

THE Communist

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An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

(PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN)

No. 60

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24th, 1921.

[Registered at the G.P.O.
as a Newspaper.]

TWOPENCE

The Editor welcomes contributions from any member of the Party, or from sympathisers, on any industrial or other subject of interest to the Party. The return of these cannot be guaranteed unless they are accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. They should be sent to 16, King Street, London, W.C. 1.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Plots against the Famine Stricken That the natural calamity which has overtaken the Russian Soviet Republic would be taken advantage of by the recalcitrants of militant aristocracy and plutocracy could have been foreseen by the least experienced student of world politics.

We pointed out from the first that this calamity would be made a pretext for the overthrow of the Soviet regime alike by insurrectionary plots from within and by diplomatic and military assaults from without. Our predictions have been fulfilled to the very letter. Plots have been unearthed in Russia itself: France insists that the acknowledgment of the Tsar's debts must be a condition of relief (professing therein to have the support of Britain): Poland has found a pretext for an ultimatum. Around the Soviet Republic the Imperialist Wolves are howling.

The Vultures Not only have the Russian counter-revolutionaries under cover of relief work, attempted to organise a *coup d'etat* which would overthrow the rule of the Soviets in favour of a Tsarist dictatorship, but it has been clearly established that in so doing they have the backing of Imperialist financiers in Paris, London and New York—as well as other places.

Those who imagine that the bourgeoisie will accept a defeat at the ballot-box as the final liquidation of their claims to place power and privilege have here their answer. No weapon is too mean, or too unscrupulous for them to employ. Fraud, pretence, humbug, violence, espionage, assassination—all are alike sanctified if they lead only to the great end of preserving their power and their privilege. Russia's difficulty is the bourgeoisie's opportunity.

Work, ye workers! as you never worked before to defeat this conspiracy of the vultures to feed upon the tortured bodies of proletarians and peasants of Russia.

Send Help to Russia The need to raise and despatch immediate relief to Russia becomes tragic in its intensity with the Polish ultimatum. If any doubt that this is a mere pretence designed to cover a secret international conspiracy he need only refer to the manifesto printed elsewhere in this issue. This was despatched from Moscow fully ten days before the news of this outrage was given to the world. It is confirmed in a striking fashion by this event.

Help must be sent—money, medicines and materials—and sent at once. And sent in such a way that the Imperialist bandits are forced from sheer terror to call off their Polish ban-dogs. The somewhat premature explosion of their war-bomb is due to the enthusiasm with which the proletariat have rallied to the call of the Soviet Republic. A quickening of that enthusiasm will blot it out and save alike Soviet Russia and the hope of the world.

Too Soon Four weeks ago we commented on the intervention of America on behalf of her dominating capitalist interest, the Standard Oil Co., in an effort to prevent the Mexican Government from increasing the export tax on petrol. We pointed out how any "intervention" to be successful would "involve" the interests of English capitalists and consequently of England. We therefore suggested that a way out of the deadlock would be found by America until she could complete her "moral and material preparation" for the next war.

This is exactly what has happened. We now hear that President Harding has given "a hint to the American oil companies to be reasonable about the export taxes" which had been previously described as both "confiscatory and prohibitive." Obregon the Mexican President on his side is willing to rescind the provision in the constitution which makes the nationalisation of petroleum deposits retroactive. This agreement was all the more quickly completed because the Standard Oil Co. were in danger of losing to the English interests the market for Mexican oil. For by refusing to pay the export taxes and thus discontinuing their shipments, they left the field open to the English interests.

High Politics Mr. Sam Untermeyer is about to prosecute all the Governments which have succeeded to the lands once ruled by the Hapsburgs. This may seem a laudable action, but wait. The first act of all these Governments was to expropriate the Hapsburg family. One of the royal refugees, Archduke Frederick, traded his rights in this property (valued pre-war at £50,000,000) to an American syndicate for good money. As might be expected, when the syndicate discovered what it had been induced to buy, "litigation arose." All, however, is now well, for Mr. Sam Untermeyer is prosecuting the Governments concerned on behalf of the American syndicate—and with the backing of the French and American Foreign Office. Among the items claimed is the whole of the Teschen mining area.

That'll teach them to play with socialization. It's bad enough to expropriate an Archduke, but to hurt the pockets of an American business man is an international crime.

A Certificate The *Glasgow Evening Times* received no mention by Cobbett, but it deserves it as much as its more famous contemporary. It is a boss's organ of the worst, most crawling kind. It approves, however, of certain Labour Leaders, as follows:—

If Labour is to convince the electorate that it can rule, it ought to be represented by its Ramsay Macdonalds and its Frank Hodges.

An unsolicited testimonial, to which, in view of its source, we are glad to give greater publicity.

Smallpox The National Anti-Vaccination League had better be careful about the circular letters it sends out. Here is one in which it claims that smallpox outbreaks are caused not by lack of vaccination, but by present living conditions:—

"Glasgow last year had a smallpox outbreak in which 542 cases were notified, 113 of them proving fatal. Such a fatality rate has not been known in any smallpox outbreak in this country during the last 25 years. Seeing that 400 of the cases and 60 of the deaths were vaccinated persons, it is clear that neglect of vaccination was not the cause. The Glasgow correspondent of *The Times* newspaper revealed the cause of the outbreak when he stated in the issue for August 12th that two-thirds of the population of Glasgow are compelled to live in one or two rooms, while 12,000 houses that have been condemned as unfit for human habitation are still occupied for want of alternative accommodation."

This is most improper. To suggest that smallpox may be due to the filthy conditions enforced by capitalism, and not by omitting to inject into yourself liquid from a diseased cow!

The Unemployed Frank Hodges, following greater luminaries, has told an audience of South Wales partially employed how to save their class. The remedy, he said, was to work harder and Produce More. Such advice has been served out before by Thomas, Bowerman and the rest of them, and its results are sufficiently obvious to-day.

While our leaders talk such piffle, a terrible situation is developing. The war on the unemployed slackened for a little over the summer, but the first chill of winter has driven desperate men into the streets again. Over this winter anything may happen. Last winter there were fights and riots enough. Out of this winter's battles, which have already begun, what will come?

The Revolution? Well, revolutions break out on accidental and apparently trivial causes. Islington Free Library may yet be the first battle-ground of the Revolution. But one thing is certain—nothing will be done for the unemployed unless the Government is afraid. No one—not even their employed fellow-workers, unless their outlook changes radically—will stand by them shoulder to shoulder. It is for that reason that the Communist Party joins itself to these outcasts. The Communist Party alone must, and does, fight on their side, to whatever end that fight may lead.

