

# THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

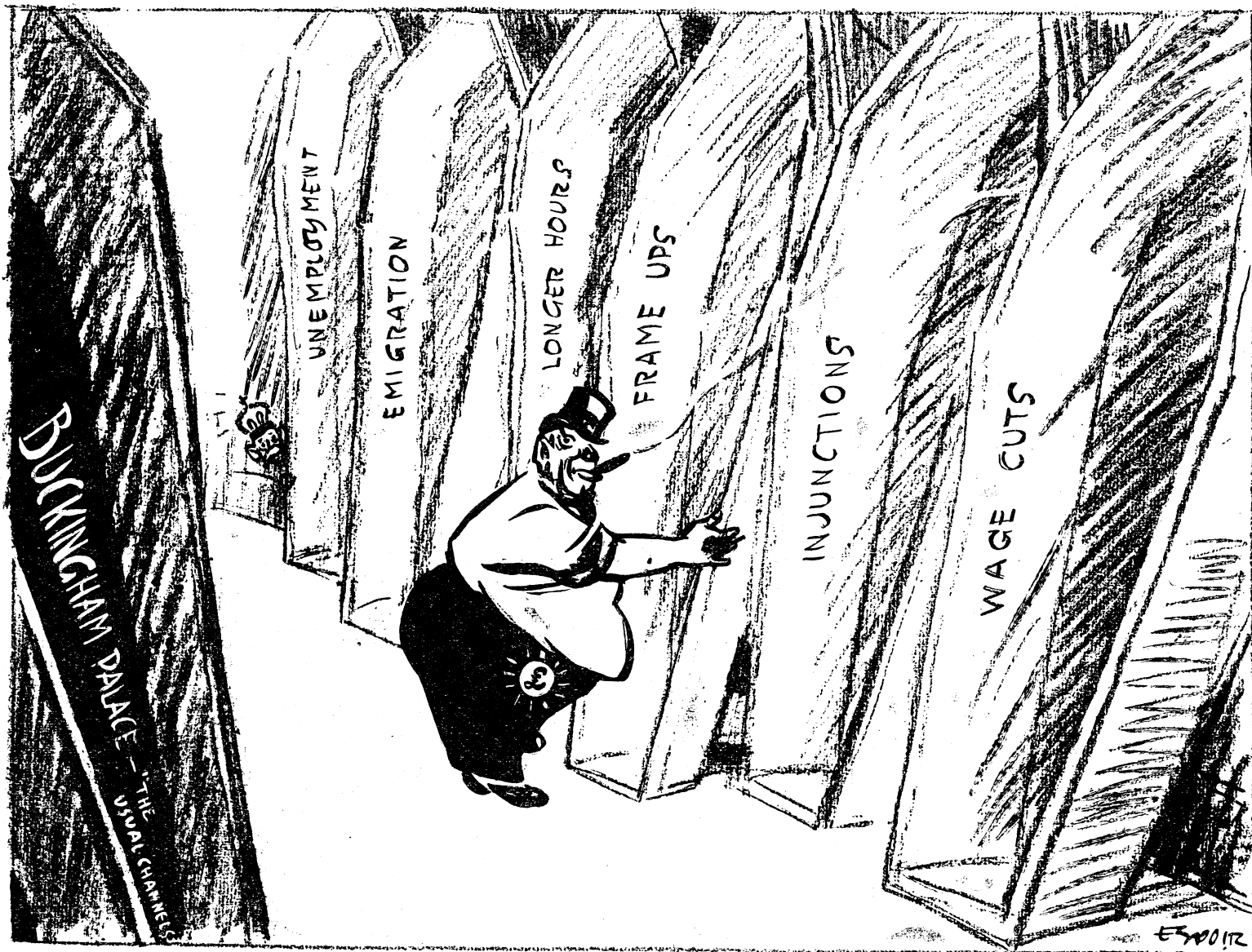
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TWOPENCE



CHRISTMAS BOXES — "And Many of 'Em"

## SANTA "CLAWS"

**C**HRISTMAS!  
"Peace on earth and goodwill  
among men."

And the Unemployed?

Peace—in the workhouse, the casual  
ward, the garret.

Goodwill on an empty belly—Peace lest  
they disturb the tranquillity of the well-  
fed Gentlemen who—fat, over fatter  
turkeys—will demonstrate to you that the  
"country is too poor" to do anything for  
the unemployed.

Bonar Law will not see them.

The House of Commons will not hear  
them.

And the King cannot receive their  
petition—except "through the ordinary  
channels."

The unemployed would be glad to take  
food and nourishment—"through the ordi-  
nary channels."

\* \* \*

I do not know what their plans are, but  
I hope that the marchers now in London  
will, with the co-operation of the London  
Unemployed, devise some means of making  
it impossible for the well-fed and comfort-

able to forget the fact that they exist. And  
that the unemployed throughout Britain will  
act in a similar spirit.

Christmas is the children's festival—why  
should any single child be denied a share  
in the customary joys simply because a  
greedy capitalism has no immediate use for  
its father?

The King cites ancient precedent for re-  
fusing to receive a petition in person. Can  
any antiquarian unearth a precedent older  
than that upon which the unemployed are  
proceeding?

They fight for the right to live. Is there  
in human things anything older than this  
elementary, this fundamental fight?

Before Kings were, and before Parlia-  
ments; before thrones, principalities and  
powers; when the designer of the Pyramids  
was an unsuspected possibility of the far  
future and the wolves howled in the brake  
where now stands Buckingham Palace, men  
felt the need to live and made and enforced  
their demand.

The unemployed are at *least* men; at best  
they can be no more.

If civilisation denies their right to live—  
civilisation is up against the oldest and  
most irrepressible force in the universe.

## A Petition to the King

**A**NOTHER imposing demonstration  
of the unemployed marchers was  
held in Trafalgar Square on Sun-  
day, Dec. 17th.

Having been unsuccessful in securing a  
hearing either from Bonar Law or at the  
Bar of the House of Commons, the meeting  
decided to send a deputation consisting of  
the Council of the Marchers, to present the  
following petition to the King at Bucking-  
ham Palace:—

We, the undersigned elected representa-  
tives of the 2,000 unemployed who  
marched to London from England, Scot-  
land and Wales, representing Great Brit-  
ain's unemployed, to interview the British  
Prime Minister, most respectfully request  
you to intervene on our behalf to secure

(Continued on Page 2)

## THE UNEMPLOYED

(Continued from Page 1)

the aforesaid interview which has so far been refused.

We also request you to use your prerogative for the immediate re-assembly of the British Parliament, in order that they may introduce legislation of an effective character for the immediate alleviation of the wide-spread suffering and destitution at present prevailing amongst your Majesty's subjects throughout Great Britain as a result of unemployment.

### COUNCIL OF ACTION.

While the Council was on its way to Buckingham Palace, the demonstration was addressed by several speakers, including George Lansbury, M.P. and Robert Stewart of the Communist Party Central Executive Committee.

Stewart accepted the challenge of the Governmental and Bourgeois Press and avowed the intention of the Communist Party to use the whole of its resources to prevent the unemployed agitation flagging from want of encouragement. The function of the Communist Party was to head the working class struggle, and the condition of the unemployed was the glaring and outstanding proof of the status of the worker under capitalism. In helping the unemployed to express their indignation and their determination to win for themselves a life worth living, the Communist Party were doing just what they were bound to do. In order to effect the emancipation of the working class from economic and social thralldom, every sort of apathy and despair must be dissipated. Since the workers could only win out of the Capitalist hell by concerted mass struggling the Communist Party in rousing the unemployed and organising them for mass struggles was doing the best possible service not only to them but to the whole working class.

