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TWOPENCE



MUSSOLINI to BONAR LAW—"You want tranquillity, hey? I'm the boy to get it for you!"

MUSSOLINI'S MERRY MEN

The Programme and Statutes of the Fascist Party

WHILE Mussolini is closeted with Bonar Law—teaching him, no doubt, the "only way to tranquillity"—it will be worth while to examine the claims which the Fascist Party makes for itself.

We are able to do so the better, because (by means that would madden Mussolini) we have obtained possession of a copy of the "Programme and Statutes of the Fascist Party."

Consider the extracts we give below—we have not room for the whole document—consider them carefully, not as an Italian curiosity, but as the sort of thing that the Bourgeoisie everywhere turn to as by instinct the moment the working mass turn their minds in a revolutionary direction.

It has already been said by one apparently in the confidence of the leaders of the British Labour Party, that they will study to "meet Fascism half way."

What is it that British Labour must "meet half way"? Fascism's original objects "were simple"—"to vindicate Italy's intervention in the war, to glorify Italy's victory and to fight Bolshevism."

At the head of its programme stand certain "fundamentals." Among these note that: "the Fascist Party maintains that the law essential to life in the world is not the unification of the various Nations into a single large Association—Humanity, but the fruitful competition between the various National Associations."

This, read in conjunction with the other "fundamental"—"the possessions of individuals and groups should be promoted, developed, and defended," give a pretty starting point for the "fight against Bolshevism."

It should delight the rank-and-file of the Labour Party to know that they are to "meet half way" a Party formed to "defend

and develop" the "possessions of individuals."

* * *

How are they to defend them? "The functions and powers at present vested in Parliament must be limited." Technical Councils must be created which "must handle the problems which relate to the activity of individuals in their capacity of producers."

The right of election to the Councils must be conferred by the State upon the trade unions—but, don't be alarmed—not the sort of unions you mean. Oh! No!

The Trade Unions "must be furthered according to two fundamental objects: as an expression of national solidarity, and as an aid to production."

"Trade unions must not drown individuality in collectivity by levelling arbitrarily the capacities and the strength

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Mussolini's Merry Men

(Continued from Page 1)

of individuals. On the contrary, they must enhance their value and develop them."

Having thus given "the knock" to all minimum wage rates, trade union scales, and wages boards, the Fascisti Party will "re-establish the prestige of the National State" and apply the principle that:

"the freedom of citizens finds a double limit: in the freedom of other persons and in the right of the Nation to live and develop."

But who are these other persons? And what is the Nation?

"Fascismo does not believe in Red Internationals or Internationals of any other colour."

And also it advocates:—

"Transference to private enterprise" of telephones, railways, ports and telegraphs."

"The National Fascist Party will act in order that (a) class war shall be definitely disciplined, and (b) striking on the part of public servants shall be rendered illegal."

The Fascisti believe in "Education":—

"The general aim of all schools must be the production of persons capable of guaranteeing the economic and historic progress of the Nation."

Therefore the elementary schools must have their curriculum fashioned on a "strictly national basis, in order to prepare physically and morally the future soldiers of Italy; hence strict control by the State of all prospectuses and of the choice of teachers, especially in districts governed by anti-nationalistic elements."

As a means to this educational end:—

"suitable treatment of all teachers, professors, and also officers as military educators of the nation, in order to assure them a proper guardianship of their personal dignity, and to impress both them and the nation with the importance of their mission."

"The Army, aided by the school and sporting associations must give to the sport of the body of the citizens from the earliest years the attitude and education necessary to sacrifice for the good of the country (O.T.C., etc.)."

Fascismo, we learn is "a political, economic, and fighting organisation." In politics it welcomes all who will submit to its discipline and forms them into "technical groups." In economics it promotes the formation of trade unions "whether purely Fascisti or autonomous, according to time and place."

"In the field of action, the National Fascist Party has formed an army which is at the service of the Nation and from which the Party derives life by which it is defended."

TIT-BITS from the STATUTES of the FASCIST PARTY

"The National Fascist Party is a voluntary militia."

"Wherever there are 20 Fasci they can be constituted into a Fascio (group). Every Fascio will have a fighting squadron."

The members of each Fascio who are skilled in any craft—particularly in the public services—are formed into "technical groups." The "fighting squadrons" are "for their protection." (Black-legging is a patriotic duty in Italy as at times it is in Britain).

"Every Fascio has the duty of constituting fighting squadrons—('All Fascisti belong to the fighting squadrons')—for the purpose of holding in check the hostility of opposing elements and to provide a force ready on communication from the directive organs to safeguard the supreme interest of the Nation."

"Action Squadrons, at the direct orders of the Political Directorate, are constituted for the purpose of keeping in check any violence on the part of opponents, and in order to be in readiness under orders of

the Directing Organs to defend the supreme interests of the Nation."

"Every Fascio has its disciplinary place in the action squadrons."

"With a view of organising all very young men (i.e., under 18) who are attracted within its sphere of activities and propaganda, the National Fascist Party has decided to institute a 'Young Fascist Vanguard.'"

The organisation is open to women and there are women's groups.

* * *

What the Fascisti have done all the world knows.

Now that Bonar Law who "would not shake hands with murder" (in Russia) has fraternised with Mussolini, we may expect with confidence a British Fascisti, "action groups" and all.

Will the Labour Party "meet it half way?"

What do you say, fellow worker?

LENIN THANKS Workers' International Relief Committee

DEAR COMRADES,—I have just been able to verify through a special enquiry to the Governmental Executive Committee at Perm, the extremely satisfactory news published in our papers about the work of the members of your society and especially of the tractor section headed by Harold Ware working on the ToiKino estate in Perm Province.

Notwithstanding the enormous difficulty caused by the great distance of this estate from the society's headquarters, and by the destruction created in this district by the army of Koltchak during the last civil war, you have achieved a brilliant success.

Please accept my deep felt thanks, which I beg you to make known in your own as well as in the general press.

I shall bring forward a motion to the presidency of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to officially recognise the work done on this estate, pointing it out as a model, and giving it every support in the way of new constructive works as well as assured supplies of benzine and other material necessary for the work.

Let me say again in the name of our Republic, Thank You, and let me add that no kind of help is so important and so real as the help that you have given us.

(Signed) LENIN.

President of the Council of People's Commissars.

[This message refers to the Tractor Unit, sent over last June by the American Branch of the Workers' International Russian Relief Committee. The unit consisted of twenty tractors, with ploughs, harrows, sowers, and drillers, and repair equipment complete. It was accompanied by twenty American comrades, all specialists in farming.

The unit was capable of ploughing up to 200 acres daily and thus strike a great blow against the possibility of future famines. The results achieved were truly remarkable, and constitutes one of the brightest pages in the record of the Workers' International Russian Relief.—E.T.W.]

NOW READY

"THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL"

(British Edition)

The Magazine of International Communism

SPECIAL CONGRESS NUMBER

Articles by N. Lenin, G. Zinovieff, Karl Radek, E. Varga, Th. Rothstein, Ch. Rappaport, J. T. Walton Newbold, R. Connolly, D. Ivon Jones, &c.