Next Number Ridicule often hurts more than denunciation, and in any case pictures reach many whom print would never touch. Look out, therefore, for next week's COMMUNIST, which will contain a special 6-page pictorial supplement on "JUSTICE," by Espoir.

IN DURHAM NOW By S. Thomson

IT has been said that—Truth is stranger than Fiction—and any student comparing the present position of the M.F.G.B. with its splendid position just after the Armistice will admit that there is some truth in the above legend. While it is generally understood that the miners suffered defeat in the great coal dispute, it is necessary to understand the prevailing conditions in some of our coal mining areas in order to realise the morass we are in.

No section of the mining community expressed a greater sense of solidarity during the recent dispute than did the Durham miners. How has the Black Friday and the subsequent struggle affected his mentality? Has it produced disheartenment or has it produced revolt against incompetent leaders? These and similar questions are of great interest to communists and particularly to THE COMMUNIST with its historic watchword—"Watch those Leaders."

The men, acting upon the advice of their "leaders," accepted the inevitable and returned to work. They did not return as victors, who, having come through a trying ordeal with flying colours, could go back to the flourish of trumpets. They were a sullen and sober set of men, realising they had not succeeded in attaining their object. Various reasons were expressed as to why they had failed, but the general opinion of the rank and file was that they had been defeated, not by the superiority of the forces arranged against them, but by the treachery of their so-called leaders.

There being no real rank and file organisation, the grumbling and disapproval of the settlement could not be directed into the proper channel. "Constitution" barred the way to immediate action, and one could see the mass psychology in process of change and before a blow could be struck the "psychological" moment had become history. One lodge, realising they had been sold, determined to deal with its traitors, and proceeded to do so in the good old constitutional way. It issued a circular to the country, asking individual lodges to support them in demanding a special council meeting in order to sack our three representatives on the national executive.

More than the required number of lodges (32) sent in the resolution and the special council—in due course—was held. Robson had already got the wind up and resigned the treasurership of the Federation—on grounds of "ill-health."

Although the mover and seconder of the resolution—demanding the resignation of Robson, Richardson and Whiteley—were not possessed of that fighting calibre necessary for such an occasion, that alone does not explain the overwhelming defeat of the motion.

The "national agreement" had been in operation six weeks and it had produced the desired effect. The special council was held just six weeks too late, the reaction had set in and the men were now discouraged and disheartened. The reactionaries knew this, and instead of Richardson receiving the royal "order of the boot," the executive nominated him to the treasurership of the M.F.G.B., Batey, who had stood by the men during the whole course of the dispute, being defeated as Robson's successor by a majority of one. While this was taking place inside the organisation there were other forces at work which threatened not only to put leadership and statesmanship into the background, but to undermine the very basis of the organisation itself.

Following the "national settlement," large numbers of our men could not resume work because the pits could not be re-opened. If these men were to receive lock-out pay—according to rule—where was it to come from? The union was bankrupt and its property had been mortgaged during the dispute. They could only receive the £1 per week if the men who were working contributed the "wherewithal." Accepting official advice the members agreed to levy themselves 1s. 6d. per week per member and 9d. per half member. Such an expedient is not destined to solve the problem.

The owners, having got the upper hand, decided to apply the iron heel to its fullest extent. They began the wholesale closing down of collieries, until at the present time there are 35,000 members unemployed, and a large percentage of the employed are working short time. The leaders can see no other cure for the problem than the old policy of levies, and have circularised the county, hitting at increased levies.

Official and unofficial aspirants are faced with this economic fact:—those who are working can no longer contribute the necessary cash to pay those who are not working, according to rules and regulations. Imposing increased burdens upon those who are working is playing the master's game—we must not apply the last straw to the already overburdened camel. Prior to the lock-out the contributions to the organisations ranged from 2s. 2d. to 3s. 7d. per fortnight. To-day they

range from 5s. 2d. to 6s. 7d. per fortnight, and the members are also paying local levies in order to clear off debts contracted by voucher schemes, etc., during the dispute. The plight of the more "fortunate" miner who is working from 2 to 5 days per week will be more readily imagined than described.

The owners are also using their power in various other divers schemes. Men who have grown prematurely old because of their arduous toil in the bowels of the earth are being thrown upon the scrap heap. Their labour power no longer yields the returns of their younger brethren, and they are realising that capitalistic combines are not philanthropic institutions. With grim irony, the boss class are dumping their Anti-Bolshevik orators in this coalfield, to tell them what life would be under "sovietski" rule. The owners are refusing to meet lodge officials on local deputations because they happen to be temporarily unemployed, and in direct contradiction to clause 13 of "national settlement" are victimising irresponsible, "undesirable" members of the M.F.G.B. This is the mess up that Monsieur Frank, master strategist, member of intelligentsia, and his henchmen have landed us into.

The North East, like other sections of the miners community, possesses a miners section of the National Workers Committee Movement. This organisation held a conference at Newcastle on Saturday, September 10th, attended by delegates from 15 Durham lodges and 10 Northumberland lodges. The writer respectfully suggests to this organisation that it is no longer necessary for delegates to attend conferences to listen all the afternoon to propaganda speeches from the platform. The short discussion that did take place did not consider industrial organisation, but the political reflex of the N.W.C.M. The chief speaker (the secretary) in answering questions upon the political outlook of the N.W.C.M., answered in the following terms:—We work inside the trade union

and when the said movement runs an official candidate for parliamentary honours, we must accept majority rule and support said candidate. Reference was made to a particular constituency where the candidate (Whiteley) is one of the three traitors whom we tried to sack on the industrial field—Yes, we must support him too. There must be something wrong here. Is there not a working agreement between the R.T.U.I. and the Third Communist International?

Unofficial movements must declare their policy, industrially and politically, if they are to play their part in reorganisation. The present outlook may be pessimistic, but that must not hinder us from "carrying on." Most of our lodge committees are composed of members elected from different seams. Here is the nucleus of the N.W.C.M., we have not to begin organising on the job, that work is already performed. Gallacher has pointed out the path upon which we must proceed (COMMUNIST, September 10th). "Let us go back to the masses with a full realisation of the task that lies before us." It is the path of hard work and faithful service to the mass that will carry them with us.

The position is desperate and gives rise to serious forebodings, but there is no necessity to give up in despair. The majority of our fellows are suffering from the "wet blanket" that they have received. Yet we still see many instances of that spark of revolt fanning into flame. Even as I write the coalition member for one of the constituencies is standing the racket for his exploits during the recent dispute. The young men can still raise a cheer when the said member mentions the names of Lenin and Trotsky. By making use of these opportunities we show our fellow workers upon which side we stand.