George Lansbury (who was received with demonstrations of affection) spoke with force and fire. He urged the unemployed to keep on worrying the Mayors, Guardians and M.P.'s, and said that all trade unionists in employment should take part in the agitation. The people had a constitutional right to petition the King, and it was unconstitutional to refer them to the Home Secretary. It was the King's business to send the petition to the Home Secretary.

It was useless to tell men to stick to constitutionalism if those in authority persisted in breaking the Constitution.

The deputation which returned during George Lansbury's address, reported that they had been stopped at the gate of Buckingham Palace by a large force of police, and were informed by the inspector in charge that the King "could not see" them—that the petition must be sent through "the ordinary channels"—that is through the Home Secretary.

After a collection of over £20 had been taken up and the "Red Flag" had been sung, the marchers and the London unemployed formed into procession and marched out of the square with bands playing and banners flying.

All observers old enough to be able to make the comparison, could not fail to notice the difference between the tone and bearing of these processions as they marched off to martial airs and those of the unemployed processions of a decade ago.

Then they marched to the tune of the "Dead March" in "Saul"; on Sunday they marched to the tune of the "Fenian Men" ("O'Donnell Abu!").

### Newbold and the Unemployed

THE Motherwell and Wishaw unemployed sent a telegram to Comrade Newbold, asking him to urge upon the Prime Minister the necessity of meeting the deputation of the unemployed. He therefore sent the telegram to Bonar Law, with the following letter:—

Dear Prime Minister,—

The enclosed telegram which I received late on Friday afternoon will sufficiently explain itself. The resolution was passed at a mass meeting at the Wishaw end of the Motherwell Division, and reflects the opinion and desires of a very large number of the workers. There are somewhere in

the neighbourhood of 13,000 men out of work in this constituency, where the electorate does not exceed 31,500. This state of affairs has existed now for nearly two years. Blast furnaces and steel works are standing idle and there is no sign of any change. These men desire to get work and to keep the peace. So strong was their belief in the desirability of testing to the uttermost the resources of the Constitution and of legality that not one of them accompanied this particular deputation, but preferred, having the opportunity to do so, to remain at home and to participate in the Election.

Having done this, they ask of you that you will listen to the appeal of those men who have come to place their distressed condition before you.

Might I suggest that if you continue in your present attitude to the unemployed, other workers in other constituencies may adopt the same tactics as did the workless men of Motherwell.

You believe, I presume, in the practicability of dealing with this problem satisfactorily within the present economic and legal systems, and therefore would it not be wiser for you and those whom you represent, to go some way to meet the unemployed whilst their discontent expresses itself in channels so peaceful as those of a mere deputation to meet the responsible head of His Majesty's Government?

Trusting that this appeal of the workless men of Wishaw will not fall upon deaf ears.

Yours faithfully,

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

No answer has been forthcoming.

### The International General Staff

SPEAKING on the organisational problems before the Fourth World Congress at Moscow, Eberlein, the organising secretary of the Communist International, urged the need for still firmer discipline and control. He said:—

The Second International is a warning example of what federation leads to. Federalism must be eradicated from the Communist International. On the grounds of the experience of the last few years, Eberlein proposed that the National Party Convention should take place after the World Congress. Binding mandates should not be permitted for future congresses as they render agreements among delegates very difficult. Members of the International Executive should not be delegated by national sections, but should be elected from the Floor of the Congress. For the Executive there should be elected one chairman, 24 members, 2 representatives of the Youth and 10 substitutes. The Executive should then elect 7 or 9 of its members as a Presidium which would also act as a Political Bureau. Seven members should also be elected as an Organisation Bureau, which will be in charge of all organisation tasks. The Executive should also have a General Secretariat which shall function without executive powers. Agitational and educational departments should be organised for the centralisation of such work. A department for Eastern questions should also be organised, the members of which shall be selected from among the members of the presidium. The Enlarged Executive should meet twice a year. It shall consist of the members of the Executive and three members each from Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, the Youth, the Profintern, and two representatives each from England, America, Bulgaria, Japan, Poland, and Rumania. A control committee consists this year of three representatives of the German and French Parties respectively, and will be elected annually from the delegates of the two neighbouring parties. Reports of Central Executive meetings of the national sections must be sent to the Executive. Resignations from Central Committees may only be accepted by agreement with the Executive. The Executive will have two representatives with the Young International. The Women's Secretariat in Berlin will remain. The next World Congress will take place in 1923. The Statutes of the Communist International will be revised at the Fifth Congress.

### "John Bull" and Bolshevism

SUCH readers of *John Bull* as have the capacity for assimilating other reading matter must have been amused by the contributor who recently demanded "Who is Karl Radek?" and who revives the *Morning Post* scare of the "Protocols," for he has apparently never heard of Lucien Wolf's pamphlet, "The Myth of the Jewish Peril," published in Jan., 1921, or the *Times* article of the following August.

Sergei Nilus, the author of the "Protocols" gives three explanations of the source of his manuscript, two of which are contradictory. The true origin was the 1901 edition of the Czech version of an avowed fiction of 1868, by Hermann Goedsche, a German police spy, discharged for forgery. To this Nilus added extracts from a work of Gougenot de Mousseaux, 1869, on the Freemasons and part of a chapter from Polyedonoszeff's "Reflections of a Russian Statesman," 1898.

First written in 1901, the conspiracy it revealed was mainly Anti-Christian. In 1905 the Okhrana or Black Hundreds had it republished in the form of leaflets, for the purpose of combating revolutionary propaganda. With an Anglophobian bias, it formed the basis of a memorandum of Count Lansdorf to the Kaiser in 1905. In 1917, when type-written copies, revised to suit the conditions of the revolution were distributed by the Whites in London, Paris, Rome, and Washington, the anti-British passages were naturally deleted.

Much of the analysis of the present financial mechanism in the "Protocols" is exceedingly acute, and was taken from Bucharin's "Programme of the Communists." It is given the appearance of a conspiracy by obvious and unnecessary interpolations as will be seen by the following extracts from Protocol XX:—

"Currency exists for circulation, and any congestion of money always has a fatal effect, since it acts as a lubricant, and if the lubricant becomes clogged, the working of the machine is stopped.

The fact that bonds have been substituted for a large part of the currency has now created just such a congestion.

All economic crises (which we have so skilfully arranged in the Gentile countries) were carried out by means of withdrawing currency from circulation. The Government is then obliged to appeal to the owners of congested fortunes in order to raise loans.

Gold currency has been the destruction of all states which have adopted it, because it could not satisfy the requirements of the population, all the more so because (we have done our best to) cause it to be congested and to be withdrawn from circulation.

Our government will have a currency based on the value of the working power of the country, and it will be of paper.

Loans prove the weakness of the government, and its failure to understand its own rights. Instead of raising money direct from the nation, they come to our bankers' cap in hand.

They have ended in bankruptcy in spite of all the hard work of their subjects.

We have made use of the corruption and negligence of administrators to obtain twice and three times the amount of money advanced by us to their governments, which in reality they did not need at all.