80 PAGES

ONE SHILLING

COMMUNIST BOOKSHOP, 16, King St., Covent Garden, London, W.C.2

Labour-Defence Committee

IN a recent issue of the COMMUNIST appeared an announcement that a section of the Y.C.L. in Liverpool is demanding an abandonment of the "tranquillity" with which the British Labour Movement has looked on while the South African Government has been hanging and imprisoning the militant trade unionists of the Rand.

Even before the horrors of South Africa, there was in existence a Class War Prisoners' Release Committee, which had been formed to render what help it could to the hunted industrial workers of the world in the United States. This committee was instrumental in getting many scattered resolutions passed by trade union branches and in securing the interest of Labour Leaders in the South African as well as the American persecutions. One of its most active members, Tom Mann, is now touring South Africa, at the invitation of trade unionists who are determined that the spirit of South African Labour shall not be broken.

It is, however, essential that a big effort be made to create more efficient machinery of defence. The long drawn-out misery which capitalism is inflicting upon millions of workers has given rise to a discontent which can no longer be placated by soft words and easy promises. The protest of the workers grows more and more insistent, and the only response which the capitalists can make—other than surrender—is repression.

The persecution of the Rand miners in South Africa, the Irish shootings, the wholesale imprisonment of trade unionists in the United States, the dictatorship of the Fascisti in Italy, are but illustrations. Everywhere there is urgent need for most determined action on the part of the workers to maintain the weapons of free speech and trade union organisation. This can be no local fight, it is part of the trade union resistance to the world-wide attack on wages and standards of living.

Realising these facts, the Class War Prisoners' Release Committee decided upon a re-organisation. It has changed its name to the Labour Defence Committee to symbolise the new departure in policy. It has elected Harry Pollitt and W. T. Colyer Joint Secretaries. It is planning to secure the co-operation of the Trades Councils and similar bodies.

Communist branches, R.I.L.U. supporters, Local Labour Parties, and others like-minded, who can help in arranging meetings and demonstrations, should write to W. T. Colyer, 34, Highbury New Park, London, N. 5.

LEEDS WORKERS' PROTEST

"That this meeting of delegates of the Leeds District Committee of the Workers' Union, representing some thousands of members, protests strongly against the continued incarceration in gaol of the American trade union organisers, Smith and Preston, 1907; Mooney and Billings, 1916; and Sacco and Vanzetti, 1920; by the United States Government, who have shamefully acquiesced in sentences of imprisonment being inflicted upon these men by corrupt local so-called Law Courts, a perjured police, and an intimidating Capitalism at once ruthless and murderous, who were determined to put brave men and class-conscious fighters out of the way by a deliberate frame-up, and miscarriage of justice, calls upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to ask for the deportation of the American Ambassador from this country until these men are released from gaol."

MURDER LAW IN IRELAND

A Protest by C. H. NORMAN

THE recent executions in Dublin raise questions of the highest public importance for all men who believe that the crimes of government, when they pass beyond a certain line of iniquity, become matters of international moment.

The barbarity of the Irish Free State Government has put to shame those of us who, in season and out of season, strove to secure for Ireland true freedom and justice.

Let none mistake the gravity of this question. The Labour Leaders remained silent in 1916 when James Connolly was executed under circumstances of horrible atrocity; perhaps, because Mr. Arthur Henderson was an assenting party to that crime.

The cause of that silence was explained to me in the circumstance that James Connolly was a rebel against His Majesty and had been captured actually in arms against the King's troops. That was no answer to the contention that the condition of Connolly was such that his execution was debarred by all the rules and practice of military law.

The Labour Party in the House of Commons has been equally silent in the case of the men recently executed in Dublin, and in the case of Mr. Erskine Childers, though the Liberals, Mr. Wedgwood Benn and Commander Kenworthy, made an appeal to the Government to intervene. The Labour Party, by threatening to oppose the ratification Bill of the Irish Treaty, could have put an end to this newly-instituted system of murder by military courts, sitting in secret, without even the safeguards to an accused provided by the English court-martial.

Would the Labour Party have been justified in resorting to this threat, and in securing a clause of guarantee in the Ratification Bill? Where is the case different with these men who have been executed and James Connolly?

Let us examine the charge which is admitted by the Irish Free State Government as the charge on which these men have been executed. The crime was having in their possession without authority firearms. It was not pretended that any accusation of treason, felony, of murder, of attempted murder, or of espionage was ever made against them.

Now Ireland has been in such a condition for three years that most non-pacifist citizens have been compelled in self-defence to carry some kind of pistol or gun. This is a fact of overwhelming importance in considering the good faith of those who carried out these military murders. Practically every public man in Ireland for years past has been (and now is) either armed or under the protection of an armed bodyguard.

The Irish Free State Government in these circumstances, suddenly declared a month or so ago that persons arrested and found in possession without authority of pistols or firearms would be liable to the death penalty. No one could know better than the Irish Free State Government that this laid everyone of their opponents (1) liable to murder on the high road, or (2) by the venue of a military court.

It was an ingenious cover to a policy of murdering one's political opponents, as murder on the high road is not an unknown exercise of authority by the Irish Free State troops, just as shooting acquitted prisoners was one of the ingenious touches to British rule in 1920 when even Mr. Lloyd George recoiled from the murderous policy advocated by Mr. Bonar Law in 1921.

However, one is not so much concerned with Mr. Erskine Childers, who was a man who had rendered services of the usual kind to both England and Ireland, and received the usual reward of that kind of service, as with the humble men whose execution was devised to cloak the atrocity that was in contemplation.

Mr. Childers, it was argued by the Irish Government, could not be the first execution for the mere offence of carrying arms without authority, as that penalty would have borne too ugly a look; hence, the

Since this protest was written, the government of the "Irish Free State" has set the seal upon its infamy by the slaughter of Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joseph MacKelvie, and Richard Barratt.

All that the "Black-and-Tans" left undone Richard Mulcahy must do if he would satisfy the greedy imperialists who erected the "Free State" to do that which they could not accomplish themselves.

cruel farce was resorted to of solemnly executing four men for an offence, which, the day after Mr. Childers' execution was regarded as being sufficiently punished by a short sentence of imprisonment! No similar mockery of justice has been perpetrated even under the rule of the Black-and-Tans in Ireland: Mr. Cosgrave, General Mulcahy, and their associates have surpassed Sir Hamar Greenwood in two months!

What other circumstances should one consider in forming a judgment on this tragedy?

It is important to recollect that Mr. Cosgrave had regarded Mr. Erskine Childers with a bitter enmity, and it was Mr. Cosgrave who was reputed as the author of the story that Mr. Childers was an English agent provocateur, which Lord Birkenhead denied in 1921 during the negotiations.

Certain it is that Mr. Childers was trapped into revealing his whereabouts by the pretence of engaging in negotiations, through the good offices of Mr. Barton, at whose house he was captured.

It was Mr. Cosgrave who misled the Irish Master of the Rolls into the belief that no sentence had been passed.

Those of us who are familiar with the procedure of courts-martial know how that trick was worked. At the conclusion of a trial by a military court, no sentence is ever promulgated, as it is subject to "confirmation." It was the Irish Government that spread the report that Mr. Childers was going to be deported, when execution had been decided on before his capture and before his trial.