The D.M.A. has received a temporary set-back but the rank and file are still alive—when compared with other coalfields. Our representatives were the most optimistic at Llandudno and succeeded in the withdrawal of Hodges's defeatist clauses in the executive report. They took this stand because they had been fought in their own county, and we intend to go on fighting and intelligently organising until we reach the desired goal.



[English Unemployed have been engaged at a low rate by the French Government to work in the devastated areas].

"Back again? What's the homes for heroes like?"

"Much like yours, old son."



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TO THE WORKERS AND SOLDIERS OF ALL LANDS

COMRADES—

THE imperialists are preparing another intervention campaign against Soviet Russia.

The ruling classes are again in need of a screen behind which to conceal from the working masses their feverish preparations for another bloody assault upon Soviet Russia. As long as the bourgeoisie exists, it will not cease to attempt to pierce that heart of the proletarian revolution—thus dealing a mortal blow at the proletarian revolution. In adopting new tactics in its struggle against Soviet Russia it is endeavouring to profit by the lessons of the past.

The Wilsonian farce of a "League of Nations"—the pretended object of which was a general disarmament giving a guarantee of international peace—has resolved itself into an international union of financiers and trusts, whose sole object is the sharing of the world for exploitation. This farce is being played over again. The international robbers have raised anew the cry of disarmament. They are convening a Conference, which they pretend is for that purpose. The real meaning of this conference is, that they are elaborating military plans for new predatory exploits.

The famine which is afflicting millions of Russian peasants and workers has awakened the heartfelt sympathy of the working masses in all lands. It has filled them with a desire to give brotherly assistance. The capitalist governments—the blood-thirsty hyenas of international counter-revolution—are too artful to oppose these spontaneous expressions of solidarity with the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia. The Governments in power have been compelled to announce that they, too, are willing to help the starving people of Russia.

* * *

We would be idiots were we to believe their professions sincere or their intentions pure. Behind their "humanitarian" sentiments are the calculations of possible plunder. The calamity which has befallen Russia will be made use of by the capitalist sharks for newer and more dastardly attempts to strangle the first proletarian State in the whole world.

While State officials announce consultations upon disarmament, and promise to assist the famine-stricken provinces of Russia, the armaments of their imperial States and their vassals grows incessantly. Intensified and thorough-going preparation for a new campaign against Soviet Russia is carried on at full steam. White-Guard forces, beaten by the Red Army and scattered throughout the world, are again assembling. They are being re-organised with the assistance of the capitalist governments and the pirates of international capitalism. The small States bordering upon the Russian Soviet Republic are with the co-operation and under pressure from big Imperialist Powers, forming groups and making alliances—all evidently for an attack upon Soviet Russia.

The "little Entente," and the agreement between the Baltic States, are nothing but weapons of the international counter-revolution against the Russian Proletarian Revolution. The Anglo-Japanese agreement has given the Japanese imperialists free play in the Far East. The production of armament and ammunition factories has been given a new impetus. Steamers and trains secretly loaded with arms, ammunition and all manner of war material leave France daily for Poland, Roumania and other countries. Large stores are thus accumulating in the vicinity of the frontiers of Soviet Russia. Hard experience has taught them to get their armaments ready in good time and under cover of other events, before military operations actually begin.

* * *

To-morrow, when the imperialists decide finally to attack Soviet Russia, they will have no need to fear the opposition of the revolutionary European proletariat against the transit of weapons for the struggle against the Red Army.

Poland, Roumania, Finland and these other countries seek to conceal these warlike preparations, under the lying pretext of an impending attack by Soviet Russia. The ruling classes of these countries, which have been ruined by the imperialist war and are economically dependent on the big capitalist countries, are unable to maintain their rule without the financial help of their patrons. They are slavishly carrying out their orders. They are trafficking in the blood of their populations.

The capitalists and landowners of these countries, encouraged by the Entente Governments, are crushing their workers and the poorer peasants under pretence of meeting a "Red" Terror.

The proletariat of all countries must be informed of the fiendish plots of the international counter-revolution against Soviet

Russia. Now more than ever the plotters watch for the opportune moment to make a sudden attack. They are encouraged to hope for a near and easy triumph over their deadly enemy—the Workers' Soviet Republic.

* * *

Comrades, this is no news to you. The overthrow of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic would lead not only to the re-establishment of the power of the capitalists and landowners in Russia, and to the enslavement of the Russian workers under the yoke of international capitalism. It would carry with it a recrudescence of world reaction. It would make certain the setback for many years of the international workers' revolution.

The interests of the Russian workers and peasants are the concern of the workers of the whole world. In defending Soviet Russia through four years of untold suffering, privations and streams of blood the Russian workers and peasants have defended not only their own interests, but also those of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world. By shielding Russia from the dastardly blows of international capitalism, and now by succouring the starving Russian workers and peasants, the workers of all countries will be defending not only the interests of the Russian workers and peasants, but their own higher interests. International proletarian solidarity is offered to-day the opportunity of a life time. The oppressed and exploited of all countries must—it is imperative—come to the assistance of the heroic Russian workers and peasants. The various capitalist groups may, later on, quarrel about the division of the booty, but their Governments are united and ready, whenever they deem it necessary, to make a concerted attack on revolutionary Russia and the international proletarian revolution.

The proletariat is still disunited, thanks to the treacherous policy of the social-patriots. But the same class-instinct of the working masses, which invariably unites the workers in time of peril, will triumph over the disintegrating influence of reformism.

* * *

The peril is great. That it is imminent let facts show. The Roumanian obligarchy is making feverish preparations. There is a continuous stream of war material flowing to the Ukrainian frontier. Reserve officers are being called up. The hospital service is being brought up to wartime standard. Manœuvres on a large scale are being planned in Bessarabia, in which large masses of soldiers from the reserve corps will participate. The Russian White-Guard contingents are also concentrating in these regions. Landlord Roumania is rattling its sword at the bidding of the Entente.

Those facts must arouse the workers of the whole world. Soviet Russia is again in peril, the international revolution is in danger. Immediate and real help for the starving masses is imperative, and it must be given by the working masses. An energetic and decisive struggle must be conducted against the hostile preparations of the capitalist world. None but the working masses can wage this struggle.

* * *

Workers, raise your voices in protest. Act boldly and decisively. Put a stop to the warlike preparations of the capitalist governments. Prevent the sanguinary crimes contemplated by your rulers. Show that you have discerned the enemy's cunning military policy. Whatever effort it costs, stop all deliveries of war material to Roumania, Poland and Yugo-Slavia. Say to your criminal imperialist rulers: Hands off the Russian Revolution!

