, "selects" the fittest (hence we get the name "Theory of Natural Selection.")

Therefore, they say, unless you can think of a new law of development, when you introduce your system of society in which there will be no struggle for existence and in which the weaker members will have as good a chance of surviving as the stronger, the tendency will not be for the fittest alone to survive, but those who are unfit will survive also. Hence a deterioration of the whole human race will gradually manifest itself, and, although your Communist system, say these sturdy upholders of the present system, may better man's economic position, it will inevitably bring about a lowering in the type of man that will exist.

(Capitalism, of course, with its bloody wars, its murders, its famines, its unemployment and starvation, its prisons and assassinations, its slums and poverty, has a highly elevating influence upon man and tends to produce the best type of man possible! oh, yes!)

All this they deduce from Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection.

\* \* \*

Now it must be pointed out that although Darwin's Theory of Evolution is universally accepted, the same cannot by any means be said of his Theory of Natural Selection.

It should also be pointed out that the "survival of the fittest" does not necessarily mean the survival of the best type. Imagine for a moment a country such as the West of U.S.A. is made out to be by cinema writers—a wild country, full of rough men worrying very little about moral niceties, drinking heavily, shooting often—in other words, imagine the so-called "wild west."

Now imagine that a highly intellectual and moral man, blissfully ignorant of worldly matters, is made to live in the midst of this brutality. This man may be of a far finer type than any of the "abysmal brutes" surrounding him, yet he would not exist for long under such conditions.

\* \* \*

There is another set of people (related to those above) who say that Communism is not likely to succeed as it means Socialism introduced by revolution and not Socialism which has evolved. Revolution, say these people, means working against evolution, and no known force can overcome evolution. Communism is therefore doomed to failure.

This brings us to the question: "can we distinguish between Revolution and Evolution? If so, is one opposed to the other?" The answer is this: We can distinguish between the two but the one is not opposed to the other but only a part of it. We can only distinguish between Revolution and Evolution in the same way that we distinguish between a part and a whole. Revolution does not necessarily mean working against Evolution. The Revolution will only come when capitalism has evolved to a certain stage and when certain revolutionary situations have evolved.

In nature itself we find revolutions. It may sometimes happen that a plant will give rise to a freak offspring. This freak offspring or "sport," as it is called, may give rise to an entirely new type of plants. These mutations are nothing more or less than revolutions. These mutations may be the chief factor in evolution (see Mutationism or Mendelism).

In the same way that the whole universe has evolved (probably from the ether), in the same way that all life has evolved, so has man evolved and so has his social systems evolved, the latter by revolutions. In the same way the present system of society will evolve into Communism—by revolution. Communism means working with evolution. There is no known force that can withstand evolution. Heaven help those who are trying to work against evolution.

## ARE YOU CONTENTED?

By B. BREWER

**I**F we were to ask the average reader if he were satisfied with his mode of living, the majority would reply in the negative, but by their indifference and apathy they certainly appear to all intents and purposes perfectly contented.

Their whole life is consecrated to the boss. They see to it that the boss and all the other parasites that dodge work, are well housed, clothed and fed, and that they and their children receive the best possible education and have heaps of recreation, travel, etc., whilst he, the contented worker—well, margarine and Epsom Salts is good enough for him. All he wants is plenty of work and he kids himself he is fortunate indeed if he has constantly got his nose to the grindstone.

Have you ever noticed a couple of work-mates meeting each other after several months' absence? They greet each other something like this:—"Hullo Bill, have yer got any work?" "Yus mate, and putting in plenty of overtime." "Damned good, wish to — I was you." Just imagine the Duke of Westminster and Lord Lascelles meeting each other and shaking hands on plenty of work.

Moreover, the contented worker (what a monstrosity) actually brags about the amount of work he can do, and never tires of telling you that "he ain't afraid of work." Is there no limit to human madness?

