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TWOPENCE

THERE SHALL BE NO WAR

Speech of ARTHUR MACMANUS as Chairman to the Battersea Conference of the Communist Party

WE have met at a very critical moment in World Politics. While we are conferring here, forces are in operation which may at any moment break forth into another world-wide conflagration. Almost before the blood spilt in the last great war has had time to dry up, the rapacity of our Imperialists has brought us to the verge of an even more devastating holocaust, with a prospect of the working-class of the world being once again sacrificed on the altar of robbery and spoilation.

AND THE REAL CULPRIT IN THE PRESENT CONFLICT IS BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND BRITISH STATESMANSHIP.

The dreams born during the war and fired in the imagination of our statesmen, of a great Middle European Empire centred around Greece and Jugo-Slavia (bond-slaves of the Allies), have produced their fitting climax.

The infamy and calculated effrontery of Imperialist Chess-board manipulation of Races and Peoples—as evidenced in the Treaties of Sevres and Versailles—to say nothing of its stupid folly—is bringing its own reward.

Treaties and Agreements concluded under duress, can be sustained only so long as one of the contending parties is unable to meet strength with strength. This lesson is being learned by Great Britain to-day.

So completely, apparently, did the dreams of our statesmen coincide with the avaricious desires of their Imperialist Masters, that they were induced to overstep themselves, and the efforts to secure complete control of the gateways to the richest Oilfields in the world, by the setting up of a Middle European Empire took them a bit further than their Masters are now anxious to go.

And now they have to retract—

The decision of Peace or War to decide this monstrous gamble—Who is it to be left to? To our democratically elected Parliament? Has the Cabinet decided to submit this issue to the House for a lead? No. **AND IT DOES NOT INTEND TO.** The Cabinet takes its guidance from its real masters—the Imperialist Zaharoffs, and upon their immediate hopes and prospects of commercial gain will depend whether more millions of the working class have to march to the slaughter.

And what are we doing?

The Labour Party demands the immediate summoning of Parliament, but they know deep down in their own breasts that the Cabinet has no intention of submitting the matter to Parliament before the profit-mongers have decided what the issue has to be.

Is the Labour Party serious in its determination to oppose this war and to take every possible step to avert it?

We have Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's assurances this week that he never witnessed more sincere unanimity in the Labour Movement than during the present crisis. **THEN LET THEM TAKE SOME REAL STEPS TO AVERT IT.**

Mr. Henderson says arrangements are made to summon a Labour Party Congress to deal with it. But when? **AFTER IT**

HAS BEEN SET GOING? We would most solemnly remind Mr. Henderson that then it will be most probably too late!

That was the tragedy of 1914. If it is not to be repeated let them call a Congress now.

Let it include all sections of the movement and let its voice and determination be heard and felt in no unmistakable way. Let it call for the immediate resignation of the Government. Let it instruct its constituent membership that not a wheel must move in industry from the day on which War is declared. Should the Government persist, then let it assert itself in the strength of its rightful inheritance and proclaim itself a Provisional Government and take over the Rulings of the country.

This is a courageous policy, but the situation demands courage. And Labour's capacity to reply to this demand will be the proof of Labour's fitness to govern.

To the workers of this country the Communist Party sends this message—Remember 1914!!! Think of the sacrifice and blood-letting of the last War. Ponder a moment over the lies and canting phrases which seduced you into participation in it. Give a thought to the loud mouthed promises held out by a Grateful Country. And look around at the fulfilment. And, having done so—set firm in your resolution—

NOT A MAN—NOT A GUN.

(Continued on Page 3)



WHEN THE WORKER WAKES

SUNDAY GAMES By Clete

THE recent decision of the London County Council, and similar bodies in other districts, to allow games in public parks on Sundays, has been the cause of much controversy in both pulpit and press. Although the issue affects the workers but little, the motive actuating the partisans for and against Sunday games is not without interest. It will be seen that both the desire to enforce and the desire to object to the Puritanical Sabbath are each a reflection of different phases in the exploitation of the worker.

It will come as a surprise to many to learn that the observance of Sunday as a day on which Christians should neither work nor play only dates back to the 17th century. "Holiday" is, of course, "holy-day," and under Feudalism on both Sundays and Saints' days, the workers were free to do as they wished, amuse themselves, buy or sell at the fairs, etc., or work for themselves. Holidays were so numerous that they constituted nearly a third of the year, but this affected very little the rate of exploitation of the serfs. As soon, however, as the factory system arose, these numerous holidays seriously detracted from the maximum work extractable from the newly-created wage-slaves. The Reformation, the ethical reflex of the advent of capitalism, made the overthrow of the Saints one of its planks. "Swat that Saint" was a slogan and for every Saint downed, the workers lost a holiday.

This serious curtailment of the number of holidays, naturally inclined the workers to make the most of those that yet remained, with the result that Sundays became riotous days on which the workers by no means rested so as to renew their strength ready for Monday morning.

One can imagine the displeasure with which this was viewed by the petty factory owners and, without even waiting to get legality on their side, the magistrates in Lancashire were trying and punishing workers for playing games on Sunday, although they were transgressing neither customs nor law!

James I. was on the throne and his mental outlook would appear considerably broader than that of the contemporary factory owners. He certainly put the fat in the fire by issuing his "Book of Sports" for Sundays and Holy Days. In it he accuses the Puritans of "prohibiting and unlawfully punishing our good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundaies and other Holy Daies after the afternoon sermon or service," and "Hee (the King) prudently considered that, if these times were taken from them, the meanest sort who labour hard all the week should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits."

It will thus be seen that at its inception, both those who opposed and those who favoured Sunday observance, were each actuated by the thought that by their method the greatest amount of work could be extracted from the workers.

We shall find exactly the same state of affairs at the death-knell of Sunday observance, and throughout its history, not religious conviction but the effect on the productivity of the worker dominates every opinion on the subject. During the last few weeks, many sermons have been preached up and down the land on this subject and this point has been echoed again and again.

The Rev. De Witt Talmage, for instance, in a recent sermon, stated that during the American War, works which closed on Sundays produced more munitions than those working seven days a week. A prominent iron merchant he quotes as stating that "now we keep the Sabbath, we turn out more iron and have larger profits, than any year when we worked all the seven days." In an eulogy of the Sabbath, Dr. Talmage exclaims: "Rest for the overtasked workmen in the mine, or out on the wall or in the sweltering factory. Rest for the sewing woman with weary hands and aching side and sick heart." Not a word about overthrowing or even ameliorating a state of affairs wherein the workman is overtasked and the heart of the workwoman made sick and weary—not likely, merely a pean of praise to God that his intervening Sabbaths enable such lives to drag out so long!

The capitalists have, of course, carefully verified the fairly obvious theory that additional work is obtained due to a seventh day's rest. Many experiments have been carried out, particularly in America in connection with the steel and cement industries, and results have indicated clearly a greater output for six days a week operating.

Everybody having granted, therefore, the advisability of a weekly rest-day, the dispute rages round how the worker shall be allowed to spend his spare time. Will he recoup the better if he play games, goes to places of amusement or is enforced into pleasureless inactivity? It is particularly noticeable, by the way, that no attempt is ever made to interfere with the activities of the rich on Sundays. Golf links and private

OUR BOOK PRIZE COMPETITION

The full details of our new book-prize competition and circulation scheme appeared in last week's issue of the COMMUNIST.

