

THE Communist

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TWOPENCE

Now for Action

SUCCESSFUL DEMONSTRATIONS MUST BE FOLLOWED UP

THE success of the demonstrations on Sunday, January 7th is admitted on all hands. But, as we said last week, the workers must not be satisfied to let it rest there.

Now that the unemployed organisation has won the official recognition of the Trade Union Congress General Council, it ought to be possible to stir the whole of the Trade Unions into life.

That the question of unemployment is as much the concern of the men in work as of those out of work, no trade unionist should need be told.

Relief for the unemployed means relief from the pressure of a force always operating to force wages down to the lowest possible level.

Cure of unemployment means freedom from the fear of "the sack"—freedom from the horror that keeps the worker tame in the face of conditions that he knows he should not submit to.

It is therefore the duty of every worker to take a share in concerting measures of action to follow up the demonstrations of Sunday last.

The first pressure in accordance with the terms of the resolution—is upon Parliament. But what if that be of no avail?

Workers should begin now to consider ways and means of enforcing the demand voiced so unanimously on Sunday last.

The veteran, Bob Smillie, speaking at a Glasgow demonstration, suggested that a three days' general strike might be necessary to compel Parliament to take action.

This is well worth considering.

BIG TURN-OUT IN LONDON

TO the intense annoyance of the reactionaries, Sunday produced demonstrations of a character that kindle the hope that we are at last on the eve of a mass move of the working-class to secure action in the interest of the unemployed.

The London demonstration in Trafalgar Square was especially impressive, because of its concrete evidence that the General Council and the Labour Party have taken action under pressure from the rank-and-file mass.

Not only were there trade union banners in plenty, but, in addition, the banners of the unemployed organisations, of the contingents of marchers, and of Communist Party and Y.C.L. branches, mingled with red flags and local Labour Party banners. Emphasising the rebel note, a large proportion of the demonstrators wore red badges and the "Red Flag" was sung repeatedly.

The processions both going and coming were striking; the sight of the Square filled to its limits when the demonstration was at its height and the enthusiasm evoked by the bolder speakers (Geo. Lansbury, S. Saklatvala, M.P., Tom Dingley and Wal. Hannington), all together have given the cue to the reactionary press to treat the whole demonstration as merely a manoeuvre of the Communist Party.

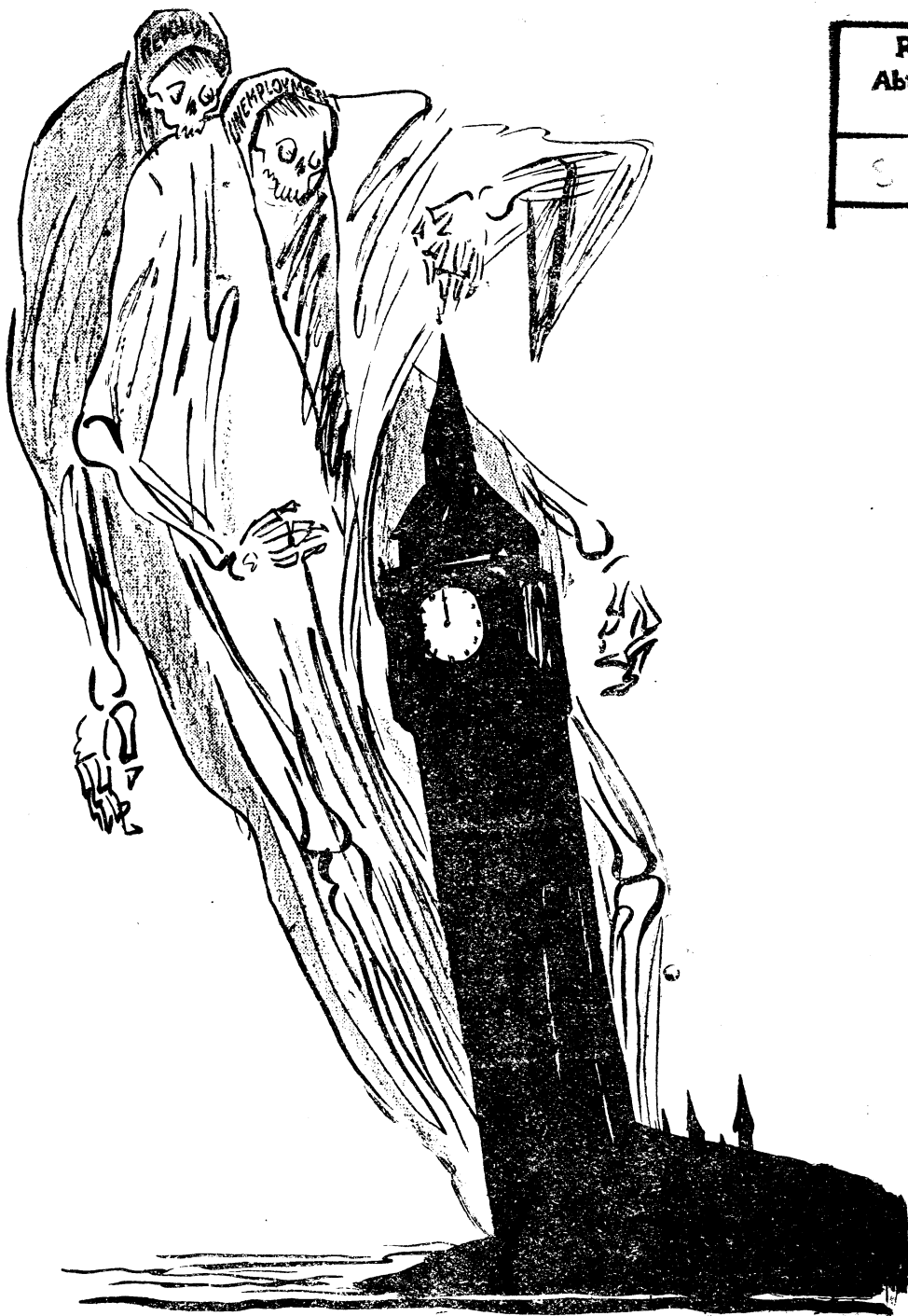
Manchester Moves for Permanent Machinery

In Manchester and District, the Communist Party played a prominent part. Comrades Ellen Wilkinson, Dickson and A. A. Purcell were among the leading speakers at the demonstration in the Stevenson Square. At Altrincham, Bury, Oldham, Salford and Ashton, the meetings have been (though joint meetings on the

General Council's national plan), carried to success mainly by the work of Communist Party members.

In every case the Communist speakers pressed for the closest possible co-operation between the Unemployed Committees and the trade unions—urging the setting up wherever possible of permanent joint committees such as has already been established in Gorton by the Co-operation of the

(Continued on Page 2)



The Haunted House

Ruhr-Univ.
Abt. IV. Hist. Bibl.

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Gorton Trades Council and the Gorton and Openshaw Unemployed Committees.

Demonstration Spoiled by Bad Weather

Despite the fact that the inclemency of the weather was against any possible success of a demonstration on Sunday last in Glasgow, the arrangements for the procession and meetings were carried out.

Blythswood Square having been selected as the starting place, small contingents from local unemployed committees, along with the membership of the Glasgow Central Branch, C.P.G.B., arrived about 12.45 p.m.

Three bands were in attendance and at 1 o'clock the procession lined up numbering about 2,500 persons.

The Clyde Workers' Brass Band, playing the "International" led the way with the Communist Party (Central Branch) at the head of the processionists, and altogether with two other drum and fife bands playing lively tunes while journeying through Sauchiehall Street, Renfield Street, Argyle Street, and the Salt Market, into Glasgow Green, the scene was impressive.