Of course, work is very well in its way (cut to a minimum and each and all doing their share) but what do we get out of it under existing conditions? We are simply privileged to work (when wanted) to provide comfort, luxuries and laziness for an idle, useless class, to whom the mere mention of work is enough to give them a paralytic stroke. For working for them we receive the barest possible necessities of life (and what a quality). For ever haunted by the fear of the sack, we minimise our scanty way of living and then deceive ourselves that we live. How can we say we live when we are debarred from everything that is necessary to make life worth living? We are too concerned worrying and scraping how to get bread and marg. and how to pay the landlord his rent—and maybe, occasionally spotting winners and backing losers. All the good things of life we give freely to the permanent unemployed, viz., capitalists, landlords, aristocrats, and all the hangers-on. And it is they who determine (at present) our mode of existence—and they mean to always do it whilst we are contented and have no guts left to be man enough to make a bid for freedom and life.

Life! To the many it is not understandable. A life worth living will only be attainable when we become thoroughly discontented with the rotten conditions which every day surround us.

How long are you, contented worker, going cap in hand, crawling on your belly to a class of parasites that treat you as dirt? Look how they insult you, calling you the unwashed, the lower class, the mob, even to the extent of putting you down as lice—did they not "comb" you out during the great war for liberty? Where is your manhood to tolerate such insults? Are you never going to wake up? Will you allow yourself to be everlastingly hoodwinked, bluffed, and bamboozled by the tricky politicians and the dirty lying press?

All the forces of capitalism are arrayed against you to keep you abject slaves. It is for YOU to strike the blow. Don't wait for the other man, just start yourself and do a little serious thinking. Learn all you can of Communism (from Communists) and think it over, take nothing second-hand, refuse to be placed in the category of contented working slaves, assert your manhood and say once and for all that as a wealth producer I mean to enjoy the best that life can offer. Commence right now, be a man not a worm, educate and be free, and join the ranks, not of the boss, but of the workers' international.

GOVAN

FREE GIFT SCHEME

Results postponed till Sept. 23rd.

A. LEIGH, Secretary.

# POLITICS AND THE FALL OF THE MARK

**T**HANKS to the action of the Independent and Social Democratic leadership, the proletariat's great manifestations of energy, has brought no results. The "democratic" elements of the high and the petty German bourgeoisie breathes freely again. Thanks to the crisis their position has been strengthened against the attacks of the proletarian revolutionary vanguard by the willingness of the Independents to enter into a Coalition Government, and by their open renunciation of all revolutionary pretences. The democratic parties, however, were not willing to admit the Independents without more ado. The Independents must first be made to pass under the Caudine yoke. The pressure of the bourgeoisie has brought about the collaboration of the two Social Democratic parties, which may yet result in their union into a single organisation. We can see then, that this union will mean a great victory for the democratic bourgeoisie.

And while the democrats draw a freer breath, reassured that the two Social Democracies will be able to maintain the workers in peace, the monarchist reaction is beginning its offensive. They chose Bavaria as their point of attack. Their instinct did not mislead them. The Bavarian Government is supported by a decidedly reactionary petty bourgeoisie, and the working-class, especially in the South, is comparatively weak. This Government is under the influence of the secret organisations which practically rule the country, like the Fascisti in Italy. The federal Gov-

ernment has already capitulated before the Bavarian Vendee. The negotiations which are now going on between Bavaria and the federal Government, serve only to fix the definite form of this capitulation.

The Laws for the Protection of the Republic have already become a meaningless scrap of paper. The facts have rapidly proved the prediction of the Communists. The Independents and the Social Democrats are now trying to break up the Control Committees which the workers formed to conduct their fight against the reaction.

Thanks to the illusions which the Independents and the Social Democrats awake in the heart of the proletariat, thanks to the passive behaviour of these parties, the working-class can look on passively upon the actions of the monarchists and upon the surrender of even the purely paper conquests of their own action.

However, it would be wrong to believe that the working-class is totally apathetic.

Under the influence of the mark's depreciation, the political mass action has now changed to a number of economic actions. Hundreds of "wild strikes" are occurring, to force an increase in wages corresponding to the depreciation. The normal trade union methods are totally useless in the presence of this rapid revaluation in prices, even the short-term wage contracts are of no help. The working class, however, has instinctively found the right trade union tactics which would meet the extraordinary conditions. And they are becoming more and more conscious of the

fact that a pure wage fight is totally insufficient, that all the advantages which they gain along that line, are lost at once through the depreciation of the mark.