Each week we are asking for reports from workers in different industries. We want to know the conditions under which these workers live and die; their hours, pay, housing conditions, amusements and recreations; above all things, how their lives are affected by the work they do.

Last week we asked for reports from the cotton industry. The latest date for these is October 14th. Readers in these districts are asked not to delay, but to send in reports at once.

This week we ask for reports from workers in the large railway centres, and particularly desire contributions from Cardiff, Edinburgh, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, Manchester, Sheffield, and Stratford. Reports must be written on one side of the paper only, must not exceed 500 words in length, and must be accompanied by the full name and address of the sender. The latest date for reports from railway centres is October 21st.

A book prize will be awarded to the contributor whose contribution is adjudged the best.

Next week we shall ask for reports from the mining centres.

tennis courts have been open on Sundays for years in districts where public park games on that day are being violently opposed.

It is clear, therefore, that the religious element is against the worker amusing himself on Sunday, but some are more broadminded than others; those who preach—and gather collections—in densely populated districts are opposed to Sunday trams, buses and cycling, for instance, while those in sparsely populated, outlying districts, favour such means of locomotion and provide cycle storage outside their churches. They are also influenced by passing events. When the allotment societies were formed in 1850, the Parliamentary reports show that it was an offence punishable with expulsion to pick a cabbage on Sunday. About 1915, parsons were organising digging parties on the allotments on Sundays, and now in 1922, local Flower Shows are disqualifying any exhibitor proved to have worked in his garden on Sundays.

The question arises as to what extent religious convictions should give way before national loss or calamity. In the case of the allotments, a European war was evidently considered sufficient justification, but the Darlington Town Council recently rescinded a resolution to issue summonses for offences under the Sunday Observance Act, as it was found that each summons would cost the town sixpence!

Now it must not be supposed that the Rationalists who are fighting Sabbatarianism, are doing this on behalf of the workers. Perhaps the best statement of their case is contained in Mr. W. W. Hardwicke's

"Sunday Observance," published by the R.P.A. After strenuously laying about the Sabbatarians hip and thigh, till they have not a leg to stand on, the author in his concluding chapter says: "The waste of valuable time, loss of money, general inconvenience, and stagnation of everything, during one whole day every week, is enormous and seriously retards the development of trade, and limits the country's resources, placing her at a great disadvantage with other European nations. For it is solely on account of these prohibitions that the Saturday half holiday has gradually been introduced, by which a day and a half is lost to work in our country as against one day every week on the Continent; five and a half days only being devoted to work as against six."

Mr. Hardwicke makes no bones about being in favour of the working class being employed six whole days a week and those employed in trading and all forms of entertainment, seven days per week! "Oh! What a friend we have in—Rationalism!" Anyway, Mr. Hardwicke kindly lets the cat out of the bag, a covert attack on the workers' half holiday lies behind "Sunday Games." Those liberally minded people who are fighting to give the worker a rational unfettered Sunday are trying to filch his Saturday afternoon, in fact the move has already been made in some isolated trades, mainly those connected with providing amusements, catering, etc. The workers will do well to watch that while he gains his Sunday, he does not lose his extra half-day off.

"Perhaps the Monkey will be found"

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UNEMPLOYMENT

Resolution of the Communist Party Conference

THIS Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain sees in the persistence of the large army of the unemployed in this country a sweeping condemnation of the capitalist system of economy. It recalls the robbers' peace of Versailles and sees in it, with its criminal folly of indemnities and reparations, the immediate cause of the dislocation of industry and ruin of the markets of the world.

In the vicious claims of the metal, coal, and shipping barons of Great Britain, France and their Allies upon the exhausted peoples of Central Europe, is to be found the direct responsibility for the terrible plight that millions of the working class find themselves in to-day, in conjunction with the two millions unemployed in this country. At the same time the Conference takes note that in addition to the systematic sabotaging of production for purposes of profit, the employing class of this country is ruthlessly using the present industrial slump to weaken and destroy the trade union movement. As a consequence of this offensive by the capitalists, tens of thousands of workers, finding themselves thrust below the economic status of the coolie, and disheartened and discouraged for lack of a strong official lead, are leaving the unions when more than ever a united Labour front is necessary. Against this tendency this conference urges the slogan of "Back to the Unions" as a preliminary to stopping the retreat. Out of the weakened morale in the Labour ranks, demands are being made for new and fanciful schemes of organisation intended to embrace employed as well as unemployed. Were the workers to adopt such proposals as a national policy it would still further weaken the present labour organisations and spread confusion in the ranks.

This conference, therefore, while placing on record its appreciation of the valuable help of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee in the task of advancing the interests of the unemployed, in preventing blacklegging against the labour unions, and in the training of large masses of the unemployed to the value of organisation, at the same time urges the N.U.W.C. to remain an Unemployed Workers' Committee. We urge it to take joint action with the trade unions and become attached to the local trades and labour councils; to identify itself with the Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions and to work side by side with the Minority Movement now operating under its leadership, for the united struggle against capitalism. Further, in view of the approaching winter, it should concentrate all its resources for the struggle against the Government locally and nationally.

This Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain therefore pledges its support to the full demands of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee, and will unreservedly use the whole of its resources in the carrying out of this programme.

YAPPER BOB

By Our Agricultural Expert

WE have reached a crisis in British capitalist rural development. R. B. Walker, who happens to hold a salaried position in the National Union of Agricultural Workers has, in spite of his fiery utterances, led his members right into the neat web spun for them. Having tricked poor Henry Dubb Hodge into a compromise with the devil, he now begins to emit terrific thunderbolts from under his aristocratic whiskers.

There was a row about wages in October, 1921. The farmers wanted to lower wages. The Conciliation Board had fixed the wage at 36s. for 51 hours. But a gentleman at Docketing, North Norfolk, who glories in the name of Womack Ringer, said No! "Not for me! I shall pay them 30s. henceforth, and I will let them—the labourers—have all the mouldy flour I can spare a penny cheaper than the bakers' price." So he gave his men notice that they must accept the 30s. or go.

Along comes Yapper Bob like a hurricane. "Out you come. No Compromise! Not a penny less than County rate." With the result that over two hundred agricultural workers left their toil—in winter, of all times of the year! Every available organiser in the Eastern Counties was concentrated on the Docketing, Sidgeford area, and the union found the men as big a wage to keep out as to go to work. It is not exaggeration to say there was an organiser to every dozen men.

But at the same time Womack Ringer imported train-loads of blacklegs from Cambridgeshire through the Farmers' Federation. And, what is more, paid them 50s. a week and board.

After nearly four months of fruitless strife, Smith, Walker & Co. ordered their members to return to work. Nothing had been gained as the County rate was now 30s. By this time it was mid-winter. When the men wanted to return Mr. Ringer says: "No thank you, I don't need any hands now, I can carry on quite nicely with the half-dozen horsemen and yardmen I have imported from Cambridgeshire."