The importance of the secret trials in these cases is now plain. A charge of

possessing a firearm can be easily made and easily tested; but it is a charge that also can well mask a cruel and well-conceived murder plan. Men who are enemies of the State can be put to death by forms of law after proper trial by a judge and jury, by a court of judges or by a court-martial sitting in public. When the officers of State engage in a method by which all these precautions to justice to the accused are withdrawn, those of us who can estimate the motives of the persons involved and the force and validity of the procedure resorted to, are entitled to point out to the casual mind that the most active intellect could hardly think out a better scheme under which assassins can receive the sanctified protection of a legal authority, although moved by a murderous and guilty mind.

By that singular irony which dogs the fate of the criminals who rule in high places in this world, it has leaked out that the pistol, for the possession of which Mr. Childers was executed, was presented to him by Mr. Michael Collins for use in defence of the Irish Republic!

What, it may be asked, is the utility of this protest now that these poor men are in their graves? May one not ask in return, relying on knowledge of the course of public events, who can judge whether those in high places in the Irish Free State, who have mistaken assassination for government, have yet quenched their thirst for blood?

The present writer charges President Cosgrave and his Government with the deliberate design of using this farcical ban on gun carrying (General Mulcahy and President Cosgrave were not so squeamish about gun carrying and gun-men at one time in their none too honourable careers in the course of the Irish Republic), accompanied by the process of secret trial and the device of entrapping people to disclose their whereabouts on the pretence of negotiation, for the purpose of securing the murder, under form of military law, or sham military courts, whose records the Government dare not disclose, of the chief remaining advocates of an Irish Republic. It is to protest against the consummation of such villainy that this article has been written by one who can no longer keep silence at a growing catalogue of infamy.

AN APT PUPIL



Inspector John Bull to Gaoler Saorstát: You've done well, my man.
I can leave you in charge now!

OUR DEMAND FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

Newbold's Undelivered Speech (continued)

IT has amused me to hear the strictures passed by honourable Members opposite upon Mr. Clynes for his seeming disregard of Empire trade. It was precisely from that quarter whence last week came pleas for the encouragement of trade with Brazil.

I understand, however, this talk about Empire Development. That is the voice of the land mortgage and town plot vendors of Queensland and Canada. That is the voice of brother Beaverbrook and others behind Mr. Bonar Law. They have something to sell that the State might buy for the unemployed with loans borrowed from their banks and repaid eventually plus interest by the unemployed turned mortgage ridden settlers.

Oh, Mr. Speaker, honourable Members opposite have all their wits about them.

But to come from the Government's measures to those which we of the Communist Party would advance as an alternative and which I have been asked to lay before this House.

We recognise what, I fear, is not always taken adequately into account by some Members on this side of the House, viz., that the capitalists, the big employers, are no longer making big profits and that they are, in fact, no longer very rich or very influential.

British capitalism no longer has a surplus sufficient to pay big profits and big wages or even moderate profits and decent wages.

We realise that. We say, therefore, that the capitalists must go without their profits and that the workers, from the managerial staff to the general labourers, must have the whole surplus that remains after reasonable depreciation and kindred allowances have been made.

We of the Communist Party know that such a demand is a challenge, a declaration of class warfare on the open field. We know that there can be no compromise, but we make that challenge.

It was on that challenge that I won Motherwell.

We call upon the Labour Party to re-echo that challenge. Sooner or later those members of the Labour Party who represent primarily the general labour unions, will need to take up that challenge and to make it their own. If they do not, then the unions which have been their life work, a great and glorious life work, must inevitably suffer shipwreck.

We of the Communist Party, Mr. Speaker, have not only an attitude towards capitalism in its collapse, but also a means whereby, given a will to make the transition from the ruin of one order to the building of another, we may lay broad and deep the foundations of a new society.

We would not begin by making more efficient the means of wealth production.

We believe what, I am sure, many in this House also believe, viz., that the tragedy of the last century and a half has been the failure of social adaptation to keep pace with the technique of material progress. Alike under the bona fide private enterprise of the period between 1760 and 1840 and under the monopolist private enterprise since 1880, this failure has been manifest.

We, who concern ourselves only with the interests and welfare of the working class, say that the first of all efforts of reconstruction must be made with a single eye to the health, comfort and happiness of the working class.

What does that mean when reduced to a concrete programme? Let me see if I can explain it to you.

First of all, we demand for our people houses adequate in number to accommodate those already married and eager and in an economic position to marry and maintain families, houses wherein the adults can be provided with sleeping accommodation apart from the adolescents and the older children and where the decencies of family life and of domesticity may be observed. We demand houses built according to the most up-to-date and generally accepted notions of town planning. We demand that they shall be built upon healthy and agreeable sites and shall be homes and not merely hutches huddled around the works.

Secondly, we demand for the welfare of the rising generation, new schools, equipped so that the children of our people may be taught in classes no larger than those in which are educated the children of like ages belonging to honourable Members opposite.

We demand playing fields at school and playing and sports grounds about our cities, towns and villages, proportionate to the requirements of the youth of the proletariat.

We demand, moreover, public swimming baths, gymnasia and libraries to contribute to the physical and mental culture of working lads and lassies.

Thirdly, we demand State control and public provision of hospitals, infirmaries, nursing and lying-in homes adequate to meet the needs of our people and that they shall be situated in the parks, woodlands and mountains where the air is pure and all is quiet.

We demand the removal of the stigma of pauperism and, also, the rescue of our people from the patronising charity of the over-sympathetic rich.

Fourthly, we demand the construction of light railways and of arterial roads and the provision of motor services to enable our people to live at a distance from the smoke, dirt and ugliness of the places wherein they work.

Having satisfied these urgent and instant requirements of a people who have much more right to live on the coast and among the pine-clad hills than the profiteers for whom they have toiled too long, we shall be glad enough to consider schemes of afforestation, foreshore reclamation, road building and such projects as those with which Mr. Philip Snowden has been entertaining this House as when he entered it first in 1906.

How and by whom must these great schemes be undertaken?

They must be undertaken by, and entrusted to, a public authority, either national, or else a county or county borough council, if not by some specially created regional administration—and, may I remind the House, such a reform of administration has long been canvassed in other than Communist circles.

The money must be provided, not out of local taxation, but out of national funds. These must be provided by the taxation of whatever resources are available—not alone by the hackneyed capitalist panacea of the taxation of land values but by the taxation of land and capital values. If by no other means, the money must be got by the diversion of interest on all holdings of war loan over £1,000 and by drawing upon the revenues of the Crown and of the Duchies. That latter suggestion may not meet with approval from the sycophant descendants of families who, on the morrow of the

Glorious Revolution, stripped the Crown of a great part of its property; but I feel sure, Mr. Speaker, that it would commend itself to His Most Gracious Majesty as a course of procedure eminently calculated still further to strengthen his Throne and that affection for his Person, Crown and Dignity which, so the newspapers say, is apparent among the masses.

By one means or another, Sir, that money can and, eventually will, have to be found.

The work should be put in hand not through the agency of contractors, whether Mr. Lloyd George's friends, the MacAlpines or Mr. Asquith's patrons, the Pearsons, or any other such interests, but by direct labour at full trade union rates and organised in co-operation with the local trades councils and unemployed workers' committees.