They are therefore resorting to the political struggle and to governmental measures, they are beginning to interfere with the anarchy of the present system. The seizure of capital goods, the control of production, trade and prices, appear anew as the only possible solution.

The Communist Party is taking the leadership. The Social Democrats of Scheidemann's cut, who opposed the fight of the workers against the monarchists on the ground that this struggle might result in the abyssmal depreciation of the mark, these Social Democrats are forced, as Coalition members of a bourgeois Government, to leave the working-class in the lurch in this same fight against the fall of the mark.

The mass energy which the Rathenau murder called forth has not disappeared, it has shifted to the economic struggle. We may safely predict that in the end, it will again develop into a political struggle which will be so much the more intense, and the more thorough, the clearer it is recognised as a class struggle. This struggle will reveal the union of the two Social Democratic parties more clearly than even their betrayal of the proletarian cause to the bourgeoisie has done.

The new depreciation of the mark marks the beginning of a period of an intensified class struggle.

## MATERIALISM APPLIED By S. Francis

**T**HE cloven hoof of Capitalism, so carefully veiled in the leader, is often carelessly exposed in the advertisement columns. The salesman eager to sell his commodities, lacks the caution of the editor with his guarded utterances, non-committal phrases and blue pencil.

It is not, as might be expected, the technical advertisements of the great engineering firms alone that so well teach the lesson of the prevalence of this sort of thing, but also—and even to a greater extent—the advertisements in the magazines and women's papers.

Pick up any magazine that you wish and turn to the advertisements for toilet appliances. The American magazine generally furnishes a good instance of this, as it is particularly designed to catch the eye of the average suburban girl, who has always been taught that the capture of a male is her only means of subsistence.

One need not read many toilet advertisements before this fact becomes patent. But possibly those appended hereto are among the most unabashed:—

The Andrew Jergen's advertisement in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* of New York:—

"His unspoken thoughts when he looks into your face—what are they?

"If you could read his mind—would you find there only pleasure and satisfaction?

"Does he think only pleasant, flattering things? Or does some fleeting dissatisfaction underlie his thoughts of you? Don't allow your skin to be the subject of even momentary criticism...."

For Icilma Face Cream in *Home Notes* and *Home Chat*:—

"Men admire the girl who uses Icilma Cream. Her complexion is so clear and delicately tinted... no wonder men admire her."

From a widely published advertisement for Mercolised Wax:—

"... Since Betty's discovery of a certain simple, it is no longer necessary for the sallowest Miss to seek a milkmaid's roses.... At Lady's Paynting's rout last night I had a thousand Beaux and was complimented by Sir Jeremy Jay, who is mighty difficult to please...."

Behind the wish to sell the goods, lies the

old Capitalist desire to keep all women from thinking—and for the matter of that—young men from realising that the Church's way of encouraging sexual licence is not necessarily the best. Many a man would be a Revolutionary if he had not a woman dependent on him, and many a girl would be glad to escape from the slavery of the home, if she had not been brought up to think other work degrading, and love with economic freedom immoral.

A certain big engineering firm in England to-day, which specialises in the manufacture of pipe-joints, unvaryingly advertises its goods as being "labour-saving."

The literature issued by this firm makes it the biggest point in favour of these joints that they can be fitted by entirely unskilled labour in a few minutes, thereby saving not only time but money. The wording is as follows:—

"It can be fitted in the dark by a labourer... one or two men can fit the joint, and in a fraction of the time and cost."

There are many such advertisements which become transparently obvious when one reads between the lines, and they are by no means confined to the two industries mentioned. One can see them everywhere, and much could be said concerning papers which by means of much advertised insurance schemes seek to gain an influence over the working class. Still, the High Priest is preferable to Judas Iscariot, and it is better to read an avowed enemy than a so-called Labour paper run by members of the King's Government.

Of all advertisements of this type, the most naive and amusingly childlike in the frankness of its purpose is the following, taken from an advertisement of a sky-writing firm, and which is, perhaps, the finest exposure of the new craze yet given:—

"Every contract helps nationally in increasing our civil aircraft reserve and in keeping first-class pilots and ground engineers in training."