At Nelson's Monument (Glasgow Green), three lorries as platforms were in attendance and were "graced" with such personages as D. Kirkwood, M.P., T. Henderson, M.P., and Capt. J. Hay, M.P., and the Communal Magistrate, P. J. Dollan. The Communist Party were represented by J. Strain and R. Robertson and the unemployed by J. Mulligan, H. McShane and J. Campbell.

The meetings were not long in process when it was evident that the rain, which had been coming down somewhat lightly previously, was going to resemble a deluge.

However, the crowd kept together very well until the resolution was put to them, and just as Kirkwood was assuring them "that he would defy any authority to evict unemployed tenants from their hovels," the expected happened, and down came the rain.

The determination of the unemployed was worthy the highest commendation.

Unemployed Speaker rouses enthusiasm in Liverpool

A mass demonstration of 5,000 workers at the Stadium (one of the largest halls in the city), was held under the auspices of the Trades Council and Labour Party.

The determination of the unemployed was to send a speaker along, but the Communist Party—in regard to the speakers—was turned down, though assistance was rendered by way of stewards.

The chairman was Alderman Robinson (general secretary of the N.U.D.A.W.), who, in his opening remarks, read the main resolution and proposed it. Alderman Richardson seconded the resolution. Both the speeches of the proposer and seconder were received with a stony silence.

The resolution was then supported by J. F. Hedley (Unemployed Organisation), Arthur Greenwood, M.P., and R. J. Davies, M.P. Hedley aroused the meeting to considerable enthusiasm, particularly in his condemnation of the capitalist system, and his statement that the unemployed problem could not be solved under the present system, received a loud and prolonged applause.

The temper of the meeting toned down considerably with the rising of Arthur Greenwood, M.P., who made a very moderate speech upon the whole situation. The last speaker was R. J. Davies, M.P., whose remarks were interrupted very frequently. At the conclusion of this speech, the chairman appealed to the audience to stand by the Labour Party—a remark which was greeted with considerable dissent, and then put the resolution to the meeting, which was carried unanimously.

Whilst the demonstration was effective from the point of view of numbers, it was quite obvious that the platform failed—with the exception of the unemployed speaker.

The Communist Party must work so that it might effectively take the leadership at an early date.

The Incentive

CAPITALIST apologists are fond of suggesting to working-class Tom and Bill that, in a socialist society the motive to work would disappear and that we should all become indolent and forceless. They assert that there would be a tendency to live upon accumulations without replenishing them, with the result that universal want would ensue, and society would go down in chaos.

If it were true that under the socialist system there would be no longer any incentive to work, socialism, undoubtedly, would be an impossible form of society; since the means of life and delight are produced solely by the action of human energy and intelligence upon the substance of the planet. Not even a wild berry can become human food until human energy plucks it.

But it is not true that under socialism there would be no incentive to work. The allegation is mere fancy.

The incentive which impels any man to work in any society whatever is the will-to-live, or, stated negatively, the revulsion from death. There is no ground for the assumption that the will-to-live, will be weaker in a socialist society than in a capitalist one. Indeed, there is every reason to believe, from the nature of the case, that the will-to-live will be stronger.

The will-to-live is the incentive which drives men in capitalist society to sell their energies for the bare necessities of meagre life. We hold that in socialist society the will-to-live will be satisfied more fully, and hence there will be more zest in expending creative energy.

But let us pause just here to note that in capitalist society the incentive to work is evaded by the owning class, because this class lives parasitically on the labour of others.

We thus turn the argument of the capitalist apologist back upon him in pointing to the fact that the system he defends provides no incentive to a whole class to work.

We say that the motives to work which will exist in socialist society will be stronger than those which exist in capitalist society. And (workers should ponder this long and seriously) no man who can work will be able to evade the incentive which will then operate in the last resort. Of that, hereafter.

The first incentive which will urge the ordinary man to work in socialist society is this, that he will feel a stronger urge to expend his forces on nature when the return to him will be full and generous, and when, as now, the product is skimmed of all the cream before he tastes thereof.

Let a wage slave in these days work ever so strenuously, he gathers in merely the keep of a slave. The body of producers never enjoy the whole fruit of their toil.

In socialist society, the more creative energy be expended, the richer will become the general life of those who expend the energy.

To-day, "Produce more" means only fatter parasites.

Not merely does capitalist society not provide a whole class with any incentive to work, and, in the case of the other class, with only a meagre reward for working, but, under the capitalist system, men are frequently actually prevented from working when they would. No matter how urgent wants may be, the things necessary to satisfy these wants are not produced unless a parasite can make a profit.

In capitalist society, moreover, the sheer joy of creative activity is strangled. "All pleasure," Sir William Hamilton told his philosophy students at Edinburgh, "is the concomitant of activity; its degree being in proportion as that activity is spontaneously intense, its prolongation in proportion as that activity is spontaneously continued; whereas, pain arises either from a faculty being restrained in its spontaneous tendency to action, or from being urged to a degree, or to a continuance, of energy beyond the limit to which it of itself freely tends."

In our inchoate society, parasites hold slaves to joyless grind. Human energy has comparatively free expression only in a few privileged artists. In Socialist society we shall realise the incentive to work of which Hamilton speaks. To create is life's

By G. T. Foster

ecstasy. An almond tree in blossom, a bank of bluebells, are beautiful to us solely because they are symbolical of the joy of creative energy. They call from afar to our subconscious yearnings buried deep beneath our joyless days and drudgery.

Further, the capitalists' wizards reckon without man's sociability, although they frequently use the gregarious instinct for their own ends. The ordinary man is more emotional than intelligent. By playing upon the gregarious instincts the capitalists' wizards stampeded the working-class recently into slaughtering one another. By a similar psychological method, it would be possible, if necessary, to stampede men into exercising their energies for their own behoof.

The social will-to-live will be more intensely conscious in a socialist society than now. Every man will feel a keener zest in life. Would-be parasites will have to settle accounts with that will.

OUR PAPER

A DONCASTER comrade, selling the paper on a Sunday morning, boldly imitated the news-vendor who called out "news." He thought he would try this stunt. "He went to the other corner-end, put down his bag of papers, pulled them out, braced himself up, and shouted 'Commune! Commune!' He might be six stone weight, but, to make up, has a voice like a roaring tempest, and the folks going for their papers wondered what was wrong. Some went his way, were asked to buy a "Communist," and one typical Yorkshire housewife replied: 'We don't want Communism.' 'No,' said our comrade, 'not now, but you'll have to have it, it's the workers' only hope.' Result: After a few minutes' wrangling, four copies were sold where previously a blank refusal has been received."

That's the stuff! Let's have some more of it.

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Impressions of the General Election

By MORGAN PHILIPS PRICE

OVER a hundred years ago Rousseau said about the classic land of Parliamentary democracy, that its citizens were free once every seven years during a few minutes, when they were recording their votes for the nominees of one or other of the two political caucuses.

I do not know whether it was for this reason or for any other, but it was certainly true for a long time that in England a general election came rather to be associated with something akin to a horse race or to some other national sport, which has always been a popular institution in England.

This remark does not, of course, apply to Scotland, where, it seems, the austere influence of the Presbyterian Church has caused the inhabitants to treat election days as if they were second editions of Sunday. But throughout all the south of the British Isles a general election was concerned more with personalities than with politics, more with the private life and individual character of the parliamentary candidates than with the political programmes of the parties to which they belonged.

And yet no one could help observing that in the general election, which has just taken place, a new element was introduced into the contest.