GEOFFREY BIDDULPH.

The Parliamentary and Municipal Committee desires to thank all comrades who sent in reports of election activities. These have proved very useful, and will be of exceptional value in preparing for future work.

The Committee takes this opportunity of inviting those comrades who have served on (or are serving on) Boards of Guardians (England) or on Parish Councils (Scotland) to send in reports of their experiences with special reference to anything that may have been done out of the ordinary routine.

The Committee is also compiling a list of Party Election Agents who have acted as such. Kindly forward names to Party Centre.

A. INKPIN,  
Organising Secretary.

# To the Miners of Great Britain

## A CALL FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY

**F**ELLOW WORKERS,—Your Delegate Conference meets at a time when the whole of your members are living under the most appalling conditions within living memory.

You have had fifteen months in which to test the agreement you signed at the close of the lockout in 1921. The coal owners have shown themselves to be the most callous and brutal employers that British capitalism has yet produced. In their impudent manifesto issued last week, their only answer to your cry of despair is:—

### "You were worse off in 1888"

Mr. Bonar Law ("The Tranquilliser") has turned you down and told you nothing can be done. Think of your humiliation! Your Federation (once the strongest and most powerful in the world) has to beg of the Government not for luxuries, but for a crust of bread. When you signed the 1921 agreement, your secretary, Mr. Frank Hodges, said at your special delegate conference at the Memorial Hall on June 10:—

"I venture to say it is the greatest wage-producing principle that has ever been introduced into this country."

Has your experience borne this out? No!

Mr. Hodges himself has admitted that many mining areas are "the famine areas" of England. At one time 12 of your 13 districts were down on the minimum of 20 per cent. above 1914 rates, when the Board of Trade showed that the cost of living was 80, 85, and 99 per cent. above 1914.

The more coal you have produced the worse has been your lot. The standard profits have either been paid, or they are accumulating against you, to be paid off by you in the future—an ever-increasing burden on your industry.

### Stephen Walsh was right

He said, at the Special Delegate Conference, June 10, 1921:—

"Never in the history of any industry on earth before now has an attempt been made to fix a standard rate of profits upon the aggregate wages of the workpeople."

### No Trade Revival

The Press is saying that there is soon to be a trade revival, and if you strike for a living wage, you will retard this revival in trade. The Press has been saying for the last two years that trade was going to revive. The Press that is against any subsidy for miners, is quite agreeable that the miners' low wages should be the means of subsidising the capitalists in other industries.

When you ask for a living wage, they will tell you that the industry cannot afford it. This proves the failure of private enterprise? Are you and your wives and children for ever to pay for the incompetence and failure of private enterprise? You must be bold. You must again raise the agitation for the adoption of the Sankey Report and the Nationalisation of the mines.

Miners of Great Britain, you have been the victors in many long and bitter struggles. The Communist Party is confident that you will again lead the way, and that the miners will be the first union to take effective action to stop the workers' retreat. At this National Conference you must give a lead to all your districts. As an immediate practical programme the Communist Party proposes that your Conference adopt work and fight for the following demands:—

- 1 Terminate the present agreement and demand an increase of wages of 80

per cent. above the 1914 rates. Remember the Board of Trade latest figures show that the cost of living is still 80 per cent. above 1914.

- 2 Demand the cancellation of the accumulated arrears of standard profits, which amount to millions of pounds. These are a burden, which Stephen Walsh vigorously protested against at your Conference in June, 1921.

- 3 Call upon the Labour Party to join with you in an agitation to enforce the operation of the Sankey Report and the Nationalisation of the Mines.

- 4 Call upon the General Council of the Trade Union Congress to join you in an agitation against the attempts to lengthen your hours.

### THE SEVEN HOUR DAY MUST BE MAINTAINED.

Remember in every statement of the coal owner, in every speech of their representatives in or out of Parliament, they are insisting that if you want higher wages you must work longer hours.

Remember you still have 70,000 unemployed. The owners' statement of diminishing output is false. Your output for week ending October 21st was the highest for three years, 5,355,400 tons, as compared with 4,236,600 tons three years ago. Yet in spite of these facts, the owners dare to talk of lengthening your hours of labour.

Miners:—Private ownership cannot give you a living wage!

LET YOUR NEW YEAR SLOGAN BE:

**A Living Wage for Miners  
No Lengthening of Hours  
Nationalise the Mines**

## How the Miner Lives

### By a Yorkshire Miner

**I** AM a worker at the coal face—at Main Colliery, and the conditions there are drifting to far worse than those prevailing before the War. In those days, although our organisations were of a sectional nature, we had at least a kick in us, and would not stop at spasmodic upheavals to rectify grievances. To-day we find nothing but apathy and indifference. This, of course, is due to the thrashing received since Black Friday, the day which meant the undoing of our organisations, owing to the cowardice of our leaders.

The wages in this area are very little above the pre-war standard, although Yorkshire on the whole, is the best remunerative county in the mining industry.

I myself am working in an abnormal place, and have had to force our local T.U. officials to move to obtain the days wages due to men in our stall, with the result that the boss has threatened to get rid of me and my Communist ideas.

That, of course, is nothing new, anyone who is active in his T.U. affairs must expect the same.

Joseph Mullins, Washington St. Council Houses, Mexboro, Nr. Rotherham, Yorks.

### By a South Wales Miner

**T**HE coal industry has reached a crisis such as has not been witnessed by anyone connected with the industry to-day. The "directive ability" section of the industry (those who could not direct a bucket of water out of the pits during the lock-out) have done their share to reduce the industry to the condition in which it finds itself. And the present condition of the industry should be sufficient evidence to anybody possessing the average intelligence of pre-cave man, that the capitalist system of production and exchange stands self-condemned, as one which cannot be mended, but must be ended.

The conditions in this part of the mining area are an insult to civilisation. All old

customary "privileges" are either taken or being taken away. Very few allowances or none, are now left. Price lists have been or are being tampered with; the offensive is still being carried on by the bosses and the Federation seems as if it can do nothing.

Conditions underground are not, to-day, what they were; the men are hounded round by the bosses like a lot of little dogs. The boss says to this one—Do this, and he does it. He says to that one—Go there, and he goes; and the men obey simply because they are so cowed and afraid of being sacked.

Very often some man's tools are missing; one of his butties has "sneaked" them. The poor devils have to find their own tools, which cost money, and this latter they have not. So they are driven to such extremities. The wages are very low and, what with losing two or three shifts per week, owing to the pits being idle through lack of trade, you can understand them going to work with dry bread or bread and margarine. I have actually seen with my own eyes the pay tickets of men (with various size families) taking home after usual stoppages, insurance, load of coal, etc., two, three and five shillings, in one case, almost incredible, one penny.

This latter man approached me, asking for instructions re getting relief, and he showed me his ticket.

The tradespeople are finding the times very hard. It is with great difficulty we restrain the workers being turned out of their ramshackle houses.

J. JONES.

### By a Lancashire Miner

If one wishes to learn first hand how the miner lives, let him or her visit a mining centre. The first thing that confronts one's vision is the small miserable dwellings called homes, many in which the sunlight never penetrates. The women have lost the healthy hue of maidenhood and their faces have become white and pallid—out-

ward reflections of malnutrition. This is the condition of what society imagines are well paid wage workers—men, women and children are existing under worse conditions than savages, and housed worse than the horses or prize dogs of the employer. On the outskirts of these districts one can discover the large palatial halls of the mine-owner with valuable stretches of meadow land where it is impossible to become contaminated with the germs of the scourge of the industrial workers—consumption. One can see why this class sleep peacefully in face of such conditions as those above-mentioned.