And, despite Mr. Walker's protest, he did carry on, and the poor deluded workers found themselves at a dead end.

In other parts of East Anglia (and for that matter, all over the country) the organised workers had been left during Mr. Walker's "beano" without their advisers, the trade union organisers. All sorts got moving in their ranks. The crash came—the terrible inevitable end of the dispute. The Labourer was stunned! 30s.! What a pittance for British workers! With a rush they left their trade union to enter into individual blacklegging agreements with the greedy employing class, and the N.U.A.W. was powerless to stop the rot.

But why, in the name of reason, were the men called out? There is always a great deal of unemployment in agriculture in winter, and always will be under the present system. To bring men out in late autumn and send them back in mid-winter was sheer lunacy. The proper course would have been to have told the men the

whole truth, and entered into a general campaign to get the workers organised and funds raised for a great offensive in the spring. But perhaps there is more in this than meets the eye.

Womack Ringer was not a fool neither were the men behind him, the country squires and parsons. They traded on Yapper Bob's psychology and they won. Between October, 1921 and January, 1922, the country was on the qui-vive expecting a General Election. So was R. B. Walker, Labour Candidate for the King's Lynn Division of Norfolk. In the 1918 "Hang the Kaiser" Election, he was nicely beaten by hard-face Jodrell. He was, therefore searching hard for a chance to gain popularity useful in the expected parliamentary gamble. The Docketing affair presented this chance and so he walked into the trap. The Agricultural Workers' Union to-day is, as a result of Bob's miscalculation, only a shadow of its former self.

Although this is probably as bad a year as any British farmer has known from the point of view of trade, the average farmer still contrives to ride in his Ford and entertain his friends to afternoon tea and tennis. The labourer's wage to-day is 25s. for 54 hours, and Yapper Bob is still as determined as ever before, "not to compromise one cent."

But what can the N.U.A.W. do now? Nothing! If they called a strike. What percentage of the agricultural workers are organised? Not one fourth. What percentage are unemployed?—Nearly one-fifth. Draw your own conclusions.

But the workers existing in terrible misery on 25s. a week are beginning to think at last. All over the country they are losing faith in the old gang. Those that were once strict Constitutionalists are fast becoming pronounced Bolsheviks. In the words of one of the old Land Workers veterans: "The time has now come to call a halt with humbug, and fight. One might as well die fighting as live starving!"

THERE SHALL BE NO WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

We, the Communist Party, give you assurance of our grimly resolved determination to use all the forces at our disposal to prevent, to thwart, the machinations of our Imperialist Schemers. Upon the working class of Great Britain depends the issue of War or Peace. **THEY CAN DECIDE.**

And we, as part of that movement, can help towards that decision by being definite ourselves. Let it be known then, and go forward from to-day—that the Communist Party of Great Britain is unanimous in its fixed policy—If WAR MUST BE—of turning its full consequences back upon its foul instigators.

It is in this spirit I commend the Delegates to the business of asking that it be embodied in our week-end's work—and confident of its loyal and enthusiastic support from the entire Party membership.

Last Words from the Commission

THE Party Conference has adopted the new proposals of organisation.

This means that our Party has for the first time unreservedly and without qualification, constituted itself as a Communist Party—in fact as well as in name—and a section of the Communist International.

For the first time in the history of the working-class movement of this country, a single centralized organisation of the revolutionary forces has been established, designed and adapted in every detail for the effective prosecution of the struggle in every phase of the workers' life.

But the work has only been begun. The real test now begins. The next twelve months will be the critical period in the life of the Party. The new form of organisation will have to be made real, not only in the centre and the leading organisations, but in the daily life and activity of every group and every member of the Party. It is here that every individual member of the Party will be actively determining the success or failure of the scheme.

Difficulties and obstacles will arise of every kind and in every direction. Old confusions and weaknesses will survive, only slowly to be cleared out of the way by long and patient endeavour. The first enthusiasm will attempt too much and will find itself

met with disillusionment and discouragement. We must be prepared beforehand for this difficulty and discouragement. The task we are undertaking is not an easy one but it is worth doing. In the sure and certain conviction that we have the right method, we must go forward with a spirit of unflinching determination and tireless persistence, realising the historic necessity of our task in the development of the British working class movement, and resolved to let no difficulty prevent us from building up a party worthy to stand beside the parties of Russia and of Germany in the world struggle of the Communist International.

We appeal to every member of the Party to enter wholeheartedly and ungrudgingly into the work before us. Let each member get his copy of the Commission's Report and make himself thoroughly acquainted with its general contents. The initiation of the changes will be led from the Central Committee, but every member must be prepared to look out for the instructions that will be given, and act in uniformity with them; and the speed and success of their application will depend on the understanding and careful co-operation of the membership. In the meantime, until the instructions are received, existing activities should be continued in full.

The Commission wish to place on record their appreciation of the spirit in which the Conference discussed the proposals contained in their Report, and look forward with confidence and hope to the progress of the Party in the coming period.

WATCH GEORGE

LOYD GEORGE'S stock is low. All his Conservative friends have deserted him. The whole Press clamours against him. He has, it would seem, no friend left. It is just at such moments that he becomes dangerous. If Parliament meets, he falls. If an election is held, he goes. And he knows it.

His one hope of saving his position, his place and his emoluments is a war.

BECAUSE he is in bad odour he is more dangerous than ever. Take note of the resolution (given hereunder) passed by the Communist Party Conference on Sunday, October 8th.

WATCH THE CROOKS—NOT THE STRAITS.

A WARNING

The War in the Near East

Resolution of the Battersea Conference of the Communist Party

THIS Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain warns the workers of Britain and comrades in Turkey and India that the war crisis is not over. Alarmed by the general anger of the workers at the prospects of war, and by the growing solidarity of the Islamic peoples in the East, the kept politicians of Finance Capital are seeking to lull us into a false security so that they can better prosecute their scheme to gain and keep control of the resources of the Near East, of the Straits, and of Constantinople.

This conference protests against any secret negotiations between trade union or Labour Party leaders and the Government. This conference, therefore, determined to do all in its power to prevent the accomplishment of this design to close the outlet of Soviet Russia and to prevent the domination of European Finance Capital over the peasant millions of the Near and Further East; calls upon the British working class to refuse to spend their lives, limbs and energies, in this plot for the maintenance of plundering Capitalist Imperialism.

It urges the Transport Workers to repeat their courageous conduct in the class case of the "Jolly George" and refuse to load men or munitions for the creation of new shambles. It calls upon all other workers to back the Dockers by a determined, courageous, prompt and universal refusal to do anything to aid the crushing of either the Turkish or any other Eastern peasant and workers' movement, or of Soviet Russia. It re-affirms its solidarity with the masses of India and urges them to make common cause with the masses of Russia and other European countries who have now realised fully the evils of Western Capitalism exploiting East regions.

Moreover, in the interests of the exploited masses all over the world, the Conference endorses the action of the Executive Committee in approaching the leaders of the Second International and the Labour Party with proposals for the establishment of effective centres of working class resistance to the threatened war, in the shape of workers' Councils of Action all over Gt. Britain. The Conference reiterates its readiness and pledges the Communist Party, which it represents, loyally to join with every and any other working class organisation, in an effort to stop the war by mobilising the workers around such Councils of Action.