The "Great" Parties

Up till now the Parliamentary stage has been monopolised by the two great historic parties of England, the Liberals and the Conservatives, or, as they were known a hundred years ago, the Whigs and the Tories. Originally they represented very distinct political principles, because they were the popular mouthpieces of two great economic interests, which at that time dominated the life of England. They were those of the agrarian aristocracy and those of the mercantile capitalists and traders. But, as time went on, the economic interests of these two classes began to merge on many important questions and this was especially the case, wherever these two parties and the interests, which they represent, were faced with the new element in political life in England to-day, namely, organised Labour.

I well remember elections in England in the days before the war. In the city, for which I was Labour candidate in this recent election (Gloucester), it was usual for the Liberal candidate to get in for one election by the lavish expenditure of money and by the promises of orders for the factories, so that the workers would be kept in employment. After he had been in for a term of years and had secured for himself the title of "Sir" or had, perhaps, bought for himself a seat in the House of Lords, it would be generally regarded that it was time for the Conservatives to have a go, and so the candidate of this party would get in and remain in, till he had gotten a judgeship or some other public emolument.

The City of Gloucester

On this occasion, however, the city of Gloucester presented a very different spectacle. The city is divided into two parts. One is industrial and contains a large population of workers, living by work in the docks, on the river and canal transport services, in a big railway and carriage works, in timber yards and on the railway lines. The other part is a residential one round the cathedral, where live the big bourgeoisie, who have connections with the landowning aristocracy of the county, the petty bourgeoisie and small shopkeepers and their personal attendants, immediately dependent upon them for a livelihood.

The big bourgeoisie had enormous influence upon the casual and unskilled labourers of this quarter of the city through their control over the administrative apparatus of the local government. They were able to give work on the municipal undertakings to those who promised to vote for the Liberal or Conservative. As Labour has no nominees on the municipal

The most dramatic incident of the recent general election was the sudden return to this country of M. Philips Price—world-famous as the special correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian."

The full story of his unofficial but none the less effective exile from Britain—he always contended that his life and liberty were in danger so long as Lloyd George held office—we are not at present in a position to tell.

Only the universal pre-occupation with electoral concerns prevented his intervention as Labour Candidate for Gloucester being made the occasion for a first-class "scare" by the reactionary press.

His impressions of the General Election are all the more valuable because his campaign—ending in defeat by the narrow margin of 51 in a 20,000 poll—occupied from first to last no more than a fortnight.

Back in Berlin he records his impressions as here given.

executive, the unskilled labourer is afraid that if the Labour candidate gets in, he will lose his work.

Sweet "Charity"

But in addition to this the ecclesiastical authorities in an old town, like Gloucester, have great influence on the course of a political campaign and this influence was put unconditionally at the disposal of the big bourgeoisie. These ecclesiastical authorities are the controllers of large charitable funds, which were left by religiously minded persons many hundreds of years ago; these are now used to dole out blankets at Christmas and coals during the winter to all those who will agree to support and work for the Liberal or Conservative candidates at the general election.

In fact, the whole of the economic apparatus of the local authority, of the Church and of the big bourgeoisie was put in the scale against any party which would dare to challenge the existing order of society and to preach the principles of Socialism. And this was the situation, which I found when I arrived in Gloucester two weeks before the last general election.

It provided comment on the real nature of British parliamentary democracy, which is, in fact, nothing else than the instrument for enabling the big bourgeoisie to remain in possession of their economic power.

Beaten by 51!

It is characteristic of the change which has come over England since the war that the nomination for the first time of a Labour candidate in a provincial centre like Gloucester, to challenge the century-old supremacy of the two classical parties, should have led to an election campaign, unprecedented in the history of the city and to the failure of the Labour candidate to get elected by the narrow margin of 51 votes on a total poll of over 21,000!

What happened in Gloucester is, I think, fairly characteristic of what happened on an average throughout the rest of England. Organised and skilled labour rallied to the candidate who uncompromisingly stood for Socialist principles, who demanded nationalisation of the key industries of the country, who demanded immediate recognition of Soviet Russia, who defended the principles of the Russian Revolution and who demanded that a clean sweep be made with the Versailles Treaty and the policy of indemnities.

The Influence of Unemployment

Nor is it difficult to see why this is so. One in six of the organised workers were unemployed and were living on doles amounting to twenty shillings a week, on which they had to keep their wives and families. Many of them had been from eighteen months to two years unemployed and were beginning to get demoralised and to lose their skill, which they had

acquired after years of training. The ex-soldiers also were to a large extent tramping the streets looking for work, and among them there was a feeling of disillusionment and a feeling that the promises which had been made to them, were never intended for fulfilment.

A general feeling of unhappiness and depression pervaded them and it was one of the most interesting symptoms of the state of England to-day to see those, who four years ago would have howled down any candidate who had even suggested that the military intervention against the Russian Soviet Republic was a crime, or that the Versailles Treaty was not the last word of wisdom, now whole-heartedly declaring their support of the Labour candidate.

For instance—on the polling day in Gloucester a number of ex-Service men came out and walked the streets with their war medals on their breasts and with placards, on which were written: "Vote for the Labour Candidate, who will see to it that you are never used again as capitalist cannon-fodder."

Soviet Russia

All references to Soviet Russia at meetings in the working class quarters of the city met with much sympathetic applause especially when it was pointed out that the policy of the British government in sabotaging the granting of trading credits to Russia at the instance of Tsarist bondholders, was partly responsible for the unemployment from which they were suffering. They even began to feel instinctively the break down of the capitalist system and to understand something of the need for production for use and not for profit, which lies at the bottom of Socialism.

And this too in a city, where Socialistic theory has never been heard of until a few years ago and then only from the mouths of itinerant preachers.

Growth of Working-Class Consciousness

For the English working man is entirely ignorant of economic theories and can only be made to speculate if he is given a practical problem connected with everyday life. The subtle propaganda of the British bourgeois press, which has been brought to such a pitch of perfection by the oldest and most cunning capitalist class in the world, and which aims at diverting the attention of the working class from essential issues to superficialities, is largely responsible for this.

The extraordinary rally of organised Labour to the Labour candidates that took place throughout all England was the best proof that many of these traditions of British labour are becoming things of the past. In Gloucester, in fact, on election day, the whole of the slum areas in the neighbourhood of the cathedral were decked out in red flags and banners and processions of women and children paraded the streets singing Socialist songs. Such a thing was absolutely unknown in the days before the war.

On the other hand, the big bourgeoisie and the landowning aristocracy of the countryside with their retainers presented a solid phalanx, supporting the Conservative Party.

This of course was natural and nothing else could be expected.

The Petty Bourgeoisie

The decisive factor in the election was the petit bourgeoisie and its immediate dependents among the unskilled and unorganised workers. These people have suffered no less than organised labour from unemployment, wage cuts, and from the general disillusionment of the years following upon the war. But this has not up till now had the effect of drawing them over to Labour. They have had for many years the poison of chauvinist propaganda pumped into them by the Northcliffe press. They have been taught to look upon the troubles of England as being due to a deep-seated conspiracy, concocted by the Russian Bolsheviks in alliance with the

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MARCH SEPARATELY—STRIKE JOINTLY

An Open Letter to the Executive Committee of the National Labour Party

By THOMAS BELL, Political Secretary, Communist Party

THE success of the Labour Party at the Polls last November marks a further step in the direction of ultimate workers' control of Government. Not the least important feature of that further step is the advent of a definite Communist Party representative to the House.