In order, Sir—and with this let me conclude—to safeguard the trade unions against the incessant onslaughts upon their wage-standards and to prevent the progressive demoralisation of the unskilled and agricultural labourers, I demand, whether this scheme of ours is entertained or not, that the unemployed shall be put in immediate receipt of the *minimum* rates demanded by the National Unemployed Workers' Committee, viz., 36s. a week for man and wife, up to 15s. a week to meet rent charges, 5s. for each child and a cwt. of coal or its equivalent in gas a week, and the same Committee's scales for unmarried men and women and for youths between 16 and 18 years.

Long enough have you listened to Lord St. Davids and Sir Robert Kindersley. It is now the turn, not merely of unemployed capital, of unemployed bank deposits but of the hungry unemployed labourers, of their wives and of their children.

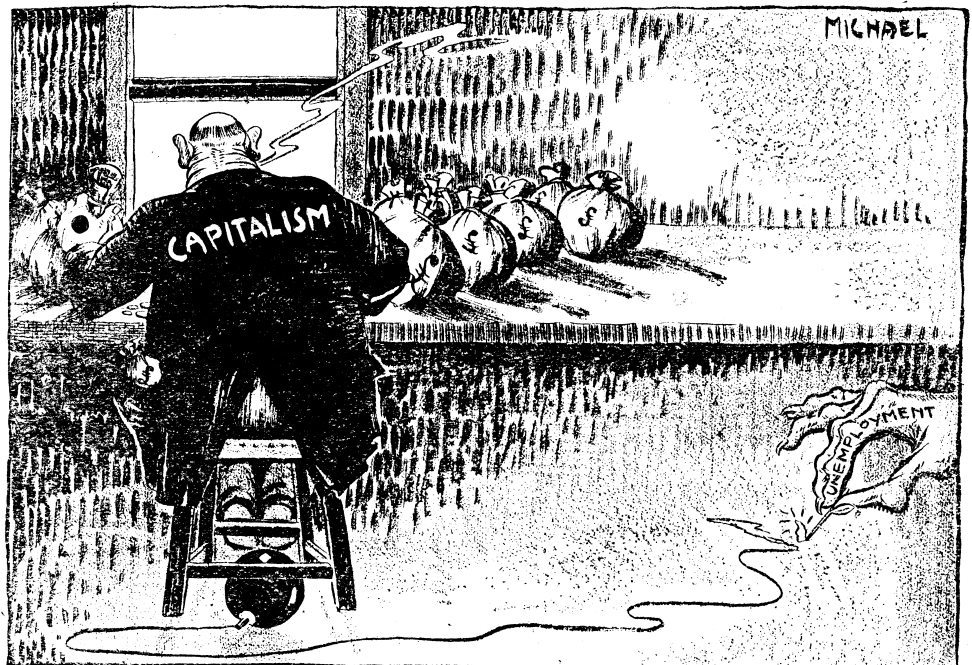
Sir, I ask honourable Members opposite to cash their sympathy.

Labour Party Should Accept Newbold's Help

The following resolution has been adopted by the Farsley Branch of the Workers' Union:—

This meeting of the Farsley Branch of the Workers' Union is of the opinion that it is the duty of the Workers' Representatives in Parliament to present a united front to the onslaughts of organised Capitalism, and trusts that the Parliamentary Labour Party will demonstrate its approval of this policy by accepting Newbold's application for the Party's Whip.

Will comrades desirous of assisting in forming a branch at Portsmouth communicate with F. Franklin, 10, Whitland Terrace, Asylum Road, Milton, Portsmouth.



THE TIME FUSE

THE MINER'S FIGHT

THE situation in the mining industry has again become acute. Inspired by the growth of the Labour Party at the General Election, the Miners' Federation has approached the Government with a demand for consideration and action.

The "settlement" effected after the debacle made inevitable by Black Friday, is due for revision. The owners have all the will in the world to go even further in the direction of grinding the miners into powder; but their will is qualified by the knowledge that any further depreciation of the miners' standard will have the effect of destroying them as productive instruments—except so far as, buried, they add to the potential productivity of the soil.

So far the action has amounted to no more than an interview or two between the Prime Minister and the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Gt. Britain. Nothing definite has come out of it so far; yet we cannot but hope that at the National Conference which the M.F.G.B. Executive have called to meet at Southport on the 20th inst., it will be found possible for the miners to take the only possible course of forcing a decision upon the Government.

We say the Government, for the plain reason that if it comes to a strike the miners will have arrayed against them every force that the Government can mobilise.

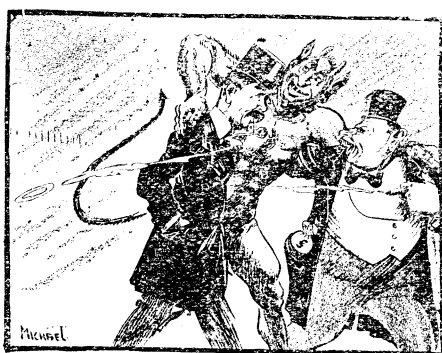
The same Bonar Law who met the demands of the unemployed by libels on their leaders will think it quite right and proper to tell the miners that their starvation is of no importance because they are led by Bolsheviks and members of the Communist Party.

If it comes to a strike—and the miners' Leaders will be criminals if they let Frank Hodges persuade them any longer to wait for the prosperity which is always "coming" but never here, to recompense them for the hardship they have endured during the depression—if it comes to a strike, the miners

must perforce call upon their fellow workers for sympathetic action.

They are, however desperate, hardly in a physical condition to stand the strain of a prolonged struggle. They must win swiftly if they are to win at all and their fellow workers who failed them on Black Friday must clear their consciences by ensuring the miners' victory now.

The miners' leaders must take the obvious course open to them. They must, as they have a right, call upon the Labour Party to aid them in enforcing the national-



THE JOKE

Bonar, Beelzebub and Big Biz: Sankey? Ha! Ha

isation of the mines, promised in the report of the Sankey Commission.

By one of the meanest tricks ever employed by the meanest of shifters—David Lloyd George—the miners were tricked in 1919 into abandoning their struggle, just when they were invincible.

They gave way because of what they understood to be a solemn promise uttered by the present Prime Minister that the recommendations of the Commission would be adopted as soon as made.

They were tricked. And the consequences are such as few men can contemplate without horror.—Even the Prime Minister can summon up only halting accents when he seeks to explain away his promise of 1919.

The miners must stand fast on their demand for nationalisation and the Labour Party must use the whole of its resources to rouse the workers in mass to back the miners in their demand.

The Labour Party cannot evade this obvious duty on any ground. Even the merest tyro in politics must know that the Labour Party has its greatest strength and made its greatest gains in areas either wholly mining or next adjacent thereto. South Wales, Lanarkshire, the North-East and Yorkshire, between them accounted for more than half of the tremendous gains of the Labour Party. Add to them the seats previously held, and it becomes clear that the mining areas have given the Labour Party the position of prominence it holds.

Elementary common-sense alone should force the Labour Party to risk everything in a struggle to enforce the miners' demands.

It will not suffice for them to catch the Speaker's eye and deliver propaganda speeches to the blase bourgeois at the back of Bonar Law or to the left of the Labour Benches.

The Labour Party must be the Party of Labour. Let them come out into the country. Let them leave a picket on duty in the House to say all that needs to be said for the purpose of making Hansard more worth reading than it was wont—and Comrade Saklatvala will be enough for that!—and let them come out and use their powers and the prestige of their victory to rouse the workers to the rescue of the miners.