The conference endorses the demands put forward by the Executive Committee as the minimum essential for the preservation of peace, namely:—

- Evacuation of the Dardanelles by all Entente troops.
- Recognition of the Angora Government as the national Government of Turkey, and of Turkey's right to sovereign independence.
- Summoning of an international conference to settle the future of the Dardanelles, composed only of the states bordering on the Black Sea.

The New German Social Democratic Party

Specially written for the Communist

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

THE re-union of the two wings of the German Social Democracy has brought to a close a phase in the development of the political Labour movement in Germany.

The necessity for re-union was self-evident, for the simple reason that the necessity for separation was absent.

True, it had seemed as if the Independent Socialists were bitter enemies of the Majority Socialists. They had fought them after the November Revolution; they made common front with the Spartacists against Noske; and, in principle, they accepted the proletarian dictatorship. But, in actual fact their attitude was always wavering. They were always a drag on the militants when a real revolutionary situation arose—as in the Kapp Putsch—and in more recent crises they have never made common cause with the Communists.

Their last feat as an independent party, a few days after the murder of Rathenau (when the masses were on the streets and it only required a little leadership to obtain big results), was to decide that there was nothing in principle against the independents entering a Coalition government with capitalist parties to safeguard the Republic!

* * *

The reason for this development of the Independents is not hard to find.

After the Congress in Halle, at which the militants split off and joined the Communists, the party has been virtually led by the Centrist or "Austro-Marxian" school of Social Democracy.

Without going into details about the theories of this school, it is sufficient to say that the chief difference between them and the outspoken Revisionists (of the Majority Socialist type) is a difference of temperament.

The Centrists opposed the war—to give them credit—opposed it courageously and suffered for their convictions. But they did so for sentimental pacifist reasons. They regarded the war as a horrible incident, which might have been avoided, if certain statesmen and potentates had behaved more sensibly. So unbalanced were they in their criticism that they tended to put the main blame on the militarism of their own countries (the Central Powers) and to carry on not international, but anti-national propaganda. By this they showed that they were not real Marxists. They had not realised that war is an inevitable phenomenon in the Imperialist phase of finance capital.

There is therefore nothing paradoxical in a re-union between the anti-nationalist "Centrists" of Germany and the patriotic socialists of the Scheidemann type, for both have a conception of the phenomenon of war, which runs counter to the true materialist conception of history.

Since the war, too, the Centrists have shown an equal failure to appreciate the real issues involved in the economic chaos in Europe.

This is made plain by the attitude of the German Independents on reparations. Having deceived themselves with Wilson's 14 points, till the brutality of the Versailles Treaty brought them to their senses, they (agreeing in this with the Majority Socialists) adopted a policy of "loyal fulfilment" of that Treaty, on the grounds that the capitalist system in Europe is so powerful that nothing can be done to overthrow it and therefore only good-will on the part of

vanquished will show to the victors that the Treaty must be revised.

This reasoning in effect denies the whole theory of the colonial and imperialist phase of modern capitalism. The post-war chaos, according to this, is not a sign of the deadly sickness of capitalism—is not a signal to the proletariat of Europe to redouble its efforts to kill the monster, mortally wounded but still able to fight. The post-war chaos is to the German Independents like the war itself, an accident, which can be removed by showing the Entente militarists an example of good-will. In the meantime, all talk of measures for the attainment of Socialism is dropped. At the Independents Congress in Gera last week, their specialist for finance and economics, Rudolf Hilferding, while thundering at Stinnes and incidentally praising the head of the Anti-Stinnes Trust, the late Walter Rathenau (whereby he was no doubt quite unconscious of the service he was doing to this latter Trust and to the German banks), proposed, as the only practical measure for Germany at the present moment, to pledge the gold reserves of the Reichsbank to the international money merchants for a big loan. That was the measure of the socialism of this specialist of the Austro-Marxians!

Can one wonder that the ground is prepared for their union with the Revisionists of the Bernstein school, who have said

openly and honestly all along that capitalism can only be gradually removed by measures of social reform, spread over decades and undertaken with the consent of capitalism itself.

The abandonment by the Independents' leaders of the most important practical and theoretical weapons of the class struggle in a time like the present is bound to lead to still further developments.

The Majority Socialists have been since the Revolution in coalition in the government of the Reich with the Democrats (which in Germany means the bankers) and in Prussia with the latter and the People's Party (which is Stinnes and a part of the heavy industries). Now, in order to safeguard the Republic, the Independents have united with the Majority Socialists, have accepted the principles of coalition with capitalist Republican parties without making any conditions that the latter shall accept in principle even the most urgent Socialist measures, such as the nationalisation of mines and the State mortgage on industry.

The Republic, in fact, is to be a stalking horse from behind which the Socialist programme is to be trapped. True, the Republic, even a bourgeois one, is worth fighting for against an attempted restoration of junkerdom, but no one can doubt that a Labour movement in Germany,

in its defence, could attain this end without sacrificing its social programme. And yet the leader of the Independents at Jena, Arthur Crispien, in reply to critics, who were uneasy about the party programme, said that it was desirable not to lay down conditions for union with the Majority Socialists in defence of the Republic.

All this is very instructive, as it shows what the rank-and-file of British Labour may have to expect after the next election, if it takes the words of certain Labour leaders—heroically rejecting coalition with the Liberals—too seriously.

When this time arrives, let it learn from the example in Germany, and insist that its leaders put conditions to the Liberal cotton magnates, and let those conditions be such that they cannot accept them and remain cotton magnates.

It would, however, be premature to say that the new United German Social-democratic Party is condemned from the first to be a tool of Stinnes, Parvus, and his right hand man, Ebert. Perhaps the most important question that arose at the Independents' Congress was whether the left wing of the party, consisting mainly of trade unionist rank-and-filers and some intellectuals behind the veteran Tedebeur, should go into the new party and form a left wing there or stay outside and continue alone. The bulk of the opposition decided on the former course, which seemed the only practicable one, since they have been all too much compromised in anti-Communist propaganda to make it possible for them to approach the latter, even if they wanted to.

The question arises, however: can this opposition within the united party be effective as long as the bulk of the militant labour element in Germany is outside in the German Communist Party? There is reason to think that it can, and no doubt the German Communist Party will give it all the moral support possible from outside.

Here is a case where work within a big political party, in which the masses remain by tradition, is essential. But it cannot be carried on by the German Communist Party within the United Social-democratic Party, because the latter is not, like the British Labour Party, the political organ of the trade unions with affiliated Socialist sects. The work of influencing a mass party like the new united party in Germany can only be carried on by individuals and unofficial groups, not by officially affiliated parties.

This may ultimately be the case with the British Labour Party too, if it turns its face against all left movements and becomes not the "trade unions in politics," but the political organ of the various shades of the Reformist school in England. But until that time comes, it will not be possible to draw a parallel between the situations in England and Germany or to say that because the German Communist Party is forced to remain outside the new fusion of mass parties, that therefore the British Communist Party should give up its demand for affiliation.