The working class has certainly added to its political strength. For the Communist Party, however, the vital matter is to consider how this revival of strength of the British Labour movement can be consolidated and developed, with a view to still more striking victories in the future.

Regardless of the slanderous stories of Communists "splitting the movement," the Communist Party attributes the present turn of the tide in no small measure to the active work of its Party members inside and outside the trade unions, in throwing themselves heart and soul into the "back to the union" movement. In this campaign our members have worked without consideration for Party labels: but our task is far from being completed.

This is obvious from a study of the results. Whatever the misuse made of the facts by the capitalist press, it remains unquestionable that over fifty of the workers' candidates were elected on a minority vote. It also is unquestionable that, throughout the country as a whole, the forces of capitalism, their financial and technical resources, were split up between three principal bourgeois parties.

Will this occur again?

We do not think so. The lesson of the Municipal Election in November, when the capitalist bloc succeeded in ousting our workers' majorities in so many places, is too obvious.

The sweeping Labour victories at the General Election and the experience in the House of Commons has been a rude shock for the advocates of capitalist tranquillity. Many of the capitalist papers have not failed to draw the moral, in no uncertain terms.

The working class representatives will be faced in the future with a more compact and determined opposition from the capitalist parties than ever before.

Against this coming unification of the forces of capitalism on the political field, there must be a unification of the workers' forces.

The Communist Party took this into account before the elections, and proved both in words and in deeds that we were ready to assist the Labour Party in the Parliamentary field by every means in our power.

OUR PAPER

WE are getting in reports on house-to-house sale of the paper. In spite of the difficulties, there are some cheering successes. The following are only two examples:—

Three comrades sold ten copies of the paper in the streets where none have been sold before.

These comrades are very cheering, all of them are fresh to the work and not in the least wanting to do it; the Party needed it, so they seized their sinking courage and went off. It was a wet night too.

Another comrade went off on his own, and struck a street where only one or two would even accept a free copy. He asks us "how to maintain his position on the doorstep."

Well, comrade, how do YOU manage it? These comrades show courage which warms the cockles of our hearts.

BUT, we are hearing that there are comrades who are too high and mighty to do this job. They refuse to carry out this definite instruction.

Are YOU one of them? Think it over, and get to work this week. The life of the Party depends on selling the paper.

Nowhere did we put forward candidates in opposition to those of the Labour Party. On the other hand, at Gorton, Dundee, Bridgeton, South Shields, and scores of other vital points in the working class front the successful workers' candidates can give a testimonial, if necessary, to the sincerity and whole-heartedness of our work.

Immediately the elections were over, this policy, we declared, would be continued. We declared that our Party members in Parliament—Comrades Newbold and Saklatvala—would take a united stand with the rest of the workers' members on every question at which the interests of the working class came into conflict with those of the capitalist class. They have done so. In further pursuance of our policy of a United Front against the capitalist enemy, our Comrade Newbold applied for the Labour Whip.

That application has been rejected on the basis of the decisions of the Edinburgh Conference. So much the worse for the wisdom of the delegates to the Edinburgh Conference.

Nevertheless our Party members will continue to go into the Lobby with the Labour Party members every time and all the time the Labour Party are fighting the battles of the working class against the defenders of capitalist power and privilege.

But the immediate situation requires more than united action: it requires determined and consistent action towards certain concrete ends, which answer to the elementary needs of the oppressed workers. The forces of reaction have received a check; but this has only redoubled their ferocity, and we may expect the attack at any moment. The most obvious directions are, at the present time: in foreign policy, by further wars; in home policy, by savage repression of the justifiable demands of the unemployed; on the industrial field, by a direct attack on the hours of labour and the already low standard of living.

Here again the Communist Party is not breaking entirely new ground. During the six months preceding the elections, we, on more than one occasion, particularly on May Day and during the Hague Confer-

ence, offered to join whole-heartedly with all other Labour organisations in a united working class struggle; but the situation to-day is more pressing than ever. The only source of strength at the disposal of the working class, with which to counter-balance the mechanical Parliamentary majority of the capitalists—secured by means of fraud and deception practised on the workers through the machinery of the press, is their own pressure outside Parliament.

This was amply shown in the memorable days of August, 1920, when the Council of Action was formed.

The silly accusations which are often levelled against the Communist Party, viz., that our advocacy of a united working class front is not loyal or sincere, but a political manoeuvre, are too ridiculous for words. Our action during the General Election is the best reply to this absurd suggestion.

The Communist Party, now still more than ever, is convinced that the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the working class taking the monopoly of power into its own hands, through its own workers' councils. It is more than ever convinced that the workers will soon realise this, and will not be daunted by the violence with which the capitalists will meet the growing disillusionment of the exploited masses.

We believe, however, that working class parties must justify their name, in anticipation of the day of the final struggle, by resolute action in any cause which represents a step forward towards class solidarity, first in defence and then in attack.

The Communist Party differs from other working class parties in its estimation of how the victory may be ultimately secured; but in the defence against capitalism and the attack upon the latter's forces, it wishes to go forward shoulder to shoulder with all other organisations pledged to the interests of the working class.

The watchword of the United Front is: **MARCH SEPARATELY—STRIKE JOINTLY.**



Five more Children in the No. 3 Home of the Workers' International Russian Relief at Tzaritsyn. The names of these little Famine Orphans (reading from left to right) are Marie Belakonova, Katerina Kondracheva, Michael Tokareff, Stephen Malakoff, and Alexander Schamschin. 24s. for establishment charges, and 10s. per month for upkeep, are needed for the first four.

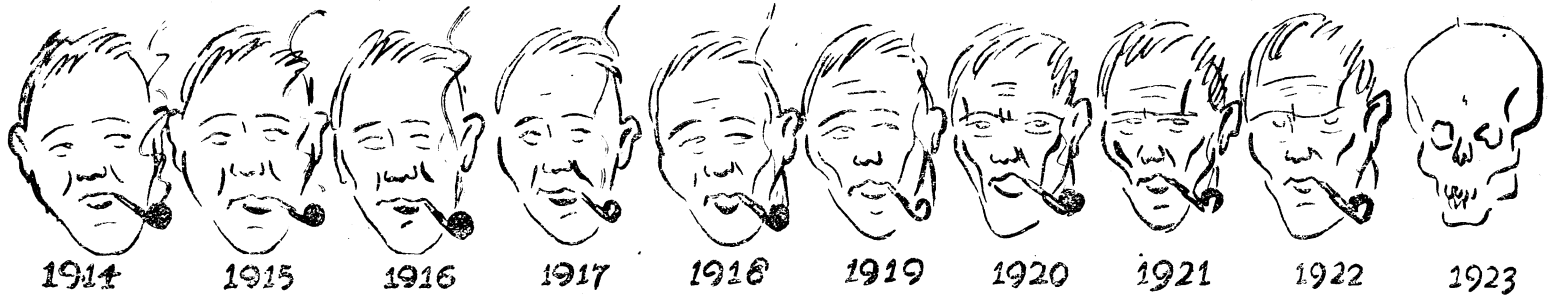
HARRY P. GREENER, Newcastle-on-Tyne, has the distinction of being the first British Foster Parent to a Russian orphan. In response to the appeal for the "adoption" of Russian famine orphans by workers and sympathisers with Soviet Russia in Britain, launched recently by the British Joint Labour Aid Committee of the Workers' International Russian Relief, he

has adopted one boy for a period of one year, and sent cheque for this purpose. Little Alexander Schamschin, aged six, in the No. 3 (Lenin Home) of the Workers' International Russian Relief at Tzaritsyn, Lower Volga, who stands at the extreme right of the above photo, is the happy foster child. Congratulations to Comrade Greener.