One begins to wonder how much longer the miners will tolerate such things. In these districts it is common to find miners dinnerless after returning from the pits, and their wives breaking their hearts through being unable to find the necessities of life for their men folk. Neither is it an uncommon sight to see the "Englishman's home" being sold to make ends meet, or to hear of mothers giving premature birth to children through lack of nourishment.

R. HODGKISS.

74, Peel Street,  
Pendleton, Nr. Manchester.

## RUSSIAN INFORMATION AND REVIEW

(Published by the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation)

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A Weekly Record of the Progress and Struggles of Soviet Russia.

Every Trade Unionist, every Socialist, certainly every Communist, should obtain a copy of this journal, both for his own information and for the better instruction of his friends.

Obtainable at the Communist Bookshop.



# HOW WE STAND

*Extracts from the Report on the Work of the Executive Committee of the Communist International*

Presented by G. ZINOVIEFF

**I**MMEDIATELY after our Third Congress it became evident that capitalism throughout the world had begun a systematic and well organised offensive against the working class.

During the last fifteen months there have been a large number of strikes all important, many on a large scale. The majority ended in defeat for the workers. This was the capitalist offensive.

In 1920 there were 25 million members in the trade unions. In 1922 they had only 18 millions and I am not sure that even this figure is not exaggerated. This alone shows the difficult position of the workers in the period covered by this report.

## The Economic Situation

As regards the international economic situation, there has, indeed, been a transient improvement in the United States, Britain, Japan and France, and perhaps in other countries as well, but it is quite clear that there has been no permanent change for the better. What we are now living through is something more than one of the periodical crises of capitalism; it is *The crisis of capitalism*; it is the twilight, the collapse of capitalism.

The only salvation for mankind, the only way of restoring the forces of production, is to be found in the socialist revolution.

## The Political Situation

The international political situation remains objectively revolutionary.

During the last fifteen months the decay of the Entente has advanced with giant strides. What we have been witnessing has been a liquidation of the Peace of Versailles, and this is still proceeding. The Genoa and Hague Conferences have affixed the seals to the bankruptcy of bourgeois pacifism.

The colonial and semi-colonial countries which constitute one of the most important factors of the process we denote by the name of the world revolution, have during this period raised their combat to a very high level. In quite a number of oppressed countries, despite all the efforts of the imperialist governments, the liberationist movement makes continual progress. The great movements which we have been watching in India and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are by no means communistic, but dispassionately considered, they rate as an important factor in the fight against capitalism.

## The Fraud of Capitalist "Democracy"

Bourgeois democracy, whose decline we have been witnessing for several years, is now perishing more obviously month by month.

What is the meaning of the events in Italy? Are they not an unprecedented attack on bourgeois democracy?

Italy was one of the countries where bourgeois democracy was most hallowed. The Fascist onslaught is an attack, not only upon the monarchical ideal, but also upon the ideal of bourgeois democracy. Not merely has the King of Italy lost prestige because a band of desperadoes has thrust him aside politically, but the prestige of the whole regime of bourgeois democracy has been lowered.

The happenings in Italy are not simply local phenomena. Other countries will inevitably experience what Italy is experiencing, though perhaps in a modified form. If the Fascisti maintain power in Italy (and it seems probable that they will do so during the immediate future), there can be little doubt that similar occurrences will take place in Germany.

What is now happening in Austria is closely akin to the Italian situation. It too, is a blow directed against bourgeois democracy, which in Austria has hitherto been defended, not only by the capitalist parties and the Second International, but also by the Two and-a-Half International.

In Czechoslovakia we see the preliminaries to such a counter-revolutionary transformation.

Of Hungary it is needless to speak. The Fascisti learned their lesson from Hungary.

In the Balkan States, and especially in Yugo-Slavia there are indications that things are taking the same turn.

## An Epoch of Fascism

We must look the facts in the face. It is perhaps inevitable that we should pass through an epoch of more or less perfectly developed Fascism throughout Central Europe, and this will necessarily involve that for a considerable period in these regions our Parties will be forced underground, will become illegal Parties.

We must make it perfectly clear to ourselves that this is not to imply an arrest of the world revolution. It is part of the process of revolution, for the revolutionary movement does not proceed along a straight line. Various episodes may intervene. What we are witnessing in Italy is a counter-revolutionary movement. But when we take a broad view, we see that it is only an episode intensification, a stage in the maturing of the proletarian revolution in Italy. The same thing may be said of the proletarian movement in quite a number of important countries.

## War and the Soviet Republic

In general terms, then, the international political situation has grown more acute during the last fifteen months.

Recent events in the Balkan peninsula testify to the growing acuteness of the political situation. In connection with the Greco-Turkish War, the spectre of a new great war loomed ominously for a brief space. We seemed to be witnessing a rehearsal of the coming war. My estimate of the situation is that war is not yet imminent, but the Balkan flurry was a foreshadowing of what cannot fail to come unless the social revolution breaks out first, thus depriving the capitalist states of the possibility of organising a new war.

In a survey of the political world situation, we must not fail to take into account the Soviet Republic as a factor of primary importance. At a moment when the Entente is collapsing, when the colonial and semi-colonial nations are engaging in intensified struggles, when the war spectre hovers over the Balkan peninsula, and when the equilibrium of the capitalist world is trembling—at this very time the position of Soviet Russia is being rendered increasingly stable by the adoption of new economic methods. Thereby Soviet Russia has become a titanic factor in world politics. The star of the first proletarian Republic rises ever higher. The general upshot is a revolutionary situation.

## The Triumph of the "Second"

Within the Labour movement the most notable phenomenon is the amalgamation of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals. In Germany the matter

has been settled, yesterday came the news of a similar settlement in Sweden. The same thing is taking place elsewhere. In point of organisation, the union is not yet complete; but politically it is an accomplished fact, and it is a fact of great historical importance.

No detailed proof need be offered in support of the assertion that the Two-and-a-Half International is being absorbed into the Second International, not the other way about. Martoff, one of the spiritual leaders of the Two-and-a-Half International, and in many respects the intellectual superior of his associates, writes as follows: "Let us harbour no illusions. Under present conditions the mechanical amalgamation of the two Internationals signifies the return to the Second International of the parties that detached themselves from that body in the hope of founding a very different International. The return is a defeat of these parties."

This union will greatly quicken the process of splitting the working class into two camps. We on our side must also say: "Let us harbour no illusions!" The union of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals means the preparation of the White Terror against the Communists.

## Reformist Treachery

The Fascist coup is connected with the world political situation, and so is the coup that aims at bringing governments a la Stinnes to the front. The union of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals is the preliminary to an unprecedented splitting up of the working class with a view to its weakening. Not by chance is Mussolini, a renegade from the Second International, a one-time Social-democrat, now at the head of the counter-revolutionary movement in Italy.