On the contrary. The demands for affiliation will in time show whether the Labour Party is going to be a body like the new United Social-democratic Party in Germany (which is an official fusion of outspoken Revisionist, patriotic elements with unclear but well-meaning pacifist internationalists), or whether it will continue more or less in its present form.

IRELAND

Resolution of the Battersea Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain

THE Communist Party of Great Britain feels compelled to call the attention of the working masses of Britain and other countries to the reign of terror established once again by British Imperialism in Ireland. Having failed to conquer the Irish nation by its own army, it has bribed the capitalist and the landlord class of Ireland with the so-called "Treaty" to become the instrument of Imperialist oppression. True to their class interests they have accepted the money, the guns, the military equipment of Britain to subdue the heroic Republican army, still maintaining the traditional struggle for Irish emancipation, to whom are rallying the workers and peasants of Ireland, who have throughout borne the brunt of the fight.

True to their instinctive hatred of the working masses they have produced their own "Black and Tans" in Free State uniform, to kill and torture, to banish and imprison their fellow countrymen who dared to continue to fight for what they themselves have betrayed.

Thus have they made clear to all the world who are the real standard bearers of the national and social freedom. Thus have they demonstrated that the fight against Imperialism is the fight of the working class against the capitalist class of the world.

We congratulate the Irish Republican army on their magnificent struggle against British Imperialism represented by the Irish Free State Government.

We heartily agree with the Communist Party of Ireland in rendering assistance to the Irish Republican Army and call upon the workers and peasants of Ireland to rally behind these forces as a means to the creation of a Workers' and Peasants' Republic of Ireland, upon the basis of the Social Programme already accepted by the best and foremost Republicans.

We appeal to the rank and file of the Irish Labour Movement to be true to the cause for which their leader, James Connolly, sacrificed his life, dismiss the leadership of to-day, and rally to a new leadership which will dare to line up the forces of Labour with the Communist Party of Ireland and the I.R.A. in the fight against imperialism.

This is the only way the workers and peasants of Ireland can defeat the forces of reaction and secure the Workers' Republic to which they are pledged. To this end, the Communist Party of Great Britain pledges every possible assistance to the present revolutionary forces in Ireland, and as a first step suggests the establishment of "Hands Off Ireland" Committees to prevent the transport of munitions to the Imperialist F.S. Butchers; confident that in so doing we can deliver the greatest blow against British Imperialism and pave the way to a Federation of the Workers' Republics of the World.

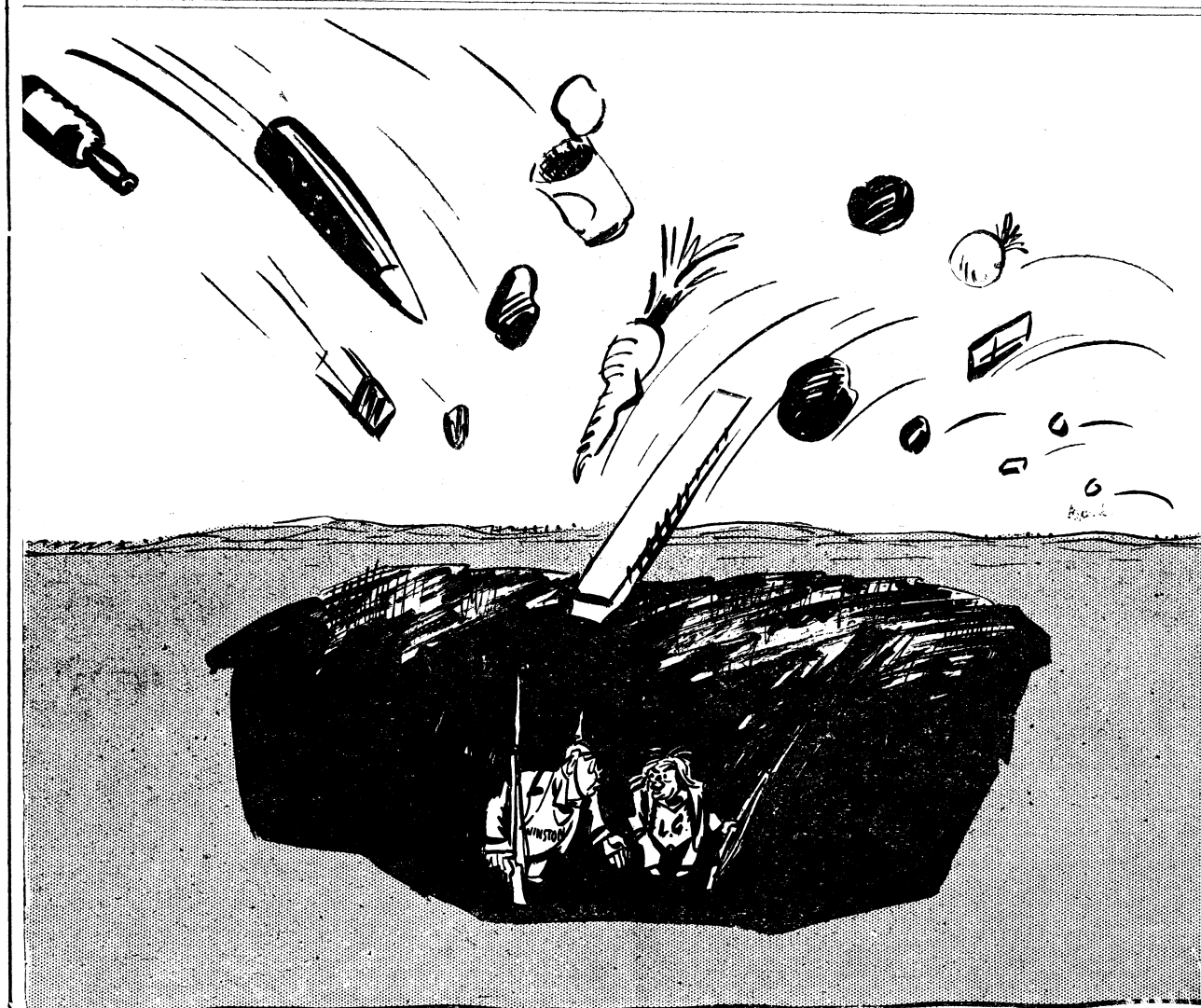
RUSSIA

Resolution of the Battersea Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain

THIS Conference of the Communist Party of Gt. Britain sends its fraternal greetings to the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

It expresses its heartfelt sympathy with them in their terrible sufferings caused by the famine, and records its unbounded admiration for the heroic efforts of the workers of the world to combat the famine and denounces the efforts of the counter-revolutionaries to use the famine as a means attacking Soviet Russia.

It is mindful of the fact that more was done to fight the famine by the workers of Russia than by all the relief agencies in the world, and it pledges itself to continue its whole-hearted support to the efforts of the Workers' International Relief Committee.



“He that diggeth a pit shall peradventure fall therein”

LLOYD GEORGE to WINSTON: Well! if you know of a better hole, go to it!