Five more Children in the No. 3 Home of the Workers' International Russian Relief at Tsartitsin. The names of these little Famine Orphans (reading from left to right) are Marie Belakonova, Katerina Kondracheva, Michael Tokareff, Stephen Malakoff, and Alexander Schamschin. 24s. for establishment charges, and 10s. per month for upkeep, are needed for the first four.

THE HERO'S PROGRESS



EUROPE IN CHAOS

Only Workers' Action will Save the World Will the Labour Party Dare?

As we go to press we learn that French troops are within six miles of Essen (where an international Communist Conference has been devising common action necessitated by the seizure of the Ruhr district).

The German Cabinet considers this a breach of the Versailles Treaty.

Anything may happen. Labour must act.

To dare all is to save all.

WHATEVER doubts may have existed as to Capitalism's ability to stabilise itself, the first week of 1923 has been sufficient to dispel.

Even while the commercial correspondents were penning their predictions of a steady improvement in trade—"unless the condition of Europe serves as a check"—the whole question is thrown again into chaos, and presumably the trade revival is once more adjourned *sine die*.

Economic Folly

We are often urged to abandon our "narrow" class outlook, to value things and developments from a broad and universal point of view. But, even if this be done (so far as is humanly possible) it betters the situation not one whit. We have in that case to suppose—as an alternative to regarding the world as in the grip of a plunder-mad plutocracy—that Britain and Western Europe are ruled by a collection of the completest economic incompetents that ever cursed the earth by their blundering.

All last year and the year before our rulers concentrated upon the (to them) paramount problem of restoring British financial credit. The first and most obvious result was to intensify into a portent the dimensions of the army of the unemployed. The second was to give the signal for that offensive against wages which has brought the bulk of the workers well below the pre-war level of subsistence. The third was—a consequence of these—to so shatter the home market that an overseas market became not merely imperative but vital, and Fourthly and finally the search for an overseas market has precipitated a rupture with France over both the Near East and German Reparations.

Nationalist Turkey drove in the blow that split the foundations upon which was reared the pre-eminence of David Lloyd George, but Nationalist Turkey did but complete what Moscow and Versailles had prepared and each in its degrees was made inevitable by capitalist development.

It is not that a specially pernicious gang of financiers have gained control in Britain or that a specially stupid and bellicose set of politicians have gained power in France. We are witnessing not the exploring of a blind-alley into which Europe has been side-tracked but the conflict, crisis, contradiction and antagonism inseparable from the transition of capitalism into its culminating Imperialist phase.

FRANCE AND BRITAIN.

All the Ententes in the world cannot obscure the antagonism of interest between French and British Capitalism.

No talk of "racial temperament" or of "national tradition" can obliterate the plain fact that whereas British Capitalism needs the restoration of Germany's economic life in order to provide the overseas market which is Britain's vital need, France on the other hand needs nothing of the sort. Given a cash indemnity large enough to balance her lop-sided State Budget—(rendered lop-sided among other things by war debts to Britain and the U.S.A.)—and France needs beyond that only that German economic life be smashed so utterly that French capital can find room to expand in reconstituting the economy of Europe under French hegemony.

In fact, viewed closely, it is probable that nobody would be more displeased than the great French industrial capitalists (whose creature Poincare is) were Germany to recover and pay all that is demanded.

Much, very much more tempting is it to contemplate seizing the Ruhr and rendering all Germany subject to them for metallurgical resources than tamely to pay cent. per cent. to their creditors, Britain and the U.S.A., out of the proceeds of a restoration of Germany.

Behind the sabre-rattling politicians of France are no vain-glorious school-boy minded fools intoxicated with emotions drawn straight from the history-book. France is economically more self-contained than any country in Europe. The collapse of Central Europe, the loss of the Russian market—these matter to it hardly at all. The everyday economic life of France has suffered since the armistice, less, probably, from the world chaos than any country in the world.

France is not concerned therefore with these things. Its *rentiers* want the interest on their bonds and taxation reduced as near to vanishing point as can be managed. Its heavy industrials fostered by the war dream of world-conquest and hate rivals in Britain equally with those in Germany. If to gain a chance to crush these latter they must quarrel with the former, they will start the row with a light heart and a lively sense of plunder to come.

The British Unemployed

As for Britain, the home situation brooks no delay.

Pretend as much as they will, the rulers of Britain cannot conceal their fears at the turn taken by the unemployed agitation.

The new tone of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, the taking up of the unemployed agitation by the General Council, the mass demonstrations to demand an earlier re-assembling of Parliament—none of these can be quite ignored and all together make matter for careful consideration.

And behind all of them is the unemployed mass itself, who any day may get out of hand.

It is cold comfort to say (as does one Tory scribe) that the unemployed agitation is now in the safe hands of the trade union leaders and not of the Communists. The point is that the Communists have won a victory in carrying on the agitation until the General Council and the Labour Party were forced to join it. The Communist Party may be formally excluded from the Joint Committee, but the Communists, and none but they, made it inevitable that there should be a Joint Committee at all. Hence it follows that the unemployed are not less but more of a portent than they were.

And at this point the Entente snaps.

True, there is no actual rupture, and France may not do anything for a day or two. True also and chiefly the U.S.A., will probably call a fresh conclave, at which some new scheme will be devised which will break, as all others have done, on the rock of mutual antagonism.

But nothing the U.S.A. can do will disguise from the world either the hopeless futility of the Versailles Treaty or the patent and inescapable antagonism between British and French capital. Rather will the Finance of the U.S.A. seize this as its golden opportunity to complete the economic subjugation of Europe.

Does it mean War?

Whether it means war—beginning with a French raid into Germany or stirred up in the Near East by the collapse of Lausanne, none can predict.

This only is certain. World Capitalism is in such a state that a war would come as a relief to more than one powerful section.

Just, however, as fear of the unemployed is driving the British Tories to lengths they never intended, so fear of the working mass may prove the salvation of Europe from the war-cauldron, all but boiling over.

The British workers in particular can play a notable part.

First and foremost they must demand and enforce the demand for the complete scrapping of the Versailles Treaty.

If ever there were words of hideous mocking, calculated to make the British worker groan with bitterness and blush for shame, they are the words "Make Germany Pay."

Germany can only pay in money or in goods. If the former, the money must either be the world equivalent for values disposed of in the world market or the product of the printing press. The latter method has reduced the mark to such a nonentity that Germany has ceased to exist as a market for imports. The former method would give Germany a monopoly of the markets of the world, since the necessity behind its sales would make it under-cut all competitors.

Already miners are starving because Germany has paid in coal.

Shipbuilding workers have suffered as never before because Germany has paid in ships.

(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued from Page 5)

Everywhere workers are idle or lowered in their level of life because "Germany" has "paid."

There is no hope of an economic restoration of Europe unless the Treaty be scrapped, and the workers must see to it that scrapped it is.

NO IMPERIALIST WAR.

Whatever the financiers may decree, there must be no war for imperialism.

If the German workers, driven desperate by their sufferings, rise and sweep away the whole ugly brood—Stinnes and Co.—who are able to manipulate the horrors of Germany to their private advantage—a brood who are favourable to the payment of Reparations because in effect they draw a commission on its collection—if the German Workers set up a Workers' Republic, this will certainly in France and Britain be represented as a trick to evade payment.

It will be the task of the British Worker to see that the German Worker gets fair play and that the opportunity of destroying one at any rate of the evil legacies of the war is not lost.