The reformists see plainly enough that the ground is being cut from beneath their feet. Historically speaking, this is inevitable. It is inevitable that the trade unions (should evolution take a normal course) will pass under the control of the Communists. The reformists have a keen scent. They realise what is coming. They see that the influence of the Communists over the working class—the general influence of the revolutionary movement—is growing. Feeling this instinctively, they try to avert it. They behave as if they had been directly commissioned by the bourgeoisie to shatter the trade unions. They are trying to destroy them before they are themselves driven out.

I do not wish to suggest that they are directly commissioned to pursue such a policy. Political life is less simple than this would imply. Of course Stinnes does not issue direct written orders to the trade union leaders as his henchmen. In the general political sense of the term, however, the socialist leaders are commissioned

by the bourgeoisie to shatter the trade unions before leaving them. As they go out, they want to slam the doors so violently that all the windows may be broken. This is their real aim.

## United Front Tactics

It follows, comrades, that our tactics of the united front must be regarded as something more than a strategical move against our enemies.

The policy of the united front is dictated by the historical situation as a whole, by the general position of capitalist alike in the economic and in the political spheres and by the state of affairs within the working class.

If I am right in my view of the policy of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, if I am right in believing that the tactics of the deliberate splitting of the trade unions and of the working class will be adopted in the near future, then our tactics of the united front are an inevitable and logical consequence.

These tactics of the united front denote something more than an episode in our struggle; they denote a period, perhaps an entire epoch. As circumstances change, we may perhaps find it necessary to modify these tactics. In the main, however, inasmuch as the Second International is our chief enemy and is the main prop of the bourgeoisie, we shall have to hold fast to these tactics.

Capitalism is ripe for the transformation to Socialism. The world political situation is revolutionary. The Second International is the main prop of the bourgeoisie. It follows that our relationship with the Second International is something more than a question of Party tactics. It is part of the problem of the world revolution, of the tactics of our class as a whole.

## "Not an Episode but an Epoch"

Inasmuch as the united Second International will for years to come work directly towards a split, we shall be able to win over the masses of the workers by purposely counteracting by our tactics of the united front, the efforts towards disintegrating the workers. Let me repeat, we are not dealing with an episode, but with an epoch.

The tactics of the united front have already proved advantageous to us in many ways. I do not mean that they have enabled us to win over the majority of the workers. Were that so, the game would already be in our hands. Still, we have gained a great deal. We have gained this—that the working class realise that the Communist Parties are not the disintegrators, and that it is our opponents who are working for disintegration. Until recently, the workers held another view, and perhaps they had some reason for doing so. At one time, in our efforts to defend the interests of the workers as a whole, we had to split the old Social-Democratic Party. We should have betrayed the working class had we failed to take this

course. It was essential to secure a rallying point for a genuine liberating movement of the working class, and this could only be done by the creation of a Communist Party. At this period we had to accept the role of schismatics, for only by splitting the old social-democratic parties could we forge the instrument for the liberation of the working class.

Now, however, we have entered a new historical phase. There now exist Communist Parties, which do indeed contain vestiges of social democracy, which do indeed suffer from the diseases incidental to childhood, which are troubled with growing pains, and which must be freed from these disorders. But our main problem now concerns the winning over of the majority of the workers, in order to save and win over the trade unions, the chief weapons at the disposal of the world proletariat. That is why we have adopted the tactics of the United Front.

## What the United Front Means

What do we mean and what do we not mean by the United Front. We certainly do not mean an electoral alliance. We have instituted an enquiry concerning the carrying out of the tactics of the United Front. The enquiry has shown that much confusion still prevails.

I have already explained that it does not mean an electoral alliance. Nor does it mean an organizational union with the social democrats. Many comrades have made the latter mistake. But an organizational union with the social democrats would be the greatest crime we could commit. Everyone of us would rather have a hand cut off than enter into a union with these traitors to the working class, with those who are pre-eminently our enemies, with those who are the last prop of the bourgeoisie. The United Front implies nothing of that sort.

The United Front means the leading of the working masses in the daily class war. It means that we are ready to march against capitalism side by side with all workers, be they anarchists, syndicalists, Christian socialists, social democrats, or whatever you please, to join forces with them in the daily struggle against the reduction of wages and against the loss of the eight-hour day.

We accept the fact that we shall often have to sit at the same table with the treacherous leaders. We shall also fight for the partial demands of the working class.

I was shown to-day an article written a little while ago by Comrade Gorter. I will quote a passage from it:—"We must oppose every strike. You will perhaps ask, why oppose every strike? I reply, because we must reserve all our energies for propaganda in favour of the revolution." Further on he writes:—"We are so few that we dare not dissipate our forces in strikes, but must keep them intact so as to concentrate upon the revolution."

## The Daily Struggle

This manner of thinking is so confused that one stands speechless before the childishness of such a political thinker. He has no time to fight alongside the workers in their daily struggle against the bourgeoisie. He wants to help the whole revolution.

He who feels for the working class, he who is not satisfied with a subjective attitude towards the masses, but who, on the contrary, understands something about the lives of the workers and who has laboured in their ranks, will reject such childishness. For the very reason that we wish to fight on behalf of the proletarian revolution, we must participate in every strike, must go in advance of the working class, and must fight on behalf of every partial demand.

We are revolutionists. But this does not mean that we ignore the fact that the position of the working class must be improved, were it only to enable the workers to buy a drop of milk for their children.

We are opposed to reformism but we are not opposed to anything that may improve the lot of the working class.

We know quite well that in the extant conditions of capitalism the possibilities for such improvement are extremely restricted; we know that nothing but the revolution will secure a real uplifting of the workers; but we also know that we shall never be able to organise the workers unless we fight on behalf of their partial demands.

It is from this outlook that we defend the United Front as a tactic which, in the existing circumstances of capitalism, may last quite a while.

## A Labour Government

The watchword of the Labour Government has not yet been fully clarified. The tactics of the united front are almost universally applicable. By no means can the same thing be said of the slogan of the Labour Government. The latter is far less universally applicable, and its significance is comparatively restricted. It can only be adopted in those countries where the relationships of power render its adoption opportune, where the problem of power, the problem of government both on the parliamentary and on the extra-parliamentary field, has come to the front.

The watchword "Labour Government" is a particular concrete application of the tactics of the united front under certain specific conditions. It is quite easy to make mistakes in this matter. I think we have to beware of the danger that results from an attempt to regard the stage of Labour Government as a universally necessary one. In so far as it is safe to prophesy in such matters, I myself incline to the view that a Labour Government will only come into existence occasionally.

Besides, it is quite a mistake to suppose that the formation of a Labour Government will inaugurate a quasi-peaceful period, and that thereby we shall be saved from the burden of the struggle. A Labour Government can only be based upon the winning of parliamentary positions, and these are worth nothing when won. A Labour Government will be no more than a petty episode in the struggle, and will not suspend the civil war.

## Civil War Inevitable

Please do not interpret me as meaning that the watchword of the Labour Government is one to be rejected in existing circumstances. The working class must be made clearly to understand that a Labour Government can only be a transitional stage. We must say in plain terms that the Labour Government will not do away with the need for fighting—will not obviate the necessity for civil war. But as long as we recognise the dangers of this watchword, we need not hesitate to employ it.