Do not let any arms or war material directed against Soviet Russia pass through your hands!

Down with intervention against Soviet Russia!

Bread and immediate help for the Russian workers and peasants!

Long live the Russian Soviet Republic!

Long live the International Proletarian Revolution!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

AFTER THE T.U.C., WHAT?

By J.B.

THIS year's Trade Union Congress made no useful contribution to the task of industrial organisation. That, I am sorry to say, is the outstanding fact of the proceedings at Cardiff. We voiced grievances innumerable, we damned the Government with vigour and futility, we were lectured by the politicians. But we evaded our primary duty.

Some of us enjoyed ourselves thoroughly, of course. One or two champagne bills were fairly heavy, and at least one of the big men washed away the smell of Black Friday in a perfumed bath, price half a guinea a time. What of it? There may be ten thousand people in Cardiff unemployed and not knowing where to turn for the next meal; but then, damn it all, were we not told in Sunday School "The poor ye have always with you—but Congress comes but once a year!"

It is very comforting, no doubt, to be religious and look upon trade unions as permanent institutions designed to provide maintenance for generations of capon-lined "statesmen." I prefer the comfort of the belief that the workers will not much longer put up with these—to adapt the words of J. H. Thomas applied to something else—'ipocrites and 'umbugs.

The nearest we got to our task was in the resolution moved by Arthur Pugh on behalf of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. This resolution was rejected, and rightly so. It proposed that before a strike was called there should be consultation between the General Council with all the other unions with a view to getting a "settlement" by industrial and political pressure. This sounded alright, but its effect would undoubtedly be to cripple the movement.

Trade unions are not yet in a position to take prompt decisions. Their machinery is cumbersome, they are divided by sectional interests owing to bad organisation, and a strike would become impossible before they were all in line. To prejudice the power to strike would be to injure the one weapon of the working class.

The resolution ignored the need for union building. It will be one of the duties of the new General Council to review the union machinery and to make suggestions for reform of that machinery. That is the first step to real unity of action.

It is characteristic of the working class movement that it will exhaust the whole chemist shop of drugs before it tackles the business of building up its constitution with intelligence and wise exercise.

On all resolutions which were concerned with organisation problems Congress was hesitant, short-tempered, and of no avail. It turned with relief to political problems which it knew jolly well it could not solve: that did not matter, for Congress as we now know it cannot solve anything.

Still, it is both amusing and pathetic to watch this predilection for political discussion. I suppose that bias is accounted for by the fact that we are brought up in a political atmosphere and that industrial problems have never yet been the subject of general consideration by the workers. Our trade union branches are the weak spot.

We mixed up the subjects thoroughly. We jumped from inter-union disputes to the removal of cattle importation restrictions, and from old age pensions to conditions of shop workers. A resolution about access for taxis to Hyde Park was mixed up with resolutions on union amalgamation.

Let me give a piquant illustration of the confusion in the movement in regard to classification of subjects. The political secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen sits on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, and the industrial secretary of the same union sits on the executive of the Labour Party.

I said that Congress as we now know it cannot solve anything. I doubt whether we should ever expect it to solve anything. The function of Congress, it seems to me, should be to review thoroughly the work of its General Council and of the trade union movement generally, here and abroad, and to act as a sounding board for the various currents of thought that spring up in such a movement. The "solving" is work that must be done by the General Council, working through its organisation in conjunction with the various unions.

Congress properly served in that way would be a dignified and very important body. At present its time is largely wasted.

Observe the procedure. Trade unions send in any old resolutions that may happen to occur to a member of the executive. I recall a recent meeting of a certain big union executive. Someone thought it was time that union had a few resolutions on the Congress agenda! Righto! The secretary was told to think out a few over lunch. He produced

three. The executive thought they were beautiful, and they duly got on to the Congress agenda.

The mass of stuff so accumulated is bundled over, when Congress meets, to a standing orders committee, which sits day after day producing marvellous composite resolutions from those on the agenda. As the results are usually compromises between the protagonists of different resolutions, Congress easily swallows the product without turning a hair.

In addition, the Parliamentary Committee presents a report on the eve of Congress. This report is brief and colourless and is supplemented by a voluminous record of visits to Government offices and of negotiations with unions and other organisations, reports which the delegates cannot possibly read through in time for discussion.

By the way, no one seems to have noticed the remarkable confession in the Committee's report this year that when the Emergency Powers Bill was introduced the Committee sent a deputation to the House of Commons to consult—whom do you think? H. H. Asquith and Sir John Simon, *leaders of the Liberal Party*. I wonder what this fraternal delegate from the Labour Party this year thought about that. He may see nothing wrong in it from a class point of view, but his dignity will surely have been hurt.

Congress does not get any chance to see the workers' position in proper perspective. The General Council can do a great deal to alter this. It should present to Congress a complete and explicit review of the industrial situation at home and abroad. The lines for such a review were excellently set out in the manifesto issued by the British bureau of the Red Trade Union International. Here they are:—

- 1.—Survey the world economic and political situation as it affects the working class movement.
- 2.—Examine the work of the International movement, and especially the part played therein by the British Unions.
 - (a)—Deal with the work, difficulties, successes, failures.
 - (b)—Its policy.
 - (c)—Organisation problems.
 - (d)—Relations to other Internationals.
 - (e)—Role of the British Unions.
 - (f)—Determine future line of action.

3.—Make a special survey of the economic, industrial and political situation in Britain as it affects the working class.

4.—Examine the domestic work and policy of the last twelve months, learn its lessons, determine the policy for the immediate future, and deal with the resolutions giving effect to the policy indicated.

5.—Examine the organisational problems of the Union movement, bring forward measures to transform the Congress organisation in the direction of making it into a fighting machine.

6.—Examine the problems of co-operation with other working-class organisations, viz., political parties, the co-operative movement, etc.

Such a review ought to be issued long enough before the Congress meets for it to be discussed by the rank and file in branch meetings and for resolutions to be tabled after reading the report.

Under such conditions Congress would be able to work on an intelligent plan.

The present futility is all the more regrettable because there is a plain movement towards vesting considerable authority in Congress and its executive to interfere with unions. That movement is seen in the powers and duties conferred in the General Council. If, as is quite probable, hard economic facts will continue the drive in the direction of making the General Council eventually a real General Staff, it is all-important that the course I have indicated should be taken. Otherwise Congress will fail to rise to the possibilities of the changing position.

It is for the rank and file to press upon the new General Council that it must adapt itself to the new conditions. We shall not get much more from the General Council than we make it yield. I believe it will get work done during the coming year, but let us not expect it to be an automatic machine producing revolutions.