For, just as the backbone of the workers' industrial struggle was broken when the miners fell, so will it be re-knit when once again the miners can be enabled to drive through to victory.

TO THE WORKERS' CHAMPIONS IMPRISONED BY CAPITALISM Manifesto of the Communist International

PRISONERS of Capitalism! Champions for the emancipation of the working class, thrown into chains by the capitalist governments. The representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, assembled in the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, send their greetings to you first of all.

Comrades! From year to year the world congresses do honour to the revolutionary vanguards when they count the victories of the working class, the victims of the struggle, who have perished beneath the hand of the executioner or have been thrown into prison. And this year, now that capital is attacking with united front, the merciless cruelty of the attack is more plainly revealed.

Again the blood of the proletariat flows over the whole capitalist world, everywhere where the proletariat is fighting its "last fight" with its class enemies; the best forces decay in the prisons, the waves of the white terror flood all capitalist countries.

In Italy the Fascisti overpower the proletariat with fire and sword, destroy the trade union buildings, the buildings of the workers, co-operative societies and of the party organs, in fact, they do not shrink from destroying the private dwellings of those fighting for the emancipation of the working class.

The heroic sailors of France, who refused to fight against the Russia of the workers and peasants, are still languishing in captivity. And during the rising in Le Havre the defenders of capitalism again reaped their bloody harvest.

The streets of Berlin are again red with the blood of workmen, and the fighters who opposed the monarchist bands have been thrown into prison.

The leaders of Soviet Bavaria are still languishing in the prisons, although three years have passed since the fall of the Bavarian Soviet government. Despite the

amnesty, many participators in the March action have not yet been liberated from prison.

In Finland the prisons are overflowing, there is no end to arrest and torture.

In Esthonia, before and after the execution of our memorable comrade Kingisepp, the prisons have been kept filled with representatives of the revolutionary proletariat.

In Latvia once more the gallows have been erected. Comrade Kliaws-Klijawin is condemned to death and the fate of hundreds of arrested workers is not yet decided.

In "democratic" Poland the champions of Communism are condemned to penal servitude under the old Czarist legislation. The bourgeois law courts trample on their own laws. The "immune" deputy comrade Dombal has been condemned to penal servitude and is already serving his term. The election committees are arrested without exception. More than 500 men lie in prison for having taken part in the election campaign, and in the border countries a state of siege and martial law are declared.

In Roumania people are murdered on the oft-cited excuse of "attempted flight." The tortures employed in the prisons during the hearings are such as to arouse protest and indignation even in the bourgeoisie.

In Jugo-Slavia arrests, tortures in the prisons, derision and insult for the workers, are the order of the day.

In Greece the leaders of the proletariat are still languishing in the prisons, even after the so-called revolution.

In Hungary the bloody Horthy government does not cease with executions and torture.

In South Africa the English bourgeoisie rages against the workers' risings with the utmost cruelty.

In democratic America, so proud of its liberties, the severest punishments are meted out to those suspected of belonging

to the Communist Party. The police of the American bourgeoisie destroys the trade unions, arrests hundreds of workers, disperses the strikers with swords and rubber truncheons.

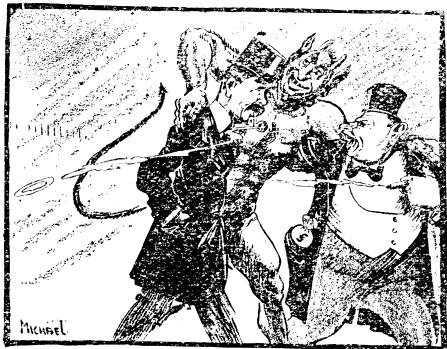
In India, Egypt, and in all colonies, the very slightest sign of discontent, the very slightest attempt to resist the unbridled exploitation, is suppressed by force of arms.

Comrades, in all these bloody transactions the Social democrats are the accomplices of the bourgeoisie. It is they who hold the working class back from fighting by their deceptions, and promises of reforms without fighting. It is they who undermine every action of the proletariat. It is they who distract the attention of the masses in one country from the ruthless treatment of workers in other countries by the bourgeoisie. It is they who make breaches in the united front of the workers.

Comrades, workers! The Communist International does not have to be initiated into making sacrifices. Every revolutionary conquest is bought with the blood of the fighters and founded on their sacrifice. The acuter the struggle, the greater the number of victims. But even when human beings fail, the idea cannot die. Comrades, prisoners in the capitalist prisons! To-day, the day of our great festival, the great fifth anniversary of the Russian revolution, we share with you our conviction, our firmly rooted faith, that the hour is drawing near when the revolutionary proletariat will throw off the yoke of capitalism and free itself from bondage and exploitation, when it will shatter the locks of your prisons and welcome you again into its ranks, you, its pride, its most highly honoured comrades.

Down with the capitalist executioners. Long live the fight for the emancipation of the working class!

LONG LIVE THE SOVIET REVOLUTION—THE LIBERATOR OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!



THE JOKE

Bonar, Beelzebub and Big Biz : Sankey? Ha! Ha

LURE OF THE BARRICADE

By T. A. JACKSON

["Out of the Past: some revolutionary sketches." By R. W. Postgate. Labour Publishing Co. Paper, 3/6; cloth, 5/-.]

TO the Macdonaldite theoreticians who lead the Leaders of the Labour Party there is nothing in Communism beyond a foolish dream of romantic-minded men—a dream born of inability to settle down to the humdrum drudgery of legislatively modifying capitalism out of existence. A romantic yearning for the short-cut whereby a resolute band could (making strength of will and arm compensate for weakness in numbers), bursting through entanglements of red-tape and established procedure, conquer power and authority to "make all things new"—such in the Macdonaldite view is Communism in its most favourable light.

It is not my purpose here to refute that view. Detail by detail and point by point the official leader of the Opposition is having his refutation beaten into him by the day-to-day struggle of the Communist Party in and out of Parliament. More to the purpose it is to emphasise the fact that there is a grain of truth lurking concealed at the core of the Macdonaldite myth.

The Communists do not disguise from anybody (least of all from themselves) the conviction that the ruling capitalist class will never surrender without the best fight they know how to put up—a fight which cannot fail (the tradition and training of the ruling class being what it is) to develop to the pitch of savagely fought civil war.

How the Communists arrive at that conclusion again is another story. My object for the moment is to bring to the notice of the readers of the COMMUNIST a book—a new book and a good book—from which they can learn better to appreciate what Communism is by refreshing their memory of how the Communist Party came to be.

Two sorts of people concern themselves with the records of the past—obscurantists who admire that which *was*, because it no longer is; and revolutionists who, seeing in human society a constant play and counter-play of developing forces, seek in the past for the process whereby the present came to be.

The past is of value to us so far as it is not past. That which *is*, came to be: the manner of its coming gives not only a reason why it has remained but also a reason why it will be sooner or later supplanted.

He who reverences antiquity because it is "antique" is a fool and a pernicious fool—worse than the Philistine who knows and cares nothing of anything except that which exists plain under his nose. The worshipper of the antique has no comprehension of the real significance of the ancient things he raptures over. The Philistine, with his vaunted "common-sense," cannot understand even that which he sees under his nose, for lack of that very acquaintance with the past which is the undoing of his fellow fool.