The United Front has its dangers also, and the Executive referred to them in its December thesis. The dangers are especially great when the United Front takes

(Continued on Page 6)

## THE STAR IN THE EAST



## How We Stand

(Continued from Page 5)

the form of the Labour Government. In countries with old parliamentary traditions, in France, for instance, comrades seem to think that when we Marxists speak of the Labour Government we are referring to something altogether different from the dictatorship of the proletariat. But to us it seems that the Labour Government is only one application of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even if a Labour Government should come, we cannot avoid the civil war. In certain circumstances the civil war will even be intensified by the existence of a Labour Government.

### Industrial Councils

I cannot refrain from saying a few words concerning the industrial councils movement. A Party which has no Communist organisation in industrial life, which has no Communist nuclei, is not to be taken seriously, cannot be regarded as a serious Communist mass party. A Labour movement which has not yet learned how to organise a mass movement within the domain of the industrial councils, is not yet a serious revolutionary mass movement. It is a sign of the times that in Germany, where important and decisive struggles are probably imminent, the whole vanguard of the movement is led by the industrial councils.

We must see to it that the nuclei are really founded. Then our movement will forge ahead.

### Discipline

I must also add a few words concerning international discipline. The best proof of international discipline is provided in the realm of action. Our tactics of the united front are now extremely complex. There exists an International which is closely associated with the bourgeoisie, and which consistently works in opposition to us. If we are to resist its machinations successfully we must be strongly organised, and must have a genuine and rigidly disciplined International.

Decisive struggles will be upon us in the near future. Many excellent comrades murmur when they hear me say this. They declare that the world revolution has been arrested for a time. The advance will not be resumed until the material position of the Russian workers has so greatly improved that they are better off than the average European and American worker. Then the example of the economic advantages of the Russian workers will arouse a revolutionary impetus, and there will be a renewed surge of revolution.

In my opinion, comrades, this is nothing better than a subtle form of opportunism. It is an undoubted fact that the position of the Russian workers is on the upgrade today. No doubt a day will come when the economic position of the Russian workers will be better than that of the European workers which is on the down-grade. The upward trend in Russia is slow, but it is unmistakable. But it is pure opportunism to say that it is impossible to lead a revolutionary struggle on the part of the workers of capitalist countries so long as Russian conditions remain difficult.

### When the Revolution Will Come

The real Revolution will not be made by the workers in various countries because of an example drawn from other lands; it will not be made in any country because the workers there envy those in some other country who have more meat. The revolution will occur because the workers will find themselves in difficulties from which there is no exit without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Consequently we must not allow those tones to become dominant in our agitation which imply that there is an arrest in the revolutionary movement.

The Russian workers had far more obstacles to overcome than those which impede the revolutionary progress of the workers in other lands. The revolutionary workers all over the world will have the support of the Russian workers. The Russian workers were the first to rise in revolt, and they were opposed by the entire

## The First Workers' University

ONE of the greatest creations of the Russian Revolution has sprung up on the soil of the proletarian masses of Petrograd: The Petrograd Zinoviev University. More than a thousand students, proletarians without exception, are occupied here with the task of absorbing the knowledge offered by modern science, and of planting the seed of proletarian culture.

Down to the last student they are all the sons and daughters of workers, many of them have fought on three, four, or five fronts, many have been wounded, many have been commanders in the Red Army. All are faithful Communists.

They work just as seriously and systematically as in the highest bourgeois universities of Europe or America. The requirements of the syllabus are extremely high. There is no playing at study. And the spirit pervading the work is that of the class consciousness of the proletariat.

The celebration of the 5th anniversary of the Revolution afforded an insight into the mentality of the Zinoviev students.

The University building is the Tauric Palace, once used for the Tsarist Duma. At the revolution celebration all of the students, male and female, gathered together. A magnificent picture. The benches and platforms were filled with young people from the proletariat, their ages varying from 18 to 24 years. One thousand students from the ranks of the working class. The elite of Russian working youth. The first pioneers of the work of Communist culture.

They welcome the delegates of the Communist International with a jubilation very different from the customary ceremonies. These cheers, this singing of the "International," are no mere formality. It is a mass manifesto, it is a form of expression of the victorious revolution, carrying everything with it in its impetuosity.

The meeting is opened. The delegates of the foreign Communist Parties rise to speak. These addresses are no lectures, no propaganda speeches such as we hear at our Western European meetings. It is a dialogue between the speakers and their thousand auditors.

All languages are spoken, Hungarian, Russian, English, German. Some of the Zinoviev students have already utilised the philological faculty to such purpose that they are able to follow the various foreign speeches. The others grasp the import surprisingly well, they understand the international expressions: Proletariat, Communism, Dictatorship, Revolution, Imperialism. They translate single words among themselves.

The majority appear to follow the speaker's train of thought. The mental atmosphere is soon such as we only experience in Western Europe in moments of great revolutionary events. The great hall is filled with the wildest enthusiasm. Exclamations, enthusiastic applause, hand clapping, cheers—almost invariably in the right places. Those who understand the foreign language set the example, all the others follow.

In conclusion the students' band plays the "international"; the thousand rise to sing it. All this is a scene which we have witnessed a thousand times outside of Russia, but for which none the less there

is no comparison. The difference is that there the enthusiasm is not merely instinctive, but is founded on a clear and self-acquired consciousness of the significance of the demonstration. For these red students the International, the World Revolution, and the Proletarian Dictatorship, are no dreams of the future; for them these are the actualities of their life and work.

The Zinoviev students question the foreign representatives. The questions are written down and handed up to the platform. They are excellently and accurately formulated. The overwhelming majority are questions about Germany.

First the leading question: Why have the German workers not yet accomplished the revolution? But some questions formulate more concrete points: How does the German proletariat fight against the Versailles Peace?—What is being done to break the influence of Social Democracy?

Questions dealing with the political situation in America are directed to the American representative.

Later on the delegates converse with the students. Here the enthusiasm is again not merely emotional, but intellectual. The students again put questions of amazing political clearness. Here is no "herd," no "brutal mass"; this proletarian youth has personalities and brains in its ranks.

The future of the Russian Revolution and of the world revolution lies in the hands of this generation. It lies in good hands. If these children of the old revolutionary workers succeed in making their own the mighty weapon of bourgeois science, and of helping forward the masses of the peasantry with this weapon, neither world capital nor the new economic policy can endanger the Soviet Republic. This is the conscious aim of the Zinoviev students, who are only the vanguard of innumerable learners in town and country.

All students, male and female, live in the University. They form a single community. As government workers in the performance of their duties they receive board, lodging, and clothing. This red university fulfils with the greatest ease all the demands which the bourgeois school and high school reformers in Western Europe are striving for in vain. Not only is the technical work most energetic, but community work has here passed from a phrase into a reality.

This is shown in the artistic activity of the Zinoviev students. They have choral societies, where they sing folk songs and revolutionary songs with a wonderful power. The deepest impression is made by the choirs of the red students.

There are no individual performances of special superiority, no virtuosi, but a splendid mass will, revealed to the varying and combined tones of the choirs. Voices of every shade of clarity or depth, voices of man and girl comrades, rhythm spoken or sung, at the end the mass intonation of a hundred voices.

The dramatic might of this choir carries the thousand auditors along with it. They form a unity. No accidental theatre audience. No aesthetic narrow-mindedness. A proletarian collective, in which work, art, and politics are beginning to melt into one whole.

The end of this evolution cannot be prophesied to-day, but its commencement is perhaps the greatest triumph of the working class.

capitalist world. It is unlikely that the working class of any other country will have such great difficulties to encounter.