Look at the personnel of the Council. The new ballot now being taken will not make many changes from those elected by the scrapped ballot at Congress. In that ballot fourteen of the sixteen present members of the Parliamentary Committee were elected to the General Council. The two unsuccessful ones were James Sexton, M.P., and A. Smith (Transport).

The 14 are:—
R. Smillie, J. H. Thomas, H. Gosling, J. Hill, A. B. Swales, A. Pugh, A. A. Purcell, H. Boothman, J. Ogden, E. L. Poulton, R. B. Walker, I. Beard, W. Thorne, M. Bondfield.

The 18 new members elected in the condemned ballot were:—

H. Murnin, R. T. Jones, J. Bromley, A. G. Walkden, Ben. Tillett, A. Findlay, J. Rowan, W. Kean, G. Hicks, H. Skinner, Ben. Turner, A. Conley, J. Turner, J. B. Bowen, J. B. Williams, J. N. Bell, J. Davenport & Julia Vasley.

Nothing very exciting in that crowd. The hope lies in the better facilities the Council will have for work, the greater work expected of it, and pressure from the workers, friendly and helpful pressure, if possible, but always insistent and earnest.

If one turns away from actual work done at Congress to try to find out what is at the heart of the movement to-day, one is bound to find inspiration—to find it even in Congress itself, composed though it is largely of union officials.

In no other assembly in this country could one hear quite the same great outburst of feeling as we heard during the unemployment debate and again during the discussion on Russia. The words of the resolutions did not matter so much; what was important and thrilling was the great welling up of revolt and instinctive sympathy in this assembly of lookers-on or cynical leaders.

It was not merely human sympathy; it was, despite ignorance and prejudice, a demonstration by a slave class.

Realisation of that fact in our organisation and in our whole attitude to life is what is needed. At present many are misled by talk of citizenship and democracy, and deluded by the church and the employer, but at heart there is the lesson which hard economic facts have driven into the toilers.

To sum up. Congress this year has been as futile as ever from the point of view of work done, but changes begin to operate with the formation of the General Council that should mean a great development of trade union organisation. Congress did nothing to consolidate forces for the struggle already upon the workers, and for this its leaders deserve the major part of the blame. They will get due punishment when the movement travels onward. Our immediate business is to be stimulating our branches, shop committees and workers' committees.

Communist Party of Great Britain

Publication Department

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OTHERS IN PREPARATION
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CIVIL WAR THIS WINTER: BLACK M

WAR this winter. Not a scare headline, but actual war—in your town, it may be in your street. Your unemployed brother, your unemployed husband, yourself in it. Last winter there were some conflicts with the police. There was the "battle of Downing Street," there was the riot at Islington Town Hall. Police violence and the beginning of resistance. Over the summer the tension slackened. Life was easier then, and odd jobs could be picked up. But this winter must be faced by the unemployed with no fuel and insufficient clothing. The wretched doles they receive come to an end as the local Councils go bankrupt, and have either to cut the doles off or go to gaol.

Starvation and police brutality will do the rest. The first few conflicts will be mere helpless riots. Then the ex-soldiers will remember they are ex soldiers, and we shall be flung at once into a new revolutionary crisis, with the unemployed and with them the Communists in the front line.

Great Britain is going the way of the rest of Europe. Outside Russia the workers' life is little but starvation alternating with murderous machine-gun fights. Silent or open, the struggle goes on and the monotonous succession of bloody street battles, abortive revolts and long-drawn out White terrors is accompanied by a steady decline, a failure of food, of goods, and of all economic life. London is well on the road that dying Vienna has already travelled. And it is up to us to see that London does not fail as Vienna failed, that the London revolts do not end all in failure as the Viennese did—that Londoners are not beaten and exhausted till they are content to die in quiet.

DESPERATION IN SOUTH WALES

Facile hopes that are publicly and privately expressed of a normal revival of trade, and the recurrence of pre-war conditions, are mere illusions. The phenomenon before us is no ordinary trade crisis. The most superficial glance at ruined and decaying Europe shows that. One by one the capitalist countries of the world are swept into the whirlpool which as yet only Russia has successfully ridden through. Austria and Poland are submerged. The current has caught Germany and Italy. Now it is tugging at us and we are going the same way.

There is no hope of recovery. Take the coal industry—read the following report from our South Wales correspondent:—

THIS is clearly apparent in the coal industry. After three months' stoppage of the industry, in August, the productive capacity of the industry was 1,000,000 tons per week, while the "market call" for the same period was only 800,000 tons. This directly after three months' coal lock-out! Remember: only two-thirds of the miners are employed!

What are the prospects for an early increase of the "market call"? Home industries, which, hitherto, were good and regular customers in the coal market, are no longer drawing anything like large supplies. The cause is obvious. Industries needing coal are "snowed under." The absence of "call" for their products, reflects itself in the coal trade.

Where are the buyers? They have disappeared like dew before the morning sun. In their place stand thousands besieging the market place, not as buyers (they haven't the value equivalent—money), but as starving unemployed.

The international prospect is still more gloomy. The European countries which hitherto bought large quantities of coal, are no longer commanding supplies. They may be in need of the coal, in fact, they are, but they haven't the cash. As they cannot be accommodated with credit, they are left as though coal were an unnecessary commodity. This state of affairs will become ever more acute until the system which depends on the coin circulation is broken down.

One can state truthfully that the huge mass of unemployed in the South Wales area will not be

absorbed. The very fact that unprofitable mines are being closed down indicates that, instead of this unemployed mass decreasing, it will increase to colossal proportions.

The French comrades' cry, "Go to the masses," is our holy duty. The Abertillery branch of the Communist Party has done this with magnificent results.

The great 15-mile march of 5,000 Western Valley unemployed to Tredegar workhouse was due, in great measure, to the local comrades of the Communist Party, who drew up the constitution governing the unemployed organisation. This was accepted, in its totality, by a huge mass meeting of the workless. They (the workless) showed their appreciation of our labours by electing six Communists on to the Unemployed Committee. The Communist policy is no longer regarded as extreme, but is regarded as the only policy suited to the facts of the desperate situation.

The unemployed situation is desperate; but just as it becomes desperate, to that extent do the unemployed turn to the Communist Party. They are the vanguard of the workers' army, but not in the sense that the Communists are the vanguard. They are in the van solely because chance has caused them to be selected for the worst blows. They are becoming Communists because they are forced to realise that, as we have said before, "You can't mend it. End it."

THE BELLS OF SHOREDITCH.