Even without a German revolution the Die Hard Party will strain every nerve to secure a military occupation of Germany. This will be certain to precipitate war and the workers must let their rulers know that they will tolerate no more imperialist plunder raids.

THE WORLD'S WORKERS WANT PEACE.

Everywhere the workers are of one mind upon this, that no more war is to be tolerated—except it be a war forced upon the workers themselves in the struggle for life and happiness.

The workers are no pacifists. They do not believe in peace at any price. They admire a brave fight for a worthy end. And, because that is so, they will refuse to be squandered in any more wars to settle the internal quarrels of the imperialist plunderer who possess and use the earth just as they will.

But, just because the workers are sick of slaughter and are no longer content to play their masters' game, the danger of war is so great as to be of immediate importance.

While capitalism lasts there will be wars and strife. The nearer it grows to its crown and culmination the more drastic and devilish will those wars be. He who would end war, therefore, must end capitalism.

And to that end the Labour Party should bend all its powers.

Prepare for the Big Smash

We say Labour Party because upon them with their standing and resources, the responsibility naturally falls. The Communist Party will, as usual, do its share, and more than its share of the work; but it is the Labour Party which must show the lead and employ its whole resources, natural and moral, to prepare the workers to meet the great crash that all can see ahead.

It is no mere pacifism that will save us—no passive resistance. Under cover of patriotic fervour a force of Black-and-Tans can be organised and equipped, hundreds of thousands strong. All the resources of "civilisation" will be employed to secure a split between those of the Labour Party who rendered aid to the Government in the "Great" War and those who fought it. Recruiting will provide an escape for the unemployed and, whatever the aftermath may be, Capitalism will shake off one of its terrors by plunging into the thunders and excitements of war.

Demand Bonar Law's Abdication

Let the Labour Party have the courage of their convictions. Let them meet the dilemma into which Bonar Law has slipped by a bold challenge. Let them let it be known that they dare do what the Tories dare not—scrap the Treaties and create a prospect for European Economy. Let them demand the abdication of Bonar Law and the Tory Government, and at the same time let them rally the whole working mass for a united war against the war-mongers who made war inevitable.

Let them do this and the Labour Party will earn the thanks of the world's workers. Let them fail in this and they will share the guilt for the crash ahead.

"GODLESS REBELS"

NOTHING, it would seem, annoys the defenders of the capitalist system so much as that the rising generation of the proletariat should escape from the influences and agencies provided for the purpose of "breaking them in" to the sort of life that capitalism restricts them to.

Periodically the newspaper press is "shocked" and "horrified" to learn of the existence of Socialist and Communist Sunday Schools, in which "Atheism" and "Sedition" is "openly taught" to the children.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE has decided to set apart the 15th January, 1923 as a day of special celebrations, in remembrance of the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

One of the latest to take up the cry is Dean Inge. Naturally (being interested in a rival concern) the Dean has no love for competition in his particular line of business. And equally naturally he (for all his scholarship and refinement) could not fail to trot out the old bogey of "Atheism."

Following the publication of an article by the Dean, the *Evening Standard* gave a report of an interview with our comrade James Stewart, of the Y.C.L.

From this interview we extract the following:—

Mr. James Stewart (not the M.P. of that name) who is chief organiser of the movement, comes from Glasgow, the hot-bed of Leninism in these islands. I found him at the offices of his party in Lamb's Conduit Street, Bloomsbury. With him were the secretary, Mr. C. Redfern, a man about 24, and two other youths.

They would, they said, at any time, debate with Dean Inge in public.

As to Bolshevik Sunday Schools. There are, besides those in the provinces, four of these schools in the London area—at Southwark, Tooting, Erith and Walthamstow. There are about 22,000 members altogether, apart from 10,000 to 15,000 in what is called the "youths' section." The schools meet in public halls or rooms in private houses.

I placed before Mr. Stewart and his colleague the quotations given by Dean Inge yesterday from "pamphlets prepared for teachers and pupils." They explained that these are the work of Mr. Tom Anderson. They repudiated parts of the pamphlets, but fully accepted others. I give their comments on the paragraphs quoted:—

From a pamphlet: "Christ on the Cross dying for sinners is so ridiculous that one despairs at the hold this superstition has on the minds of the working class."

Answer: "We leave religion entirely alone. Since we took over the schools we pay more attention to conduct and economics than to morals. All the evils from which a man suffers spring from the basis of society. A man's habits of life are determined by it. Once a child understands this it is free from all superstitions, Christian or other."

From a pamphlet: "To teach the children the ideal of the revolution should be the primary end of a Socialist Sunday School; all other teaching is of no avail."

Answer: "We endorse this. We teach the revolution that aims at the destruction of private property in the means of wealth-production and the substitution of common ownership. By this we mean the taking away of the property owned by the few for use in the interests of the whole community. We endorse the principles of the Russian Revolution. If this revolution can be brought about in this country by evolution and peacefully we shall welcome it, but we are determined to attain it, even if violent means are necessary."

From pamphlet: "Thou shalt not be a patriot, for a patriot is an international blackleg. Your duty to yourself and your class demands that you be a citizen of the world. Thou shalt not take part in any bourgeois war, for all modern wars are the result of the clash of economic interests."

Answer: "The first sentence is one of the principles of our schools, if patriotism be

taken to mean the same as nationalism. We recognise no boundaries; all countries are one to us.

We do not teach the children to speak of 'our country,' because no country is theirs, or ours.

We believe in no war but a class war, the war for Communism."

Pushing further the allegation of the Dean that the children are taught not to fight for their country when it is attacked, I was given for reply only words of Trotsky: "In the wars of capital we are pacifists: in the war of the working-class we fight to the death."

ZINOVIEFF'S WARNING

Isvestia reports a speech delivered by Zinovieff to the Third Congress of the Young Communist Internationale, in which he uttered a vehement warning against the Fascist danger.

There was no doubt, he said, that a period of international Fascism was beginning; Signor Mussolini's success had excited the appetites of the bourgeoisie in all other countries, and violent attacks on the proletariat must be expected, which it must prepare to resist.

The Fascists, said Zinovieff, had already murdered Herr Rathenau and M. Narutowicz; at any time attempts might be made on members of the Third Internationale, even the Young Communist Internationale.

They must be ready to deliver the counter-offensive; the Fascist robber bands must be fought, if needs be, revolver in hand.

The first duty of the proletarian youth must for the present be the suppression of Fascism; its second duty was the fight against militarism.

RECRUITS FOR WHITE ARMY

(From our Constantinople correspondent)

I have ascertained from a reliable source that before the remaining Russian refugees here leave for Bulgaria, agents of Wrangel's army in Belgrade are touring the various camps seeking recruits at well paid rates.

British workers must remain vigilant. Although the Red Army can shatter any White Guard adventure, we must not allow the Workers' Republic even to be hampered by pin-pricks. "Hands off Russia" must remain our slogan.

Impressions of the Election

(Continued from Page 3)

German Kaiser! Such is the depth of political degradation, to which some of the petit-bourgeoisie has sunk, that the writer in one of his meetings at Gloucester was actually asked whether it was true that he had acted during the war as the liaison officer between Lenin and the Kaiser!!!

Neutralising the Northcliffe Press

To reach these people and to clear their minds of the Northcliffe poison requires time, and the few weeks of the election were too short to achieve this. The petit-bourgeoisie and its dependents, like shop assistants and small craftsmen, are not organised in any union and so can only be got at by house to house visiting. This is what the Conservatives and Liberals have done for years past, ever since this class was given votes in the middle of last century, and they accompany their visits with the usual doles from the charitable organisations of the Church or with promises of work from the municipality.