He alone sees right who sees antiquity alive and struggling for perpetuation in the things that are; and in the past the youthful crudities, and rigours of things now grown subtle and sedate. He alone sees right who sees by the growth of the present out of the Past an indication of how the Future is forming beneath and behind all those things that *are*, that the Philistine feels must ever be.

In "Out of the Past," R. W. Postgate gives us a series of contributions to the history of the proletarian revolution. All are good—most are excellent—but as some of them have been reprinted from the *Plebs*, the *Communist Review* and the *COMMUNIST*, I will delay no longer upon them than to say that they are things to whet the appetite for as much more as Postgate can find time to give.

* * *

My concern is with the study that occupies the bulk of the book, a study of the life and works of August Blanqui.

British Marxism lay for long under the reproach that it added little or nothing to the intellectual equipment of the battling proletariat. Even yet it has little of which to boast: But of that little, Postgate can claim a great share. His study of Blanqui

fills a gap in the history of Communist theory which was all the more serious because it was little perceived.

Blanqui occupies in relation to Marx a position somewhat analogous to that of Lamarck in relation to Darwin. He preceded him both in time and in logical order of development; he emphasised points and methods to the exclusion of others, which the course of events pressed more prominently into view. The Marxian conception—fuller, more elaborated, better implemented—pushed the rival concept so far into the background that (in Britain at any rate) it was virtually forgotten. Yet, in the course of time, just as the very success of Darwinism brought about a revived interest in, and appreciation of, the work of Lamarck, so the very success of Marxism in the persons of the Russian Communist Party, has brought about a revival in the interest in, and appreciation of, the work of Blanqui.

When the orthodox bourgeois novelist wishes to portray a revolutionist, he pictures a dark, silent man, ceaselessly plotting in secret, to gather around him a band of kindred spirits who, when the time is ripe, rush forth from their hiding places, armed to the teeth, to attempt the "overthrow of society" by force and arms. It is a concept compounded of Danton, Marat; the barricades of '48, Mazzini's Carbonari, and general misinformation about Russian "Nihilism." The Macdonaldite conception is this bourgeois phantasy with the difference that the plotters do their plotting not in secret, but in the columns of weekly journals and at street corners on an orange box.

It is commonly believed that the prototype of this bourgeois myth could be found in Michael Bakunine. Far more true would it be to say that (were it not impossible to expect sense from bourgeois sensation-alists) they could find the type they were clumsily inventing ready-made in the man who (so Postgate seems to prove) first coined the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat"—August Blanqui.

Surely there were few lives more tragic than that of this heroic fighter for the proletarian revolution? As a young man he became associated with Buonarrotti, the companion and literary executor of Gracchus Babeuf; He did not die until the whole tradition of physical force insurrection had been forced into the background and become regarded as an obsolete nuisance by the parliamentarian practitioners who had risen to leadership in the growing socialist parties. In between he had been probably the greatest single force in keeping alive the revolutionary tradition which formed the soul which quickened the body on whose shoulders the parliamentarians climbed to prominence. Yet for him personally, out of seventy-five years of life,

forty were spent in gaol, and, irony of ironies, he, the master organiser of armed insurrection, lay in gaol during the two biggest fights of his life-time—the "Days of June," 1848, and the Commune of 1871.

The Commune would gladly have exchanged the whole of its seventy prisoners for the one man, August Blanqui. Reading the vivid, stirring pages in which Postgate recounts his life and work, one thinks of Marx's words—had the Versailles Government released Blanqui "they would have given the Commune a head."

* * *

Postgate's study is not only the only life of Blanqui available in English. It is difficult to see how it could be bettered, unless the same author can find the time, and get the encouragement to double its size. The work is so good that it dwarfs the other work in the volume—and that is good enough to make a reputation.

Reading it has moved me to remind readers of the COMMUNIST that, when they are getting it, they should remember that our comrade's earlier work, in which the materials for the study of all the revolutions from 1789-1905, are gathered into one volume, is still available in the cheap *Plebs* edition.

Anyway, "Out of the Past" is a book that every reader of the COMMUNIST should get and devour at the earliest possible moment.

"Raided and Raped"

["Americanism: a world menace." By W. T. Colyer. Labour Publishing Co. Cloth, 6/-.]

"CRABBED age and youth," said the poet, "cannot live together." That may be so; but they can manage a better imitation of a perfect Eden than can Capitalism and Democracy when they grow up in the same house.

Comrade Colyer has taken a fearful revenge on the United States authorities who deported him. He has set down a set of facts about the "Land of the Free" which are sufficient of themselves to make one's estimate of the future even more grim than after reading the works of Upton Sinclair. There was in "The Jungle," "The Spy," "The Brass Check," and "Jimmy Higgins," so much cleverness that a feeling could not be avoided that the author had made use of every possible scrap of evidence in favour of his view and left out a lot that might have altered the perspective. Comrade Colyer's work comes to the support of Sinclair. In chapter after chapter he marshals the facts that demonstrate that in the U.S.A. capitalism has erected under the forms of democracy, a State that can only be described as an economic feudalism.

The crude and uncritical worship of the State and the Flag are carried to lengths in the U.S.A. which they have reached nowhere else. Where, outside the U.S.A., would it be possible for any man (with a reputation for common-sense to lose) to propose that candidates for naturalisation should bring with them to the final ceremony, the flag of their State of origin, which they should cast to the ground at the hoisting of the Stars and Stripes?

This is an example of the comic aspect of that cult of "Americanism" which comrade Colyer regards as more dangerous to the world than the "Prussianism" we were asked to shudder at in the war years.

Its serious side can be read in the chapters on "Liberty," "Law and Order," and "Labour." As Comrade Colyer remarks: "Despite the moral deterioration induced by the World War, it may be doubted whether within two months of the date on which their country became involved, soldiers other than those of the United States, would have used even against such of their countrywomen as still belonged to peace societies, the threat that the latter would be 'raided and raped.' Such, however, was the language in which American militarism addressed the ladies in charge at the Emergency Peace Federation Headquarters in Washington, in May, 1917.

In "Americanism," our comrade Colyer gives us a picture of just what we will get if the British worker can be bulldozed into believing that he lives under a liberal democracy, which only a malicious criminal would criticise.

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The Austrian Loan and The Soudan Dam

Speech in the House of Commons by J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

IRISE to speak on this matter with the greatest sympathy for the Republic of Austria. I cannot but be glad that an opportunity has been given, not merely to this House, but to the peoples of Europe and the world in general, to see the kind of thing which awakens the sympathetic interest and the undaunted enthusiasm of the League of Nations. Belonging as I do to the Communist Party, I regard the League of Nations with disgust and abhorrence. (Laughter.)

Hon. Members may laugh.

The League of Nations has shown itself very slow to interest itself in the starving children, regardless of whether they were in Russia or Vienna.

Nothing has been done during all those years for the little children of Austria who were dying off like flies. Nothing worth mentioning has been done in this House to save the starving children of Vienna. But when it comes to a matter of saving the credit of a country, which has been aptly described as the nerve-centre of finance, immediately we find the League of Nations and this House all agog at a moment's notice.

There is no country in Europe with which this Government (I do not mean merely this Ministry: I mean the King's Government—that goes on from year to year, regardless of whatever Ministry is in office) and your Foreign Office and your Treasury have had closer relations than the government of the Hapsburgs of Austria.