Thus, even sky-writing has its sinister side, and firms who support this new advertising medium are assisting the Government to provide the means of fighting the Social Revolution in an economical and effective manner.

## THE TEACHER AND COMMUNISM

To the Editor of the COMMUNIST.

Comrade,—

**I**T was refreshing to find a stirring article by a teacher in your issue of the 19th, and some points deserve amplification.

"School Drudge" is right when he says that the sentimental idealists have a problem to face in ridding our schools of the flags and songs of Empire. It will not be solved by those who talk of the immorality of giving a child's mind a bias, and who coo faintly for a "broad highway from the kindergarten to the university," as if quantity, regardless of the kind of education, were the main thing. The realists of the imperial camp, like the Jesuits, have a better knowledge of psychology than some of our friends; they know that "the child is father of the man"; and that the worker will be impervious to the theories of socialists just in proportion to the extent to which his boyish curiosity was gratified with pictures of "Our Prince," in a setting of flags and music, with Bulldog Beattie in the background.

When one considers the inert mass which the teachers as a body are, their deadly lack of enterprise, their unfathomable indifference to social questions, and their morbid sense of respectability, one is surprised that any have managed to display initiative. I refer to the various educational experiments going on, like O'Neill's in Lancashire, McMunn's in Essex, the Caldecott Community in Kent, and others. And yet, excellent as these are in their attempts to get away from the present unreal, uninteresting, abstract school curriculum, which, as "School Drudge" suggests, is still based on the literary-religious impulses of the Revival of Learning of four hundred years ago, they all lack one thing; their founders don't seem to recognise the political and social basis of education—how it is a product, not a cause, of a social system. They imply that to abolish an evil like war, it is sufficient to treat foreigners in a brotherly manner, and that if we are reasonable and unselfish, the class war will also disappear!

Of course, if a teacher did begin to tackle the fundamentals (history, say) in the proper way, he would soon find himself lying in the street on the back of his neck! Perhaps, after all, the teachers know this, and keep quiet accordingly!

Yours,  
SOCIALIST TEACHER.

# THE FASCISTI AT CARDIFF

Interview with BOB WILLIAMS

**T**HE Italian Fascisti are more than an actual fact; they are a sign and a portent.

Organised by funds supplied from the coffers of the big manufacturers, they are armed with all the instruments of modern warfare expressly in order to keep the workers in subjection. Existing outside the State, and ostensibly in opposition to it, they yet form, semi-officially, a part of the State machinery for the better protection of the interests of the employers.

Their ranks are filled by derelict unemployed—ex-soldiers forced by circumstances to turn their hands against anybody for the sake of the few *lire* per day the job brings in—by middle-class scoundrels of the worst type (such as in England are running riot with revolver and automatic pistol, robbing defenceless shopkeepers or murdering hapless girls; and by degenerates and wastrels of every description.

They act according to capitalist orders, and they do not discriminate. The ordinary trade unionist, the moderate Socialist, or the Communist, is attacked impartially. The town hall of a Socialist municipality is just as likely to be burnt to the ground as a trade union office or a Communist headquarters. Under this white terror political democracy becomes revealed for the farce it is.

During the recent troubles, 10,000 men marched against Ancona, 20,000 against Parma, 15,000 against Milan, 15,000 against Genoa, and 5,000 against Livorno, equipped with machine-guns, aeroplanes, cavalry, provision and ammunition wagons, artillery and tanks. The State troops remained "neutral witnesses" of the struggle. The workers rose to the defence led by the Communist organisations who had to organise resistance at a moment's notice, for no organisation whatever existed in the other parties.

The "Accame" that has just arrived in Cardiff docks is manned by a blackleg "Fascisti" crew.

*If these obscene blackguards are allowed to conduct their business in British waters, all our talk of international solidarity, or even of working-class organisation, becomes a mockery and a byword.*

To a representative of the COMMUNIST, Robert Williams (President of the International Transport Workers' Federation) explained that there was an understood arrangement in the I.T.W.F. to act in matters like that of the Emanuele Accame.

"The diabolical activities of the Fascisti," he said, "combining as they did the methods of the White Guards, our own Black-and-Tans, and those of the Free Labour Association and Shipping Federation, had aroused great indignation among trade unionists in this country."