The Labour Party and Communists can only fight these insidious influences by steady propaganda and, when this is done between now and the next election, there is no doubt that it will be possible to neutralise the petit-bourgeoisie and to secure the active support of the unorganised workers that are dependent for their livelihood upon this class.

As it is at present, they are the cause of the great Conservative victory in England to-day, but the enormous rise of the votes given to Labour and the doubling of the Labour members of Parliament in the new House of Commons is the best proof that the foundations of the new British government are built on sand.

WHAT TO DO

Some practical proposals for the Relief of Unemployment

A letter to the Glasgow Herald by J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M.P.

SIR,—May I be permitted to intervene in the discussion of ways and means to be adopted for dealing in a practical manner with the problem of unemployment and to pass certain observations upon the point at issue between Mr. Bonar Law and the members of the Labour Party. The former, speaking as the honourable member for Central Glasgow and not as Prime Minister—a differentiation of political functions of which, I am afraid, the Labour Movement in Glasgow has taken too little account—has criticised the Labour members on the ground of having failed to make “a single practical proposal.” That is, certainly, not exactly true, and can best be explained away as a statement coloured by a quite natural partisan bias.

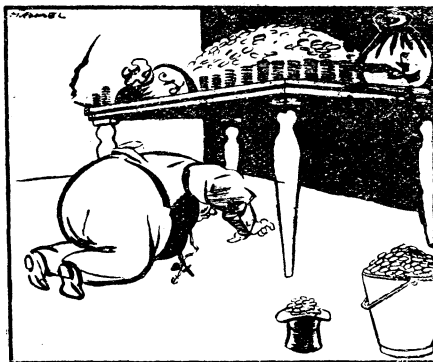
The Labour members in the last session have very effectively voiced the grievances of the unemployed and have portrayed in the most realistic manner the discomforts of the working class. More than that, they have, as Robert Murray contends, put forward many schemes which, were they adopted, would find employment for hundreds of thousands of men and women. Where they have failed has been in their critical analysis of the unemployment relief policy of the State, whether under the last Ministry or the present. Their leader, writing recently in a Glasgow weekly, complained that the Government had no policy on unemployment. This accusation was not only untrue but, from his own party view point, an extraordinary display of political ineptitude. The trouble is not that the Government has no policy but that it stands committed to a policy, carefully thought out and most skilfully carried through, which, whilst nominally directed against the organised unemployed, is in reality aimed much more against the organised employed. The Government's insistence on the payment of unemployment benefit, parish relief and wages on relief works at rates very considerably below the minimum wage rates obtained by the unions and till recently prevailing, has set a premium upon the employers' attacks upon the trades unions. The Government's present programme for the encouragement of profitable trade on a scale calculated to absorb not more than 200,000 men, is a still further inducement to trade unionists to break away from their organisations and to fight each other for an inadequate number of jobs and to employers to beat down standard rates of wages to yet lower levels.

The Labour members have signally failed to expose the economics, excellent from a capitalist standpoint, of the Macnamara and Montague Barlow policies. They have failed, seemingly, to appreciate what an able expositor of capitalist politics the present Government is already showing itself. They have failed, in my opinion, because they think and speak as men to men, politicians to politicians, and not as men who understand capitalism to men whose business in Parliament is to defend capitalism.

Again, when the Labour members have put forward practical proposals they have thought of them almost entirely as means to find jobs and means to improve the mechanism of production. They have talked of building motor roads, planting trees, reclaiming waste land, proceeding with railway extensions, etc., etc. They have also spoken in a vague way of housing and of schools. They have not presented them as connected parts, consecutive phases of some far-seeing and far-reaching scheme of social re-organisation.

Now, the Communist Party, whilst it can see many things that could be done to improve and to expedite the technique of industry and transport so as to make it possible to increase the output of commodities and the rate at which they could be carried away to market, considers that it is a matter of infinitely greater urgency to rearrange the distribution of the commodities that capitalist industry can already produce but which “private enterprise,” curiously enough, has stopped producing because it can find no means of getting rid of them. The Communist Party wants, first and

foremost, to put the unemployed to work upon relief projects which will be a permanent contribution to the welfare, the comfort and the happiness of the men and women whose intellectual and physical efforts alone perpetuate, by re-creating, the means of production now employed as capital. Not only does the Communist Party demand work at trade union rates of wages, with maintenance for those not absorbed at rates which will, at once, redound to the advantage of the trade unions and, at the same time, put an economic premium upon the finding of work for those remaining unemployed; but it demands that the work provided shall be of permanent utility,



TUPPENCE SHORT

shall benefit the great masses and not a mere favoured few and shall also go far towards solving the social problem.

To-day, as at the beginning of the reign of the late Queen Victoria, the workers are menaced by a condition of economic degradation—bad nourishment, congested housing, inadequate provision for their health and culture—which, should it continue for a generation or two would prove as deadly to the national life as were during the horrible conditions prevailing before the armed Chartist risings of 1839 scared the governing class into passing factory, public health, and similar acts. Then, because British capitalism was expanding far more rapidly than to-day, the governing class could be generous without sacrificing its comfort and tranquillity. Now, because British capital is expanding more slowly if not actually failing to expand—or—as Mr. Bonar Law would put it—make profits, the governing class cannot be generous, cannot be just without cutting down its own standard of luxurious living.

But the condition of the workers, of their wives and their children is becoming so appalling, physically and morally—I refer to the herding of adults of both sexes in one room and one bed as is not unusual in my constituency—that the Communist Party says we must have, regardless of the cost running into hundreds of millions of pounds and regardless of the sacrifices required of the capitalists to make them possible, as many four and five roomed houses, located in garden villages and provided with the amenities considered necessary to bourgeois comfort, as are needed to accommodate every family of the working class, and have them within five years from now.

We must have new elementary and secondary schools built, within five years, wherein no class need contain more than forty scholars, and with athletic facilities and playing fields on a scale equal to those provided at the great public schools.

We must have for our adolescents and adults between 15 and 25, playing fields, swimming baths, well equipped libraries, gymnasias, technical schools, etc., adequate for the fullest development of the physique and mentality of the sons and daughters of the working class.

We must have hospitals, infirmaries, nursing and lying-in homes, clinics and the rest, situated in the environment and equipped on the same scale as those now within the reach of the rich, and adequate to supply the hygienic needs of every member of the working class.

The Communist Party demands that these schemes be put in hand forthwith and that, until they are an accomplished fact, the

interest on war loan holdings over £1,000 in value, rents of large properties and estates, the high salaries of army, navy and civil servants and the superfluous revenues of the Crown shall be diverted from their present recipients.

I have gone to Parliament to ask for these things within the limits of the Constitution. I am continuing in politics, inside or outside Parliament, till we get them.

Unemployment in Australia

[The following account of the state of employment in Australia—which we are asked to print by the Australian Moulders' Union—gives the final answer to the inspired newspaper talk of emigration as a cure for unemployment.]

THE British Government, acting in conjunction with the Federal and State Governments in Australia, has for some time past been subsidising the shipment of large numbers of unemployed British workers to Australia, regardless of the chronic state of unemployment from which the workers in every state of the Australian Commonwealth are suffering.

According to the latest unemployed returns of the Commonwealth Government Statistician, printed in the quarterly summary of Australian Statistics, Bulletin No. 88—June, 1922, the percentage of Trade union members returned as unemployed is as follows:—

		%
New South Wales	...	11.4
Victoria	...	7.8
Queensland	...	7.7
South Australia	...	6.4
West Australia	...	11.4
Tasmania	...	10.4
Commonwealth	...	9.6

As there is no Government Unemployment insurance to ensure that all the unemployed register, there is little doubt that the actual percentage of unemployed in Australia is much larger than shown in the official figures.