Take, for example, the London Borough of Shoreditch. The Communists and unemployed here have begun actually to work together. It is this unity which has made Shoreditch recently remarkable for the liveliness of its unemployed, and which enabled it, before Poplar's sensational action, to bring the unemployed question into vivid relief.

Here we print from Comrade A. B. Elsbury an account of the Shoreditch phalanx, which has made a beginning many of us would do well to imitate:—

THERE are over 10,000 names upon the registers of the Shoreditch Labour Exchange and another 10,000 who have run through the Unemployment Dole or been ineligible to receive it. The population of the Borough being merely 104,000 it will be seen therefore, that, including dependents, about 60 per cent. of the inhabitants are in the happy position, in this, the wealthiest of countries, of being without the means of existence.

Last year an attempt was made to organise the Unemployed by certain elements in Shoreditch, but the main activities of the resultant organisation being centred around making street collections in the streets of the West End, the inevitable result occurred of producing accusations and counter-accusations amongst the distributors of the "takings," the dropping away of the better elements and a final disappearance of the "organisation," though not of the Unemployed.

The Labour majority of the Borough Council made frequent but ineffectual attempts to institute means of coping with the distress. A resolution was passed at a Council meeting to institute public works at a cost of £52,000. The Finance Committee of the Council turned it down, and down it has been ever since. The Board of Guardians continued to offer a scale of relief as absurd as it was inadequate.

The discredited Unemployed Organisation made appeals to it, but in vain. Hundreds were being thrown off from pay rolls of the Exchange each week, when the local Communist branch a fortnight ago decided to take up the cudgels on the Unemployed's behalf.

During the nightly meetings of the Russian week a meeting was advertised to set up a new body. The meeting took place before Hoxton Church, the principal pitch of the district, and was a huge and unqualified success. After speeches by W. Hannington, Organiser of the London District Council of the Unemployed, and Com. A. Squair, the Chairman of the C.P. branch, a Committee of 12 was instantly appointed, with Squair as Chairman and myself as Secretary. The Committee adjourned immediately to the local Town Hall, affiliated with the above mentioned L.D.C., and made immediate preparations for a march of Unemployed to the local Board of Guardians, whose offices are situated (literally) at "The Land of Promise"! A scale of relief to be demanded by the deputation was drawn up, and huge and ever-growing meetings were held daily in the interim between then and the following Wednesday.

The Wednesday arrived. The Press, aghast at our demands, and carefully touching them up by attributing to an average family of Shoreditch no less than 6 children of junior age (How generous they are to the workers in these matters!) made up for the Committee's lack of advertising facilities by devoting placards and headed headlines to our Demonstration. "£4 13s. 6d. for Doing Nothing" they cried. (The figures referred, of course, to a family of 8. A family of 80, could they have conceived it, would have considerably swollen the total, but, possibly, even their imagination has its limits.)

The Demonstration had been arranged to leave Hoxton Church in procession at 3.45, but by 3.20 the numbers present had reached such dimensions that it was impossible to hear the speeches being made from the plinth. In consequence the procession was started. By 4 o'clock the head of the procession had reached "The Land of Promise," [This is the name of a street—it leads to the Workhouse—Ed.] the tail still remaining at Hoxton Church. A deputation of 5, including Comrades Hannington, Squair and myself, were soon before the assembled Board, who numbered only 13, of whom 5 were Labour representatives.

Squair opened up for the Deputation, Hannington (two hours later in bed under doctor's orders) following. Outside a crowd of 7 or 8,000 being addressed by relays of speakers, constant cheering and the strains of "The Red Flag" resounding through the closed windows. Inside publicans and retired gentlemen listening to Squair's cool reasoning, and poor Hannington, ill, with head bowed between his hands.

Whatever his physical state Hannington never spoke better than during the brief 10 minutes occupied by him. Squair's cool logic preceding appeared to heighten the effect of Hannington's emphatic utterances, and the deputation retired to await the result of the Board's deliberations, feeling their spokesmen had done well.

The Board's decision was received a few minutes later, to be hastily jotted down by a throng of pressmen awaiting us below.

A difficult fight through the closely packed thousands and soon Hannington, possessing the biggest voice, was reading out the terms granted. A shudder of disgust could be felt through the crowd as he read out and explained the new scales of relief. Indignant exclamations bursting forth from every quarter as the full significance of the figures was appreciated. Then a vote by show of hands for acceptance of the new rates. In favour—not one. Against—unanimous.

Another vote for preparedness to enter the Workhouse. Again the show of hands as before.

Strong appeals for solidarity to enforce the original demands; to combine together within the Shoreditch Unemployed Committee, and then, after cheers, the dispersal of the largest crowd ever seen in Shoreditch.

Since then the Committee has occupied a room in the local Town Hall, taking names of members as fast as six volunteer clerks could take them, holding daily meetings, and preparing its plans for further action.

Since then the Unemployed, led by the Communists, have presented three demands to the Borough Councils. These demands have been thoroughly grasped by the unemployed and they are having no nonsense about them. They are:—

(1) That works of public utility, such as housing, be started. These not to be useless task work, and to be under a Committee of Unemployed, Trade Unionists and the Borough Council.

(2) That the Council follow the example of Poplar and do not levy the sums demanded by the L.C.C., but put the money to the use above described.

(3) That the Council send a deputation to the Government demanding that all interest on War Bonds be held over until the ex-service men are found work.

Now a No-Rent strike has been called.

Shoreditch is more or less quiet as yet. This is largely because the Mayor, Girling, has taken no violent action against the unemployed. But it is also because the Communist Party has been in fairly close touch with the unemployed, and prevented merely aimless violence.

DUNDEE WEST-END SACKED

Elsewhere, the unemployed and police have come into violent conflict already. But up to date, this conflict has been undirected.

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BLACK MENACE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Aimless, useless rioting of starving but unarmed men. Take the case of the Dundee riot.

After a do-nothing decision by the Parish Council, the unemployed marched to interview Lord Provost Spence. They were received in the usual manner—with an evasive reply and a police baton charge. The unemployed were driven back to the city. Hear the bourgeois account of the result:—

A RESIDENTER in the Perth Road district stated that the whole of the West End was completely terrorised during the march. Many of the residents in Perth Road were so unnerved by the mad shouts of the throng, accompanied by the crash of broken glass, that they were unable to settle down for the remainder of the night.

Going out on the south side of Perth Road, the mob, he said, commenced their campaign of window-smashing, and when the Sinderins was reached a section made for the Lord Provost's house, while a minority of the crowd returned on the north side of Perth Road, where many more windows were shattered. From Thomson Street to Robertson's stables, on the north side of the street, practically every shop window was smashed. All classes of shops were tackled, and frequent baton charges on looters had to be made by the police.