THE TERROR IN IMPERIAL BIRMINGHAM

AN APPEAL

By W. BRAIN (Vice-President Birmingham Trades Council)

BIRMINGHAM is a most interesting place to live and work in. Like all other places, of course, we live and work in it by gracious permission of the Boss. But there exist other circumstances peculiar to itself. During the last two generations the workers of Birmingham have firmly established a reputation of a most undesirable character. It is often referred to as a City of Blacklegs, and rightly so. Except for one or two incipient I.L.P. branches, the Socialist Movement had never established itself in Birmingham prior to 1914. The Birmingham people were firmly in the grip of the Chamberlain clique. It was, and still is regarded as a Unionist stronghold. Big Business considers Birmingham to be one of its strategic outposts; industrially and geographically it is so. Consequently you need not wonder that the forces of Imperialism have attended to the task of retaining its grip upon the mentality of Birmingham workers.

THE DAMNED INSOLENCE OF COMMUNISTS

However, the intensified industrial exploitation of the war period produced its

natural result, i.e., a virulent group of rebel workers who, passing through the S.L.P., became the nucleus of the Birmingham branch of the Communist Party. The City authorities were scandalised at the impudent activities of these Bolsheviks. Were we not blotting their Imperial copy-book? Could we be tolerated? Not much. Particularly as the conditions afflicting the workers were of such a character that they, the workers, were listening intently to our revolutionary message. Not being phrasemongers, we threw ourselves into every phase of the fight, especially among the Unemployed, who we organised as far back as October, 1920. The Unemployed in Birmingham numbered 100,000 before the miners' lock-out of 1921, and reached 130,000 during the lock-out. The official returns show at the present time about 70,000, and these of course, exclude those not drawing the dole. It costs the Board of Guardians about £25,000 weekly in relief. These particulars help to explain the ferocious persecution we have suffered at the hands of the C.I.D. During the last two years over 35 arrests have taken place, nearly all resulting in imprisonment. At one period we

had a Communist branch 12 strong in Winslow Green Gaol.

The purpose of this appeal, comrade, is to draw your notice to the fact that the police terror still operates. Last week a comrade went down for two months. He has a wife and six small children to be looked after. Two more comrades were arrested this week and await trial. We have a large legal debt to meet, besides maintaining dependants. Further, a Free Speech Defence Committee, representing all sections of Labour is in operation. We want to maintain the fight, therefore we earnestly appeal to all members of our Party who are still able to do so, to send along their spare cash to the Birmingham Communist Party Fighting Fund, c/o Headquarters. His Majesty's Criminal Investigation Department is a large and busy institution in Birmingham, and excessive overtime is being scribbled as they are very, very short-handed. Give us a hand, comrades, and we promise you that not only will they want a night shift, but before long they will make the big and final shift.

The End of the Italian Socialist Party

(Specially contributed)

THE split that should have come in the Italian Socialist Party in January, 1921, came last week. The delay has been fatal. Two years ago when the Communists insisted that the expulsion of the reformists was essential to the health of the Italian working class movement, they were stigmatised as wreckers, wilfully smashing the movement for the sake of a doctrine. Serrati, the undisputed leader of the Italian Socialists, was, like his following, for the Third International. But, blinded by a sentimental passion for unity he hardened himself to parting with the Communists, preferring to remain in association with the reformists, when the latter, although their incorrigible leanings to bourgeois collaboration were patent, lightly gave a promise to respect the discipline and will of the Party.

This ill-starred action of Serrati's wrecked the Italian Labour movement. The two years of uneasy "unity" witnessed the descent of Italian labour from power to decrepitude. As Labour became more enfeebled, and reaction, in the form of the Fascisti, more rampant, the reformists in-

side the Italian Socialist Party assumed a bolder front. They dishonoured their pledge to remain faithful to the will of the Party, as anybody with eyes to see would have foretold two years ago. Labour was being systematically crushed by the ruthless murder, arson and rapine of the Fascisti, but the reformists advocated, and indeed attempted, an alliance with the Fascisti Serrati, who with the end of the war had become the acknowledged and popular leader of Italian Socialism, was bound hand and foot, ignored and mocked at; the Communists, in whom his strength lay, he had abandoned, and the reformists, who, as long as the revolutionary spirit ran high in Italy, had concealed their true character, now threw off all disguise.

The climax came this summer during the Italian parliamentary crisis, when Turati, the leader of the reformists, in spite of the express prohibition of the Party, went to see the King with a view to forming a Coalition Government. Nothing came of it, but it whetted the appetite of the reformists. From that moment they entirely threw off their cloak. In order to shelter them, Serrati had rejected the Communists;

the reformists now declared that unless the Party accepted the tactics of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there was no alternative but to split the Party. Spurred by this to desperate action, Serrati at the Congress of the Party last week, demanded the expulsion of the reformists and by the narrowest majority (32,000 to 29,000) his demand was approved.

The Italian Socialist, paralysed by two wills, has been reduced to a remnant of its former strength (it had a membership two years ago of 200,000; it is now probably less than 60,000). It has split again into two nearly equal halves. Had the demand of the Communists been adopted and the then feeble and influential reformist section been rejected (the Communists that left the Party were some 60,000, while the reformists were only 14,000), the Italian Socialist Party, as the Italian Communist Party, might have held its head above the worldwide flood of reaction, and, who knows! would ere now have rallied the working class retreat to a fresh attack upon capitalism.

No better proof of the wisdom and foresight of the Third International, when it demanded that the revolutionary movement of the world be purified of its reformist elements, could be afforded, than by the ignominious collapse of the powerful Socialist Party, which, from a sentimental prejudice, refused to adopt this necessary precaution.

PRACTICAL HELP

AN AMERICAN TRADE UNION LOAN FOR RUSSIA

By Prof. E. VARGA

THE elemental catastrophe, which caused Russia in the past year to claim the help of the world proletariat appears to be passing. The harvest this year ensures the feeding of the Russian peasants for the coming economic year.

This does not mean, however, that the proletariat should regard help for Russia as finished with once and for all. Russia still needs this help. RUSSIA IS THE RICHEST COUNTRY OF THE WORLD. Her riches in fruitful soil, mineral wealth, and woods are immeasurable. In order, however, to take advantage of these riches, Russia needs organisation, expert workers, and tools for production. In the case of bourgeois countries with rich natural resources, Capital supplies all this. But in Russia the proletariat is the ruling class;

and Capital has no trust in such a country. It fears that by placing capital in Russia that it would not be able to obtain the wished for profits. THE TASK OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT IS THEREFORE TO PROVIDE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, QUALIFIED AND EXPERT WORKERS, AND ORGANISATION, SO THAT NATURAL RESOURCES OF RUSSIA MAY BE EXPLOITED. It is not, therefore, immediate help in the form of gifts that Russia needs before everything, but productive help of this kind.

An example of this has been given by the American tailors. The trade union has issued a loan to its members. The sum of one million dollars is to be used for buying machines and tools. Grouped with these machines of production a group of skilled workers has come to Russia and received from the Russian Workers' Government the necessary factories for setting up workshops, as well as support of every kind, and immediately they began to produce on their own account.

The workers were not called to make any immediate sacrifice; the loan capital bears

interest (but it depends on the decision of the workers themselves whether they accept the interest or use it for some kind of philanthropic purpose in Russia). Those workers engaged in the factories in Russia receive their regular weekly wage; and the surplus profit over and above the paying of the interest, that is, the real profit, will be used for the improvement and enlargement of the factories themselves.