"It is monstrous," he continued, "that middle-class hooligans should be allowed to override every semblance even of capitalist legality by entering trade union offices and intimidating and maltreating trade union officials whose only crime was that they were carrying out the work of their unions. In the interests of the workers this activity must be stamped out."

"When the news arrived that the Emanuele Accame manned by Fascisti was coming into Cardiff docks, I immediately wired Cardiff advising that the ships should be stopped pending enquiries."

"The following day, at the Conference of the Transport Workers' Federation, our Cardiff officials approached me with a view to further steps being taken."

"The action was warmly applauded by the delegates attending the Conference, and the Federation officials were instructed unanimously to keep in touch with officials in other ports to prevent the ship being unloaded elsewhere in the event of it leaving Cardiff."

Instructions were also given to approach the N.U.R. with a view to their dock and waterside men acting similarly. On being approached the Industrial Secretary of the N.U.R. (Mr. C. T. Cramp) immediately agreed to take joint action and notified his Cardiff members to that effect."

"Personally," said Mr. Williams, "I stand for the principle that the Fascisti elements must be cleared out lock, stock, and barrel and the ship boycotted until their places are taken by bona fide trade unionists, no matter of what nationality."

"I see," he continued, "according to Rome correspondents of our capitalist press, that the Fascisti are threatening to institute reprisals against British ships calling at Italian ports."

"Let them get on with it. We shall not be intimidated. Our action has been promoted by a feeling of solidarity with our Italian fellow-workers united with us in the international working-class movement, and will serve the purpose of warning the Italian Government that the policy of black-shirted terror must be checked and destroyed, or else Italy will face the consequences of a possible trade union boycott similar to that carried out some time ago against the Regent Horthy."

The local branches of the N.U.R. unanimously agreed to back up the action of the transport workers and, on its arrival in Cardiff, the Emanuele Accame had to make its way into dock without aid from dock workers or tug-men.

\* \* \*

Since the above interview was granted further developments have taken place leading to the withdrawal of the embargo. The terms of the agreement, which have been fully reported in the daily press, bind both captain and crew of the Accame to refrain from hostile action against the workers of Italy on their return.

The outcome of the affair is by no means satisfactory but, in any case, something has been done to show that the workers of this country are not altogether deaf to the call of international obligations.

The Transport Workers and railwaymen of Cardiff have made a protest which is bound to have effect on the bitter struggle now proceeding in Italy. The Fascisti have been taught that their organised brigandage may at any time light a spark in other countries that will have far reaching consequences for themselves and their beloved capitalist paymasters.

On behalf of the Transport Workers' Federation, Robert Williams has written to Giulietti, secretary of the Italian Seamen's Union, and to the officials of the Italian Confederation of Labour, trusting that the action taken by British workers will lead to a firmer consolidation of international labour and an understanding of the need for greater solidarity.

To our comrades of the R.I.L.U. the Cardiff episode will act as a spur towards the more efficient organisation of the British movement on the lines of the class struggle, one and universal.

## ADVERTISEMENT RATES

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## MEETINGS

### Communist Party Branches

**BIRMINGHAM.** Sundays, Bull Ring, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Barts 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.

**CROYDON.** Wednesday, 7.30 p.m., Leslie Arms. Sunday, 8 p.m., Katherine Street, outside Town Hall. Prominent Speakers.

**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.

**KENNINGTON.** Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park, 8 p.m. September 10th. Speaker: F. Tanner.

**MID - RHONDDA.** Meetings every Wednesday, 6.30 p.m. at the Llwynypia Workmen's Institute, Llwynypia.

**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 10th, 7 p.m., Beresford Square. Speaker: T. A. Jackson (Editor of *Communist*).

**CARNIVAL DANCES!** Streamers, Balloons, Hats and all novelties at lowest prices. Write for catalogue. Direct Novelty Supply, 16, Shacklewell Lane, London, E. 8.

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

**RUSSIAN FAMINE, C.P.G.B.,** Lithuanian Section, 21st (London) Branch. Distribution of Gifts, Winning Numbers: 347, 327, 311, 383, 348, 141.



## PRESENTING THE COLOURS

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