The Overgate also received the attention of the hooligan band, and a large number of windows were smashed. Several baton charges had to be made. The large plate-glass windows of Andrew Birrell & Sons, bootmakers, Overgate, were all shattered.

Police reinforcements arrived, and another baton charge was made. Many of the mob made to take refuge in Mid Kirk Style, and here another baton charge was carried out. Constables entered the thoroughfare from either end, and the agonising cries of those who had come in contact with a baton could be heard for a considerable distance.

Wild scenes of this kind have occurred and will occur all over the country. We have no space to refer to the events of Bristol and Sheffield, or to the struggle in the Liverpool Walker Art Gallery. Enough has at least been said to show that we are not exaggerating when we prophesy

CIVIL WAR THIS WINTER.

The Government cannot treat the unemployed as it did before the war. Then the unemployed were peaceable and helpless, and the soldiers were a class apart. Now the unemployed are ex-soldiers. They know now how to use a rifle.

What will come out of it? The Revolution? Well, we must not dismiss the possibility too easily. The Russian revolution arose from a squabble in a food-queue. A cancelled dinner started the European revolution of 1848. A rumour and an excited man on a chair in a park led to the taking of the Bastille in 1789. Any trifle will do to start it, if the times are ripe.

But all the same we do not anticipate it this winter. Most of this winter's battles will be one-sided affairs. The unemployed are not yet armed. They have not yet realised that the Government cares nothing for unarmed men, as has been shown in Ireland where only the I.R.A. awoke Mr. George's "conscience" on the Irish question. This winter the unemployed will be beaten because they will not be able to fight, although they may in certain districts fight enough to gain some crumbs.

All the same, the duty of the Party is clear. Our position, by which we abide, is stated in the following resolution of the R.T.U.I.:—

THE first world Congress of the Red Trade and Industrial Unions recognises in the millions of unemployed and starving workers a sign of the final breaking-up of the capitalist system.

The world war has thrown every country into a state of crisis. This is no ordinary phenomenon, it results from the fact that the world war has severely shaken the foundation of capitalist economy.

The capitalists to-day are faced in every country with the impossibility of surmounting the crisis and so preserving alike their profits and their power as a ruling class. They are endeavouring to reduce production. This will increase the unemployed so

that they may lower wages and cripple the fighting force of the labour organisations. By slowly starving the working class they hope to save alike their profits and their power.

The overcoming of the crisis is not only a question of life and death with the unemployed, it is a matter of serious concern for the whole working class. Every member is threatened by this deliberate sabotage of production by the employers. It brings the spectre of unemployment before the eyes of every worker. The masses of the unemployed weigh upon the livelihood of the whole working class, and there is a danger that a portion of the unemployed will be left to their fate, be turned into an element for the demoralisation of labour's ranks—into counter-revolutionary instruments. The revolutionary unions must expose to the widest masses of the workers this conspiracy against them not only because millions of innocent workers are sacrificed to the mercenary instincts of the capitalist, but because their best fighting elements are thrust out of the factories under cover of the slackening of trade.

The bourgeoisie tries by means of the unemployed to divide the working class. It tries to play the employed against the unemployed, and the unemployed against the employed. Therefore the most important task of the revolutionary unions is to prevent this division (and consequent crippling) of the fighting forces of the proletariat. The workers, employed and unemployed, must be united through special committees into a single fighting front with a common aim.

The bourgeoisie, together with the reformist trade unions, try to terrify the proletarian mass with talk about the tremendous danger with which they are threatened. Both try by means of emergency work, relief and social welfare work, to make them believe that the security of the proletariat's existence is still possible under the capitalist system. The revolutionary unions, on the contrary, emphasise the principle that the evil of unemployment can, under the capitalist system, neither be solved nor permanently lessened.

Not with the employers, but against them; not through negotiation, but through the open class war; not with the help of the bourgeois State, but through its destruction and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by these means will the unemployed problem be solved.

The revolutionary unions do not put off the unemployed with a promise of the final destruction of capitalism. The unemployed are hungry:—we demand bread. The unemployed lack clothing and heating:—we insist upon the bourgeois State supplying these needs. Prices of all necessaries are rising:—they must be lowered.

Relief to the unemployed is only charity:—we demand the payment of full wages. Employers, by shutting down the factories, and by means of systematic short time, increase the mass of unemployed misery:—we demand the opening of the factories, the unemployed to take their places with their fellow-workers. Against the proposals of the bourgeois joint committees for shorter hours with shortened wages, we demand shorter hours without loss of pay.

It is the duty of the revolutionary fractions inside the Amsterdam unions to press these demands with emphasis and decision. All attempts by the trade union bureaucracy to deal with their unemployed members as a thing of minor importance must be energetically opposed. It is essential to make clear to those in work that their interests are identical with those of the unemployed. The yellow bureaucrats must be forced to show their colours—through concretely formulated proposals. Whereas in Germany the bureaucracy, pressed by the masses, have adopted demands, the ten planks of the Amsterdam Federation, it is the duty of the opposition to call upon the masses to put their demands into operation, eventually over the heads of the leaders.

These demands, it must be remembered, ensure only the barest existence-level. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie will put up the greatest opposition to them, because in this period of the decay of the capitalist system they are no longer in a position to ensure even a bare existence to their wage-slaves. As soon as this fight for these daily demands is carried on with sufficient energy (by means of mass demonstrations, etc.) it will outgrow itself and pass into a struggle for the control and maintenance of production over the heads of the employers. This means a clash with, and the collapse of, the capitalist State power itself; and a struggle for the arming of the proletariat—the expropriation of the factory owners; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This first Congress of the Red Trade and Industrial Unions calls upon the unemployed—men, women and youths—to join hands. Unite with

your brothers and sisters in work, since the lot of the unemployed of to-day will be the lot of the employed to-morrow. The battle of the unemployed is the fight of the employed. The employed must show solidarity and common cause with the unemployed. The fight is not merely a fight for bread for yourselves and children. It is a fight for the final victory of the entire proletariat.

Divided you are nothing, united you can overthrow capitalism and build up the communist republic.

Down with Capitalism.

Down with exploitation and the misery of the working class.

Up with the world Revolution and the Communist Republic.

The Communist Party existing as it does to advance the claims of the working-class cannot evade this question of the unemployed. It is true, that short of a revolution, there is no final cure. True, also, that the policy of doles, sops, delays, and promises, may, and will be adopted by the Boss class in order to stall-off any prospect of the self-defensive organisation of the Unemployed growing into a revolutionary menace. True, especially is it, that the Communist demand "work or maintenance at Full Trade Union Rates," will be evaded and twisted by social-pacifists, and labour reformists, if they can, into one or other scheme of doles and delay.