This is the type of productive workers' help which in our opinion is most suitable for Russia in the future. The proletariat of West Europe and America possesses huge sums, which put aside as savings are placed to the use of capitalist banks and increase the profits of these institutions. The workers assist them with their small savings to make the class war more acute.

By the immediate use of these savings in Russia, thus eliminating the capitalists, it is possible to again rebuild Russia's economic life without being obliged to hand over the natural resources of the country to the exploitation of profiteering capitalists.

(translated E.T.W.)

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE Conference of the Communist Party met in the Battersea Town Hall, on Saturday and Sunday, October 7-8. Such was the length of the agenda prepared, and so close was the attention paid by the delegates to every item, that extra sessions were necessary. On Saturday the Conference adjourned at 5 p.m., and assembled an hour later at the Morris Hall, Clapham, where its session continued until nearly eleven p.m. On Sunday, it being found that the agenda could not be completed even with an extension of time to 10.45, it was decided to hold an extra session on Monday, from 10 a.m. until 1 p.m. It was found on Monday that even this was insufficient and consequently the Conference did not complete its labours until past 3 p.m. on Monday, October 9th.

A consequence of this delay is the absence from this issue of a completely detailed report. It was impossible in the space at our disposal to do more than touch upon the main points of the Conference, and in the time left after the prolonged sessions even those main points can only be treated in very broad outline.

This is, however, of minor importance. The essential work of the Conference was the adoption of the report of the Commission set up by virtue of a decision of the St. Pancras Conference, to prepare a scheme for the reorganisation of the Party. The labours of the Commission were presented in the form of a report whose comprehensiveness and force were such as to convince the whole Party not only of the value of the scheme proposed, and of the great good to be expected from its adoption, but also that the document itself deserves and will take a high rank among the historic documents of the proletarian revolutionary struggle.

The Commission's report being adopted without dissent or opposition, the chief work of the Conference became the election of the new Central Executive Committee demanded by the scheme. Much time was given to the nomination of candidates for this high and onerous office and more was spent with instruction and profit in the presentation by various delegates of their suggestions for the best list of seven to form (with the two secretaries, Political and Organising, and with the subsequent addition of representatives of the Youth, the Women, and the R.I.L.U.), the Central Leading Committee of the Communist Party.

During the afternoon session the result was announced. Earlier Comrade Tom Bell had been elected unopposed to the post of Political Secretary and Comrade Albert Inkpin (by a five to one majority) to that of Organising Secretary. The following were elected to form the Executive Seven—Comrades Pollitt, Dutt, Macmanus, Gallacher, Bob Stewart, Murphy, and Deacon—a result received by the Conference with an enthusiasm which we are convinced the Party at large will re-echo cordially.

To form the Party Council which under the new scheme will be summoned as occasion requires to consult with and advise the Central Executive upon issues of extraordinary importance, the following were elected to represent the various divisions:—

LONDON: E. Cant, and Bert Joy; **MIDLANDS:** Owen Ford and W. Brain; **LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE:** Geo. Peet and W. Duggan; **YORKSHIRE:** Fletcher and Davis; **NORTH-EAST:** Ernest Brown and Dowl; **SCOTLAND (S.W.):** Tom Clark and Pat Lavin; **SCOTLAND (N.E.):** Foulis (Edinburgh) and Douglas (Dunee); **SOUTH WALES:** J. R. Wilson and Williams.

To form the Control Commission there were appointed H. W. Inkpin, Jack Bradock, and Ted Lismer.

Apart from the matters arising in and from the Commission's report, chief interest centred in the discussions on the various

resolutions—most of which we include in this present issue. A resolution of sympathy with the Class War prisoners in America and elsewhere was carried with addendum laying special stress upon the indignation of the Conference at the legal murder of our comrades on the Rand.

Keen enthusiasm was aroused by the resolution on the Near East—the Conference being emphatic in its determination to ensure the defeat and downfall of the British Governmental War Conspirators.

The resolution on Ireland evoked equal determination to do all in the Party's power to aid the workers and peasants of Ireland in the successful prosecution of their Republican struggle.

* * *

Possibly the greatest curiosity was aroused by the fraternal delegates.

Roderick Connolly addressed the Conference on behalf of the Communist Party of Ireland. It was natural that in a Conference whose leading personalities were most of them directly pupils of James Connolly, that the presence of his son in the capacity of President of an Irish Communist Party should excite profound interest. The Irish comrades present could not

fail to be impressed in their turn by the earnestness with which the Conference faced the question of Ireland.

Juliet Poyntz, for the International Workers' Famine Relief Committee, impressed the Conference with an earnest plea for the new plan of economic aid to restore the industrial life of "Our" Russia.

But the greatest demonstration of enthusiasm was reserved for the dramatic appearance of a delegate from the Communist Party of Germany. The whole Conference leapt to its feet and burst into singing the "International," when the chairman (after posting a strong guard of stewards at every exit) quietly introduced Comrade "Smith."

In fervent words our comrade told of the pleasure with which he faced the experience of being the first German Party delegate to reach a workers' conference in this country since August, 1914. His speech, which even in an abbreviated translation impressed the delegates profoundly, we hope to give in full next week.

* * *

Plans were adopted for a new method of handling the official organ of the Party, whose results will be indicated next week.



ESPOIR ENJOYS HIMSELF AT THE BATTERSEA CONFERENCE

WHAT WILL THEY DO?

The I.L.P. and the 2½ International

By T. BELL

WE wonder how many members of the Independent Labour Party have followed closely the International associations of their Party. From what we know of some of the proletarian elements in the I.L.P. we feel sure they would not stand a single moment for some of the International commitments made in their name if they only knew.

How many, for example, know that while the I.L.P. is an important prop of the 2½ International, the 2½ International stands before the world's proletariat guilty of crimes as iniquitous and abominable as the Second International;—that, in short, there is no justification for these two Internationals being separated.

It will be a surprise for them when they realise that.

Their leaders have, so far, deluded them into believing they were carrying out a fervent mission on behalf of International Labour. Wallhead and his friends pretend to carry a holy gospel of love and brotherhood to the Second and Third Internationals alike. They sigh for the reconciliation of Noske, Scheidemann, Henderson and Vandervelde (the apostles of bourgeois law and order) with Lenin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, and Bela Kun and other valiant fighters for the Proletarian Revolution.

For our part, if there is any difference at all, between the two and 2½ Internationals we should say it was in favour of the 2nd. They at least, have never concealed their traitorous policy to the working class behind specious and sanctimonious phrases.

But what is the meaning of this 2½ International, i.e., the Vienna Working Union of Socialist Parties? What purpose has it served?

That is seen when we recall the circumstances that gave it birth. The division of the International as we knew it before the Great War, into three camps, is no mere matter of chance, nor is it the outcome of malicious personal intent. You cannot build an international movement embracing millions of the clearest minds of the working class on such flimsy foundations. An international movement (like a national political party) can only take root in the historical conditions of the class struggle. To understand political groupings one must grasp the historical facts.