According to conservative official figures there are approximately 70,000 trade unionists out of work, apart from the large numbers of unemployed not yet organised in unions, which will bring the figure up to considerably over 100,000 UNEMPLOYED IN AUSTRALIA.

Under these circumstances, the action of the British and Australian Governments in inducing large numbers of British workmen to break up their homes and undertake the long journey to Australia constitutes a cruel confidence trick upon the workers of Britain, designed to benefit the Australian Employers at the expense of the British and Australian workers.

Thousands of deluded British workers are to-day daily seeking work through Australia, swelling the ranks of the unemployed, and increasing the existing heavy burdens of the organised workers.

In Australia to-day, the workers are sustaining shock after shock from the attacks of the employers on hours and wages. Already the State and Federal Governments and the Arbitration Courts are working overtime turning out legislation and awards for lower wages and longer hours.

The industrial situation throughout the Commonwealth is in a state of chronic unrest, and it is a cold-blooded crime for those who are fully aware of the situation to flood the already overstocked labour market with large numbers of immigrant workers from Britain.

The object of this act on the part of the British Government is clear and unmistakable; it is to sidestep its fulsome war promises of a “land fit for heroes,” and to relieve the appalling industrial crisis directly attributable to the most infamous war ever perpetrated upon mankind, and to the no less infamous and predatory “peace” treaties.

The Labour Council of New South Wales therefore requests all British Labour organisations to whom this circular is addressed to lose no time in placing before their members the true facts concerning the industrial situation in Australia.

E. R. VOIGT.

(For the Labour Council of N.S.W.)

“Private and Confidential” Building Bosses Plan to Defeat Guilds *Secret Instructions on Bonus Scheme*

WE give below a “private and confidential” circular, issued to all members by the Master Builders’ Federation.

The circular is sufficiently detailed to speak for itself. Not only all connected with the building industry, but all having influence through local governing bodies in the allocation of building contracts, should note the admission below of the superior ability of the Guilds to secure “hearty support and co-operation from the workmen they employ,” and that the “tendency to decreased results” was due to the Government method of paying on the basis of “costs plus profits.”

**CIRCULAR ISSUED TO ALL MEMBERS
BY THE MASTER BUILDERS’
FEDERATION.**

**Private and Confidential.
RE BUILDING TRADE EMPLOYERS’
BONUS ON OUTPUT.**

At a meeting of the Executive Council held on the 26th April, the following recommendation of the Administration Committee was considered:—

That it be the policy of this Administration Committee to take action in connection with Bonus on Output at the earliest possible moment, and that the Executive Council and General Meeting should be called at the earliest possible moment to take this matter into consideration.

(Resolution carried unanimously).

That this Executive Council endorse the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and resolves that in view of the fact that the Building Guilds pay extra inducements to the operatives they employ, the Policy of the National Federation shall be to offer counteracting inducements in the form of a Bonus on

output, and the National Federation shall give every support in the putting of the Policy in execution.

The report of the discussion which led up to the proposal contained in the resolution shows that, put briefly, it will counteract the Guild movement and prevent it from inducing all the best workmen to leave contractors on account of the advantages offered by the Guilds.

For example, the Guilds offer special inducements to secure the hearty support and co-operation from the workmen they employ, which is essential to the highest output, if the best economic results are to be obtained and, in short, a maximum of service to the community, then it follows that building employers must offer special inducements to effect like results, or suffer by allowing the Building Guilds to get all the best men. The advantage to the individual workman may be practically the same in either case. The Guilds offer to their workmen certain guarantees against unemployment, the Employers offer to their employees a bonus on output enabling them to make personally effective provision against unemployment with the further advantage that there are many more employers than there are Guilds; consequently the offer of the former would apply to many more workmen than the Guild offer.

The National Federation of the Building Trade Employers have decided that in the present circumstances the appropriate special inducements offered by our members shall be a Bonus on Output (that does not mean piecework) and the Federation draws a distinction between the two.

Under piecework the worker has to depend entirely on the piecework rate for his remuneration and may earn more or less than the normal weekly wage based on the hour system. Under Bonus on Output the worker is in any case entitled to the full pay for the time worked at the standard rate, but, in addition to that, he may earn a bonus for any increase of output beyond the normal, due to the skill and energy he puts into his work.

Increase of output is in effect equal to a saving of labour time.

The Federation recommends that the amount of bonus shall consist of payment to the workman or workmen directly responsible for the increased output, always having in view the fact that if the employer does not offer a reasonable reward no result can

be expected from the workman. In this connection we cannot ignore the fact that during the latter stages of the war, and since the armistice, when the demand for labour greatly exceeded the supply and a large number of contractors (Building) were paid not by results but by profits on costs, the tendency to a decreased output had disastrous results.

Inferior workmen, employment of aged men, and men who, in normal times were unemployable, which has naturally affected the output of those who were capable, as it was only human nature for the men who were doing a fair day’s work, for which they received the same pay as the men who were doing a half-day’s work, to reduce their output accordingly.

Unfortunately the employers who were paid on the cost plus profit basis were in some cases equally to blame because they were not directly affected.

The National Federation hereby request that the Regional Federation and Local Associations support and give where practicable effect to the policy set out above, and will give them every support thereto consistent with the rules where a bona-fide system of Bonus on Output is put into operation.

The above circular was considered and approved by the Administrative Committee at its meeting on 26th September, 1922, and ordered to be sent forward to the Regions as an instruction to be circulated amongst the members of all the Local Associations with a recommendation to put it into operation.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) A. G. WHITE,
General Secretary.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

PROPAGANDA ADVERTISEMENTS. (C.P. branches and kindred organisations):—Displayed, 5s. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on) 6d. per line (6 words) or part thereof. All communications to Advertisement Department, “The Communist,” 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

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 to T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

CENTRAL LONDON. Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, at 8.30, Comrade Bert Joy on “The Revolutionary Proposition of Communism.” All welcome.

WOOLWICH. Sunday, January 14th, at 7.30 p.m., Reading Room, Co-op. Buildings, Lakedale Road, Plums ead, W. T. Colyer: “The American Working Class Movement.”

The Blood of the Martyrs

By ERNEST JOHNS

In memory of the three strike leaders executed at Pretoria on the 17th of November, 1922, who sang the “Red Flag” on their way to the scaffold.

How went they forth to death,

Long, Hull and Lewis?

Boldly they went to death,

Long, Hull and Lewis;

Holding their heads so high,

They did not fear to die,

Blessing sweet liberty,

Long, Hull and Lewis.

They died for you and me,

Long, Hull and Lewis;

They died to set us free,

Long, Hull and Lewis.

Bound with the hangman’s thong,

Proudly they marched along,

Singing the Workers’ Song,

Long, Hull and Lewis.

Shall we forget their fame?

Long, Hull and Lewis.

No, for each sacred name

(Long, Hull and Lewis)

Echoes the wide world through,

Proving what faith can do.

True unto death, ah, true!

Long, Hull and Lewis.

But have they died in vain?

Foolish the thought!

By blood, and blood again,

Is Freedom bought.

When we can die, and fear

Not that cold Death is near,

Holding the Cause so dear,

Life counts as naught.—

Then Hope may rise indeed:

Red Dawn has come!

See then the Hounds of Greed,

Stricken and dumb.

Think in that golden day,

What men have shown the way,

Whose souls they could not slay,

LONG, HULL and LEWIS.



THE WRITING ON THE WALL