To the working class throughout the world we must present the picture of the Russian proletariat in its true colours, speaking of the blockade, of hunger and of pestilence, and of the greatness which triumphed over all obstacles. We can now be satisfied that the Russian working class, despite all its sufferings, is past the worst, and that from hour to hour, day to day, and month to month, improvements are coming. Such must be our conception of the Russian revolution; this conception must be the basis of all our tactics.

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## Fight for a Living Wage

An Appeal to the Workers of  
Britain from the Suffering  
Toilers of Germany

**C**OMRADES! The forced peace of Versailles has been pressing heavily on us and on you for years. The German workers are perishing on their starvation wages and the high prices. You are afflicted with mass unemployment, high prices, and reaction.

Up to the present time the reparations paid by Germany consist in extracting the last pfennigs from the pockets of the German workers, and placing them in the pockets of your capitalists.

During the last half-year the impoverishment of the working class in Germany has made gigantic strides. We have not even bread, potatoes, or coal; our children and infants have no milk, sugar, nor clothing. Mass unemployment also stands at our door.

The working class has taken up the fight against this impoverishment all over the country, by means of the Shop Stewards Movement. We demand the security of our daily existence, we demand that all burdens should be removed from the shoulders of the propertyless, and be placed on the shoulders of the bourgeoisie. We demand as our fighting organ a Workers' Government in Germany, supported by the shop stewards.

We are aware of your struggles and sufferings. We know that the failure of the reformists enables reaction to triumph over the corpses of workers in Italy at the present time.

We know of the brutal actions of the Czecho-Slovakian employers against the unemployed, of their efforts to banish them from the country.

We know of the mighty mass strikes in France, of the growing enlightenment of the masses of French workers, by which Poincaré's dominance is being more and more undermined.

We welcome the election victory of the Labour Party in England, and hope that the English workers will compel their leaders to fully and ruthlessly utilise the victory in the interests of the English and the international proletariat, against the English bourgeoisie and English Imperialism.

We know that the position of the working class throughout Central and Western Europe is becoming worse from day to day.

It is high time, comrades, that we all unitedly take up the fight against our own and against the international bourgeoisie.

The victorious Russian Revolution, the revolutionary war of the Turkish peasant masses, these show to us all that the rapacious peace treaties, which are in reality a continuation of the world war, and which entail fresh wars, can only be done away with by international solidarity, by the masses of workers fighting together.

We have begun the fight against the German bourgeoisie against the will of our bourgeois leaders, and shall continue it until we win the victory—cost what it may.

We expect from you, working brothers and sisters of England, France, Italy, Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia, that you also take up the fight, as we are doing, for the security of your living wage, the struggle against the burden of taxation, the struggle for the control of production, and that you prepare the way for the rule of the working class in your countries.

Down with the imperialist peace treaties of Versailles and Sevres!

Down with the rule of the bourgeoisie and reaction in Western Europe!

Long live the victorious Russian Revolution!

Long live the victory of the Western European proletariat, which will complete the Russian Revolution.

**The Shop Stewards' Congress  
of Germany.**

## Parliament Stands Prorogued

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M.P.

**P**ARLIAMENT has been prorogued—in other words the first session of the fourth Parliament of His Most Gracious Majesty George the Fifth has been dismissed, and its members, having been commanded again to wait upon His Majesty on the thirteenth day of February next ensuing, have parted each to go his own way.

### Precedents

The champion of the unemployed, Geo. Lansbury, ever on the look out for original forms of procedure, by means of which to call attention to the condition of the unemployed, had been rummaging in the ancient law books and in the journals of the House. Having gathered much information, he besought Mr. Speaker for further instruction by raising a question of "the Privilege of this House."

The honourable (we can, in his case, spell it out as follows: honourable) Member for Bow and Bromley, sought to know whether or not he would be in order, having regard to an incident in 1629, when the Speaker was forcibly restrained from leaving the Chair, to move that "this House do not adjourn" when Black Rod should come to summon us "to another place" to be prorogued.

Kirkwood and his colleagues having departed, the Speaker could afford to regard this matter of precedent with complacency and proceeded to give us some most useful, because most authoritative, rulings on the limitations of the privileges of the House of Commons.

Mr. Lansbury, Mr. MacDonald and Captain Wedgwood Benn, each in turn had his objections over-ruled or his queries answered in the negative. The Labour Party learned from the infallible oracle of Mr. Speaker (Mr. Whitley of the Joint Industrial Councils), what the Communist Party could have told them (but they would not have credited them) that "the summoning of Parliament and the proroguing of Parliament is a matter for the Crown," and that "not only when the House shall rise and when its debates cease, but also when it shall meet again" are matters which "rest with His Majesty."

Mr. Speaker might have added—but he, probably, did not wish to shock the poor dears all at once, and especially on the eve of their holidays—that the constitutional authorities are agreed that the King is not required by the law to act even upon the advice of his Ministers. Probably, had he done so, that perfect parliamentarianism—now, praise be to Providence, restored to his native element, where he swims about happily and contented as some smooth silky seal—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, would have had to be carried out in a faint, and Mr. Thomas have given up the ghost and gone "to another place" where there are no law lords and no libel laws.

Needless to say, when Lansbury so far let his emotions get the better of him as to stray from the question of "privilege" to that of the unemployed, he was promptly called to order. But Lansbury had kept his faith with the men outside, the men who were forbidden the presence of the Premier, the men whose petition to appear at the Bar of the House—a perfectly constitutional method of procedure—had been ignored. He had, moreover, demonstrated most effectively the futility of parliamentary institutions.

### The Mantle of Hardie

The ceaseless vigilance, the tireless vigour, the burning sincerity of Lansbury in his voicing of the grievances of the unemployed, that is what, to my mind, has been the outstanding achievement of the Session so far as the Labour Party has been concerned.

The leadership of Mr. Macdonald has been—and could I pay him a tribute for which he would be more grateful—characteristic, alike in the circumstances of his election and the discharging of his

functions. Maintaining ever "the best traditions of this House," he has spoken with a dignity and an eloquence that, had it not been for the Celtic resonance of his voice, one might have deemed to have been that of Gladstone, Burke, Walpole or his own paragon, Bolinbroke. His periods, his perorations, his sonorous platitudes—they have rung through the rafters of the House like an echo from the age of Cicero or the yet more remote generation of Demosthenes.

His Party has been vigorous and vocal. His bodyguard from Cranston's Cafe and the Metropole, has acquitted itself with credit—but, sometimes, in a manner little calculated to strike the chords of sympathy in the bosom of this Admirable Crichton of constitutionalism.

### The "Soudan" Exposure

Some of them have been, to put the best face upon it, thoughtless and tactless, as when, for instance, they set a snare for Asquith in such a manner that the other candidate for the Chairmanship of their Party, Clynes, was promptly pushed into it by the watchful corner-boys on the Wee-Free Benches. Mr. MacDonald, it is true, was not there at the time—though it was known to me the night before that the trap was to be set—and extricated himself with extraordinary dexterity from the counter-trap in which Sir John Simon so nearly caught him.

Mr. Clynes, as well as Mr. Asquith, was a spokesman at the meeting with the late Premier, at which the cotton-growers and consumers pressed for Government assistance in the development of the Soudan. It is my opinion, however, that Mr. Clynes had no knowledge of the interests that were making use of him to further their private advantage.