What are these facts? I.L.P.ers, especially the proletarian elements, scarcely need to be reminded of what happened at the outbreak of the great imperialist war. Not merely were the political parties in this country scattered to the four winds, the various currents within them, hitherto more or less quiescent, took different directions. In the International itself these antagonisms manifested themselves in a political re-grouping.

Everyone in the Labour movement is familiar with the lack-a-daisical dilletante who bemoans divisions and sighs for unity at any price. Divisions in the ranks of the working class undoubtedly make for weakness, but the weakness accruing from the splitting of the International could only be temporary. It could and did, in fact, mark an advance.

What was actually happening was a re-grouping of the working class movement on a new political basis adapted to the new conditions created by the imperialist war. It cannot be denied that a considerable number in the ranks of the Social Democrats at home and abroad (as well as in the I.L.P.) were disheartened and discouraged at the failure of the International to serve them in their time of direst need. Many looked forward to a new body and hoped for a new and better international. They hoped to pass into an International of Social Revolution. They saw in the collapse of the Second International in July-August, 1914, the triumph of Imperialism. The subsequent imperialist policy of prominent Labour and Social Democratic Leaders, confirmed this demand for an entirely new political grouping.

IN SO FAR AS THE FORMATION OF THE 2½ INTERNATIONAL KEPT AN

IMPORTANT SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT IN THE RANKS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY DESPITE THE LESSONS OF THE WAR IT HAS PREVENTED THE FORMATION OF A MILITANT INTERNATIONAL OF REVOLUTION AND HAS SAVED THE CAPITALIST CLASS AT A TIME WHEN IT HAD GOOD REASONS TO FEAR FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

The Communists have predicted the fusion of the 2nd with the 2½ International. The news that the Independents of Germany (with the exception of Ledebour) have joined the camp of the Noske Majority Party illustrates the accuracy of the prediction.

We may look for similar action by the I.L.P. with the Labour Party of this country in the near future.

The appointment of the pacifist journalist Brailsford, as the Editor of the "Labour Leader," and the decision to drop the word "Labour" from the title of the paper; the growing inability to distinguish between the programme of the Labour Party and that of the I.L.P., and the tendency of the former towards greater centralisation and discipline; all portends the doom of the I.L.P. as a separate political group from the Labour Party.

* * *

To anyone who takes the trouble to examine the objective conditions of the times, it is quite clear that the role of the 2½ International is played out. There is only one thing left for its leaders to do—to break up camp and join the army of the Social traitors in the 2nd.

Their mission of reconciliation is ended. The fundamental breach between the bourgeois-democratic policy of the Second International and the revolutionary policy of the Communist International, is so widened with the growing strength of Communism that reconciliation is practically impossible. Conversely, the fusion of groups of the 2nd and the 2½ Internationals serves to show ever more clearly the real alignment taking place in the political expression of the working class struggle.

No doubt Wallhead and the leaders of the I.L.P. will herald each act of fusion as a triumph for the policy of the 2½ International—be it the I.S.P. with the S.D.P. of Germany, the passing of the *Daily Herald* to the control of the Labour Party under an ordinary Fleet Street journalist or the adoption by the middle class intelligentsia of Keir Hardie's child, the "Labour Leader."

The Communist International will wish them joy. But we question if the proletarian elements in the I.L.P. will agree to this "reconciliation" between the pacifist Wallhead and the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg.

We know the mind of the militant proletariat of the I.L.P. from experience of industrial struggles alike in the engineering shops of the big industrial centres and throughout the various coalfields, etc., too well to believe they will be disturbed at the verdict in Moscow against the S.R.'s, which is now being sanctimoniously paraded by the "Labour Leader" as an obstacle to the International co-operation of the class-conscious proletariat. We do not believe the militant workers in the ranks of the I.L.P. will be influenced by clap-trap about the "revolting barbarity of the Soviet Government sanctioned by the Communist International"—as the "Labour Leader" put it the other week.

We know that there are many good Communists in the ranks of the I.L.P. Under the spell of the Keir Hardie tradition, they accept the lead of Wallhead and Macdonald, but in reality, belong to the Communist International.

It is not therefore mere accident that causes the "Labour Leader" to spread slanderous lies about "obedience to the will of Moscow," about being "under the spell of the Moscow sect," and about Moscow

"frustrating the World Congress." When the 2½ International organs in this country, the "Labour Leader" and "Forward," knowingly spreads lies and misrepresentations about the Communist International, we understand the urgent domestic motive. They were to be expected after what happened at Berlin when the demand for a World Congress simultaneously with the Imperialist Congress of Genoa was made by Comrade Radek on behalf of the Communist International, and defeated on the initiative and by the machinations of Vandervelde, Wells, and Macdonald.

We do wonder, however, if the proletarians in the I.L.P. are content that their official organs are unable to rise above the level of the *Morning Post*.

"We cannot give up our aim to unite the workers of all countries in one class organisation," says the 2½ International. The Communist International echoes "Amen."

We, too, desire a single organisation of the working class. But it must be a *real* International. It is not enough to establish a bureau or post office at Amsterdam or Vienna. We must unite on the basis of the class struggle and be an International of action, of social revolution.

And the time is now! More and more does the intensity of the International economic and political situation cry out for a single political front and leadership of the working class.

With the Imperialist Statesmen still busy hatching and plotting to set the workers at each other's throats, we hear the leaders of the 2nd and 2½ International prating about the efficacy of a League of Nations which has been shown to be but a mere decoy duck for all would-be politicians and statesmen. We ask all honest proletarians in the I.L.P. who do not want to see Europe embroiled in another welter of blood and fire, to look to themselves.

The 2½ International will fail. And that for the same reason that the 2nd International failed. They are Internationals of words: not deeds.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

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

MEETINGS

Communist Party Branches

BIRMINGHAM. Sundays, Bull Ring, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.; Barton Arms, 7 p.m. Wednesdays, Adelerley Road, Salfley, 7.30 p.m. Fridays, Small Heath Park, 7.30 p.m. Branch Meetings Thursdays, 8 p.m., Floodgate Street Schools. Intending members apply T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

CENTRAL LONDON. Minerva Cafe, High Holborn. Sunday, October 15, 8 p.m., Fred Willis.

CENTRAL JOINT COUNCIL. Minerva Cafe, High Holborn, Monday, October 16th, 8.15 p.m. G. Baracchi. Subject: "An Australian's Friendly Criticism on British Communist Theory."

ISLINGTON. West Islington Library, Lofting Road, Caledonian Road, Sunday, October 15th, 7.45 p.m. J. T. Murphy of The Red International. Trams 17, 21 and 59 pass door.

KENNINGTON. Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park, 8 p.m. October 15. Speaker: Bob Stewart.

SOUTHWARK. Meetings every Sunday and Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock, at 4, Browning Street, Walworth.

SOUTHWARK. Carnival Dances held every Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, at 4, Browning Street, Walworth. Admission 6d.

TO LECTURE SECRETARIES.—Lantern Lectures on "Russia." Now booking for Winter Session. For terms, dates, &c., apply Russian Famine Fund, 35, Grays Inn Road, W.C.1.