That government has been one of the greatest borrowers in Europe.

It has been a country where national loans, municipal loans, railway loans, tramway loans, collieries, steel works and every kind of state, industrial and commercial activity have derived their finance—either from the Hopes of Amsterdam, from the Rothschilds of Frankfurt and Buckinghamshire, or else from the Rothschilds of Paris.

Austria—Vienna—has been mortgaged from 1816 to the present time, to the very hilt to the great international house of Rothschilds. That is the group which has Austria, and which is responsible for this last poor attempt to save Austria from ruin, not in the interests of civilisation or of Europe, but in the interests of a pawn-broking clique of unscrupulous rascals.

When we come to the question of this Loan we find that it is to be secured upon the Austrian tobacco monopoly. I have been looking carefully into the matter of this Austrian Loan, and I have here a document which I have had certified by the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, giving intimate details as to the directors and as to the aims of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, Ltd. We are told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that this matter has been brought forward and carried through by the instrumentality of the League of Nations. Now, it is a curious fact that one of those who are to benefit by this loan is the Anglo-Austrian Bank, which has, as one of its directors, Sir Henry Strakosch, the Chairman of the financial section of the League of Nations.

We see the League of Nations on the one hand, and at the same time we find its financial head intimately associated with the exploitation of the people of Vienna. There is the impartiality which we expect from hon. Members.

This Loan further needs to be examined by reason of the fact that its guarantee is also placed on the tobacco monopoly. This tobacco monopoly is a feature which one finds in nearly all these attempts to secure the resources of a country in the interests of the bondholders. It was characteristic of the Imperial Ottoman Debt; it was characteristic of the finance of the Commissioners responsible for putting Greece into pawn after the war between Turkey and Greece in 1896.

There is an attempt being made on the continent of Europe to take away the State monopoly on tobacco and put it in the hands of two tobacco companies—one British and the other American—if it is possible to distinguish the two. They work

together. They desire to exploit Austria, France and Italy in the same manner as they are exploiting Turkey, Greece, and other countries.

I find something more. I find that among the list of directors of the Anglo-Austrian Bank there are two directors of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. That points clearly to their association, taken together with the other associations of these gentlemen, and the associations of their fathers and grand-fathers.

During the war you talked of self-determination of small nationalities. You discovered a triangle of races which no one in this country knew about. You discovered the Czecho-Slovakians and, I think, the Ruthenians, and some other people of that kind. Hon. Gentlemen opposite discovered the Czecho-Slovakians and began to tell the nation in general about them (Hon. Members: "Lloyd George.")

Yes, and some people with Lloyd George, discovered the Yugo-Slavs and the Czecho-Slovakians and God knows who besides, and when it came to the Treaty the old dual monarchy was divided up and the new State emerged known as Czecho-Slovakia.

It was a State whose government was a Republic—a Republic economically and politically too weak to stand by itself. It needed monetary assistance and so, from every part of the world, the bagmen came to Prague.

Some came from Paris, others from Amsterdam, others, in turn, came from London, and some came from New York. Everybody was ready to help the poor little bourgeois Republic at Prague. A new Government was set up in the interests of these people who had previously been clients of the banks of Vienna.

It was set up as, and is to-day, the creature of the international bond-holders. It may call itself an independent State, but to all intents and purposes Czecho-Slovakia is as much in the bag as Vienna will be, when you have provided it with funds.

The same is the case with Yugo-Slavia, Rumania, Hungary and Poland. It is doubtful which is the greater curse—to have your blessing or to have you as bondholders. In either case, it means slavery, undoubtedly. You have got to have your pound of flesh.

The CHAIRMAN: I thought the hon. Member proposed to connect this argument with the present financial situation in Vienna. He is not at liberty to run round the various nations which composed the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Mr. NEWBOLD: In naming various States which formerly composed the Austro-Hungarian Empire, I had in mind the fact that their trade had its centre of finance and credit facilities in Vienna and it is because of the fact that you have detached these States from Vienna, that you are face to face with this problem to-night. I would suggest rather to His Majesty's Government that they should tear up that infamous instrument known as the Peace Treaty and go back to the former position.

The Treaty of Peace was an instrument designed for the purpose of furthering the bondholders' interests here, just as this to-day is to reverse the process now that it is time for them to go in a slightly different direction. The whole of this policy is calculated in the interests of the big "bosses" who have not been able otherwise to save themselves.

I wish now to leave the question of Austria and to pass on to that of the Sudan. There is no territory which makes a more interesting study than that of the Sudan. It is because of the Sudan, because of its potentialities for producing cotton and corn, in the interests, not of Britishers, but of that gang of Greek merchants behind Sir Basil Zaharoff—it is in the interests of these people, and because of these people, that you have forfeited your pledges, broken your promises, gone back on your word and refused to leave Egypt as you promised that you would do.

You are broken pledge-makers. You have shown that you do not believe in keeping faith when it does not pay—

Mr. LYLE-SAMUEL: What about paying America our debt?

Mr. NEWBOLD: That, I believe will arise in another discussion.

The Sudan is the territory as hon. Members know, through which passes the Nile—(Hon. Members: "Hear, hear!") It is just possible, in view of the fact that at the Peace Conference a certain Prime Minister did not know the location of Teschen, that some Cabinet Ministers to-day do not know the location of Khartum. It is just possible that some hon. Members do not know that the Nile supplies the necessary water, not for making beer, but for the purpose of growing cotton and corn. However, unless there are built several great barrages like the one at Assuan or the big dam that you are building to-day, it will not be possible to grow that greater supply of cotton which is necessary for the purpose of rendering you able to produce bogus silk, and when you come to the question of bogus silk, otherwise known as artificial silk, we come straight up to the whole question of Near Eastern policy.

The right hon. Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us that Egypt, or rather, the Sudan, is a region in which it is possible to grow long staple cotton, but you have that to-day also in Kenya Colony, Uganda, Iraq, and other regions which you have got mandated to you under the League of Nations.

These territories also produce long staple cotton. Long staple cotton is, if my technical informers are correct, necessary for producing that form of cotton thread which is necessary in turn for the production of artificial silk. Artificial silk, in the present degraded state of the world's market, when the peoples of Europe and America are short of purchasing power, has driven pure silk practically off the market.

The pure silk interests are up against your cotton interests, and I protest, and were it possible to take this particular paragraph apart from the other paragraphs dealing with Austria, I should oppose this Resolution, because I believe that by this means, by this endeavour to hold on to the Sudan for the purpose of exploitation, and in conflict with France and America, for that is what it means, you are driving as straight as you can go to another world war.

Hon. Members opposite do not crowd those Benches and support these Resolutions in the interests of liberty, in the interests of equality, in the interests of justice, but in the interests of the Stock Exchange, in the interests of the bankers, in the interests of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

Hon. members opposite little know how much good they are doing the Communist Party by this discussion. It is precisely the kind of thing which shows to the toiling masses of this country what you are like, and that is why I have come here.

I repeat again—it is in the interest of the bondholder, of the banker, of the Chambers of Commerce, of the bill broker, of the cotton manufacturer and of the whole capitalist class that you are rolling up in your forces upon these Benches.