This seems the more probable when one knows that even Mr. Johnston himself, when he made his first exposure, had not searched the share-list of the Soudan Company and, quite evidently, had no real understanding of what gigantic interests he had netted.

The chairman of the Labour Party has, very likely, interviewed his supporters since this adventure and, with an indulgence born of discretion rather than of a just regard for Party discipline, has bidden them to be careful in future not to attempt to "jug" too many hares at a time.

A manœuvre intended for the discomfiture of Kenworthy and Pringle should have been more expertly handled.

### Keep the United Front

Kirkwood and the rest of the Scottish I.L.P. Members have also to learn that it is not in the interests of Party discipline, much less of working class solidarity and dignity, to have acrimonious passages-at-arms and to hold angry disputation with their deputy-leaders in the House and in face of the Capitalists.

We do not see eye to eye with one another, all of us who are working class representatives on the Benches of the House of Commons, but it is our duty, as I see it, to present a common front to the enemy.

Also, it is desirable that there shall be as little hob-knobbing as possible with the Liberals and the Tories, less of this smiling and interchange of compliments between the two front benches and, what is imperatively necessary, no melting to the saucy blandishments of that accomplished little trickster, Lady Astor, who has, quite obviously, set her cap at the Labour M.P.'s from Glasgow.

She has begun to display an inordinate interest in housing reform. She has begun to exhibit her "heart" bleeding with sympathy for the poor. She is going to do her utmost, by direct and by indirect approach, to get David Kirkwood's measure.

### Ware, Davy!

Kirkwood is transparently honest, but his heart is just a little too trustful. May we advise him to walk warily amongst lionising ladies and the fulsome admiration of the "stunt" journalists.

## Prospects of Revolution

By L. TROTSKY

TROTSKY'S estimate of the probable political development of Europe in the future was challenged by critics who dissented from the conclusion that the existing state of affairs would lead to a period of triumph for pacifism and reformism. In the course of his reply, Comrade Trotsky made the following references to the situation in Britain.

**A**S a result of the recent elections, the domination of the Liberal-Conservative Coalition has given place to an all-Conservative Government. Yet, on the other hand, the figures of the voting in the same election tell a different story, showing that the bourgeois-reformist English politicians have already made ample preparations for a new orientation in the event of a further growth of antagonisms and difficulties (both of them quite unavoidable).

The Conservatives polled less than five and a half million votes. The Labour Party, together with the Independent Liberals, obtained nearly seven million votes. Thus we see that the English electors have in their majority discarded the flesh-pot dreams of imperialist victories in favour of the meagre illusions of reformism and pacifism.

It is a significant fact that the Union of Democratic Control—a radical pacifist organisation—secured the return of the whole of its committee to Parliament.

Are there any serious grounds for assuming that the present Conservative regime in England will lead directly to the proletarian dictatorship?

We fail to see them. On the contrary, we think that the insurmountable economic, colonial and international complications of the present British Empire will serve as grist to the mills of the petty-bourgeois opposition as represented by the so-called Labour Party.

Everything speaks in favour of the assumption that in England, more than in any other country in the world, the working class, before attaining the dictatorship, will have to pass through the stage of a workers' government in the shape of the reformist-pacifist Labour Party, which in the last elections polled about four and a half million votes.

There is hardly any ground for a categorical assertion that the proletarian revolution will be victorious in Germany before the internal and external complications in France will bring about a governmental and parliamentary crisis.

Such a crisis would mean new elections, new elections would lead to a victory of the left bloc.

The latter would deal a heavy blow to the Conservative Government in England by increasing the opposition of the Labour Party, and in all probability would lead to a parliamentary crisis, to new elections and to a victory for the Labour Party, either alone or in league with the Independent Liberals.

What would be the effect of such events on the international situation in Germany?

The German Social Democrats would immediately quit their attitude of semi-opposition to offer their services to the "people" for the restoration of peaceful, normal relations, etc., with the great democracies of the West.

It was in this sense that I said that the change in the internal politics of France and England, if it should take place before the victory of the Communists in Germany, can only give another short lease of life to the German Social Democracy. Scheide-man would again come into power, but this would only be the prelude to the revolutionary finale. For it is perfectly obvious that the impotence of the reformist-pacifist regime under the present circumstances of Europe, would not require years, but a few months or weeks to be brought to the surface.

It is utterly wrong to make any special reservations for the colonial Powers.

Before starting the military assault against the Russian Revolution, England sent its Henderson to the aid of Buchanan in his efforts to confine the Russian revolution within proper limits (during the war Russia was an English colony).



## SANTA "CLAWS"

The same method was followed by the English bourgeoisie in regard to India: it sent its benevolent and liberal viceroys, who were closely followed by aerial squadrons carrying bombs.

There is no doubt that the development of the revolutionary movement in the colonies would accelerate the English Labour Party's accession to power—in spite of the fact that it invariably betrayed the colonies to English capitalism.

Similarly there is no doubt that the further development of the revolutionary movement in the colonies along with the proletarian movement in the mother country, will drive the last nail in the historical coffin of bourgeois reformism and its mouthpiece—the Labour Party.

### OUR PAPER

The response to our appeal for the immediate setting up of the Distribution Committees has been very good. But—it can be much better.

If your local organisation hasn't done anything, just go round to your secretary and get him to call a special meeting so that you and your comrades can get busy immediately. The new paper will soon be here now, and you must not fail us.

We know that our methods of distribution are different than the old-time methods. But we all agree that they are necessary. The danger is in thinking that selling the Paper can't be done. We all know the good comrade who says, "the scheme is all right on paper, but it can't be worked in practice."

Can't it? Why, here's our Comrade Strudwick, of the N.U.R., who, in his trade union branch, has sold the following list of Papers and Literature from Jan. 1st, 1922 to Dec. 9th, 1922:—

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"Traffic Trust" .....	125
"Wage Labour & Capital" ..	24
"Value, Price & Profit" ...	24

In addition, Comrade Strudwick has sold 316 copies of various other Communist publications. The Central Committee have written a letter of congratulation and appreciation to our comrade for his truly magnificent work.

Comrades! Just think of the possibilities for the Paper and the Party if every member sold half the above quantity in their trade union branch.

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Write to the Central Distribution Committee and report progress.

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

**Owing to the Holidays, we will go to Press next week a day later than usual.**

### 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 LONDON.** Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, Sunday, December 24th, 6 p.m., Tea and Social.

**ISLINGTON.** Henry Sara will give one of his famous Lantern Lectures on Soviet Russia entitled "Changing Asia," on Sunday, December 24th, at West Islington Library, Lofting Road, Caledonian Road, 7.45 p.m.

The Battersea Branch of the Communist Party desires to **WARN** all Labour organisations against its late secretary, W. J. HUNWICK (N.U.R.), who turned to his own use branch funds of about £30 and has refunded nothing.

J. G. CLENCY, Chairman.

W. E. BELCHER, Secretary.

Battersea Branch, C.P.

The Federation of British Industries and Freemasonry are one. Freemasonry is the cause of unemployment. Freemasonry is the cause of 99 per cent. of our social evils. Walter Rodway speaks to any Society (free) on "Freemasonry is a Curse to Humanity." 149, Merton Road, Wimbledon.