I give my general support to this matter of the loan to Austria. My opposition and my protests so far as I can make them are to this matter of the endowment of the building contractors who are engaged upon the dam in the Sudan.

It is noticeable that this barrage project has the approval of a Committee presided over, I believe, by Sir Robert M. Kindersley. Sir R. M. Kindersley, curiously enough, happens to be the chairman of Lazard Brothers. Lazard Brothers, curiously enough, have half their share capital held by S. Pearson & Sons and Clive Pearson. These people are the building contractors engaged upon the dam.

A JOURNEY TO RUSSIA

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

ARRIVAL at the harbour town of Stettin was like going to a big mass meeting or convention.

There were continual meetings and greetings of old friends. Delegates to the Communist Congress, labour journalists and various other pilgrims to the revolutionary Mecca, all met in the clap-board German customs house, where our baggage was rigorously examined before going on board the ship. Revolutionists from all over the world, who had fought the good fight on many industrial and political fronts, met, clasped hands, exclaimed delightedly the usual astonished greetings: "Well, I'm damned if it isn't old Jim!" "Gee, Bill, is it really you?" And so on, and so on.

Add to this the twitterings of excited bourgeois, worrying over their multitudinous bags and boxes, and the deep-throated swearing and expostulations of harried German customs officials; and you have a fairly correct rendition of the composite hubbub at our jumping-off place.

There was only one step between Stettin and Russia, and that was at a little German port called Swinemunde. And there we had our first thrill. Twenty naval sailors and officers came on board as passengers. We watched them come up the gangway with indifferent interest until we noticed that they had red stars upon their caps and red stripes and stars upon their sleeves. Then we realised that they were sailors of the Russian Red Fleet.

They had taken an old obsolete Russian ship to Swinemunde, to sell it to the Germans, and now they were returning home as passengers on our steamer. Then came the fraternisation. The sailors had not known that there were some twenty or thirty comrades on the ship; and, when they did find it out, they let us know unmistakably how glad they were about it. A few of them talked German, and a few English, and these acted as interpreters for the rest. And for the three days of our journey together until they left the ship at the Russian naval station of Cronstadt, we celebrated.

The last night, we had a grand concert in the smoking room. The sailors brought their guitars and mandolines, decorated with red ribbons, and they sang Russian folk-songs to us. Then the International—sung by us all, in Russian, English, French, Dutch, Flemish, German, Italian. We sung the International once, twice, three, four, five times, and then we lost count; and each time we sang it, we all rose; and, each time we finished it, we had three cheers for the Russian Revolution, three cheers for the world revolution, three cheers for the Communist International and three cheers for the Red Navy.

So we were all fairly hoarse by the time we got to Petrograd.

By the way, I asked the Commander of the Red Sailors—a boy of about twenty-four, who had been a sailor in the Czar's navy—how many of the twenty officers and men were Communists.

"There are nineteen Party members and one sympathiser," said he.

And it was quite impossible to discover who was the sympathiser. It was probably the one who sang the International the loudest.

When the boys went ashore at Cronstadt, the crowd stood at the bows and sped them on their way with—for a change—the International.

The steamer moved slowly up the Neva. We turned in for a night's sleep undisturbed by the tossing of the rude Baltic. And, when we woke in the morning, there was Petrograd.

A bright, cold sun shone on the grey old Neva, and gilded church spires pointed glistening fingers at the neutral sky. There was snow upon the ground. Snow and a grey river and a cold sky, a frosty sun and

air with a virile bite in it, thin glowing spires and squat bulbous domes—this was Russia, the Russia of centuries. And, standing in a long double file in the snow, with their band instruments shining against the dull harbour sheds and their great red banner burning like blood against the sky, there stood a thousand Red sailors at attention, waiting to greet us—and this was the Russia of the New Day.

For two hours those boys stood in the snow, awaiting us, while we got off the ship, looked after our baggage and had our passports checked. Then we left the dock-shed all together, and came out upon the street. As we came out, the band crashed into the International, the banner dipped and rose again, and the thousand sailors stood at salute and cheered. We walked to the end of the line and stood there bare-headed as the column marched past us, honouring us. And we stood there, a little band of workers, tired with our journey, shabbily dressed, coming from many lands where we had been harried and hunted and imprisoned, and we could not speak a word. We could not speak, for the things which we would say were too many and too deep. We had come into our own.

OUR PAPER

The detailed instructions on the steps to be taken to build up an effective network of distribution, have now been sent to all Party organisations.

The Executive Committee have appointed a Central Distribution Committee that will direct the work in the localities, and which will, week by week, report what progress is being made in the localities.

All members must attend the next meeting of their local organisation, so that their services can be organised by the local Distribution Committee for work in connection with the paper.

The new paper will be published on Feb. 10th; by that time we must have the whole membership engaged in selling the paper. No comrade is doing work that is so important, that they can think that selling the paper is an inferior job. On the contrary, IT IS THE JOB, and, whatever activities Comrades are engaged in, they all afford opportunities for selling the paper.

The Local Distribution Committee must harness all members to this task, and, with enthusiasm and hard work, the paper will gain in circulation and influence, and the Party will grow stronger and rapidly increase its membership.

Look out for the first report of the work of a Local Distribution Committee in next week's "Communist."

COMRADES, ALL HANDS TO THE WORK OF SELLING THE PAPER.

RAILWAYMEN CONGRATULATE NEWBOLD

The Coatbridge No. 1 Branch, N.U.R. have sent the following letter to our comrade Newbold:—

Dear Sir,—At the last meeting of my Branch, I was instructed to send to you our heartiest congratulations on your return to the House of Commons in the Labour interests.

We appreciate your victory more when we remember how you so faithfully served the movement even when the movement was not so popular as it is just now. Part of that popularity we recognise is to a very large extent due to your own pertinacity and it is most gratifying that the electorate have at last recognised the imperishable truths you have for so long espoused.

That you will be long spared to serve the movement in the House of Commons just as you have faithfully served it outside, is the sincere wish of the members of the Coatbridge No. 1 Branch of the N.U.R.

Yours in unity,
JAS. P. BOYD, Secretary.

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MEETINGS

Communist Party Branches

BIRMINGHAM. Special Lecture, Floodgate Street School, Sunday, 7 p.m. Prominent Speakers. Bull Ring, Sunday, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m. Intending members apply T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

CENTRAL JOINT COUNCIL. Minerva Cafe, Monday, December 18th, 8 p.m., Comrade Hutt on "The Lighter Side of Anti-Bolshevik Literature."

CENTRAL LONDON. Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, Sunday, December 17th, 6 p.m., Social Tea; 8 p.m., Lecture by Comrade Reade. All welcome.

SOUTHWARK. Sunday, December 17th, 7.30. Communist Hall, 4, Browning Street. Debate: Anarchism v. Communism. McOwen and H. Sara.

WOOLWICH. Sunday, December 17th, at 7.30 p.m., Reading Room, Co-op. Buildings, Lakeland Road, Plumstead. H. Pollitt: "The Communist Party and the United Front."

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SPECIAL NOTICE

WILL COMRADES WHO ARE ATTENDING THE SPECIAL MINERS' CONFERENCE AT SOUTHPORT, ON DEC. 21., PLEASE COMMUNICATE WITH THE SECRETARY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, 16, KING ST., LONDON, W.C.2.