Disregarding all that, the Communist Party flings itself into the struggle for the reason that the case of the unemployed is that of the working class in its most acute and obvious form. That which the unemployed suffer is what every worker either fears, has feared, or must fear sooner or later.

In their helplessness, their privation, and their imminent degradation the Unemployed exhibit, plain for all folk to see, the brutality of the relation between the worker and the Boss. Plain, past question, the unemployed horror makes the fact that the only place for the worker in Capitalist Society is that of a Thing-for-Sale.

It is the "Commodity-status" that we are out to abolish. Without organisation the unemployed are a mob. Organised they are a mighty force challenging the right of the Capitalist Order to remain as a bar between human-needs and their social satisfaction.

Were those who understood the why and the wherefore of the crisis to stand aloof from the unemployed—treating their misery as an incidental proof of their theories—they would be left the prey of alternately abject despair and counter revolutionary intrigue.

Already spies and agents are at work disguised as unemployed seeking to sabotage the work of those of our unemployed comrades whose knowledge and ability has lifted them to a leadership in the various Unemployed Committees.

Only an organised and a disciplined Party can lead these victims of Capitalist greed and incompetence in such a way as to enable them to assert their manhood with dignity and efficiency.

Capitalism must be met with the frontal challenge—either feed your slaves or clear the way for those who can and will. To that work the Communist Party must bring all the energy at its disposal. For who knows the day and the hour when will come the final crisis? Who knows when the victims of Capitalism will become incapable of further restraint? For the sake of the working class—its immediate suffering and its future hopes. For our honour's sake as the Party of Proletarian Revolution:—For our safety's sake, lest the Day come and find us unprepared, we must see to it that the question of the Unemployed becomes an All-Workers struggle.

When this united front is achieved, the Bourgeoisie will have to choose between total surrender or the ruthless suppression of every existing working-class organisation without exception.

Give the Bourgeoisie Notice to Quit!

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC Notes from Ireland

[We commence this week what we hope to make a permanent feature—a series of notes of men and events in Ireland. These are supplied by our Irish correspondent, who is in a position to speak with authority. We will thus be able to keep the English workers informed as to happenings in Ireland. We may also be of some service to the Irish workers in their striving for James Connolly's ideal, the Workers' Republic.]

THE situation as between Lloyd George and Eamon De Valera at the time of writing is that all the formalities having been compiled with nothing should prevent the assembling of what is in fact the Peace Conference between the representatives of the British Crown and the Irish Republic.

Much wind has been wasted in the preliminary posturings. Mr. Lloyd George has insisted at the last minute that he can only talk to De Valera and his friends as the "spokesmen" of the Irish people and not in their official capacity as the delegates of Dail Eireann. De Valera retorts that it was solely because of the functioning of the Irish Republic that he and his colleagues were selected for invitation. That, therefore, however much Lloyd George may quibble about the abstract right of the British Crown to hold dominion over Ireland, or his own abstract right to barter away that dominion by acknowledging the right of the Irish people to "sovereignty," the plain fact is that he, David Lloyd George, has negotiated with and invited to conference men whom he knows only as the chosen representatives of a people who are resolved upon asserting their "sovereignty" in fact, however much it may be camouflaged in theory.

The common-sense realism of De Valera and his colleagues would seem sufficient to smash through the network of shifts and subtleties whereby Lloyd George seeks to relieve himself of the moral and material strain of more "Black-and-Tannery" and at the same time placate the class-consciousness of the plutocratic backers of Orange "ascendency" and its British fountain-head, Counter-Revolutionary Imperialism.

Mr. Lloyd George wants to be the "man who made peace with Ireland"—and he wants to escape being the "man who dismembered the Empire."

* * *

It would seem likely that the outcome will be after all "Dominion status"—possibly with a fancy name to make it palatable to the "unbought and untainted" Irish proletariat.

This reconciliation of the interests of the most predatory of Imperialism and the most idealist of Nationalisms will be accomplished on the basis of

the interests of the more prosperous petty-bourgeoisie of Ireland. These are beginning to feel the luxury of industrial and trade expansion, and the concurrent intensifying of their class consciousness will destroy any qualms they may have in entering the Robber League (otherwise "the community of nations, known as the British Empire"). Insurgent middle-class idealism is toning down under the pressure of the coming economic struggle. The petty merchants, wholesalers, the bigger retailers, the big and middling farmers are busy consolidating and re-grouping their forces for the next war—the war against the working class. For the successful prosecution of this struggle they desire a settlement with the external foe. Thus are preparing all the conditions for the acceptance of "Dominion status."

The alignment of new forces is taking place. There is no more that intense co-operation between all classes that rendered all efforts of British Imperialism of no avail. The classes are falling apart—economically very rapidly, more slowly politically. Only in the military sphere are the classes as united as formerly. The threat of renewed Black-and-Tannery is enough to hold the military wing of the republican movement together. Meanwhile, the economic fight has started and the workers are more and more unwilling to abide by arbitration to settle the question of wages cuts and the lowering of conditions. The working class in town and country are arrayed against the bosses, large, small and medium. The red flag for a moment graced the public buildings of Cork; for a moment that hated word Soviet decorated the attempts of a small section to settle their economic difficulties themselves. This is the false dawn before the real.

* * *

Without submitting to an examination and estimate of their forces the Irish Communists will be unable to develop and strengthen them sufficiently to obtain enough influence to lead the masses in the coming struggle. The first most apparent fault that besets the Communists is that they have no contact with the masses. Without contact with the masses the Communists cease to be such. All steps must be taken to establish this connection. If the Communists do not actively get to work the masses will fall more and more into the power of the milk and water combination of craft unions and mass organisations known as the Irish Labour Party.

Hitherto the conditions of political life forced the Communists to remain unknown, unheard of, leading a semi-secret conspiratorial existence. Even the more revolutionary members of the trade unions had not heard of their existence. To an

extent this has been the fault of the members of the group, but the most potent cause was the complexity of circumstances that prevented all efforts of class agitation amidst the unprecedented violence of national conflict. Even if the terror had not prevented the activities of the Communists, the intense pre-occupation of the most prominent workers in the fight for national freedom would have proved a stone wall to the spread of Communism. The few Communists there are, happily, do not suffer from sectarianism to any large extent, nor are they worshippers of the idea of a small revolutionary band of 100 per cent. pure Communists. Rather than that, they have the spirit of the theses of the Second Congress at which their delegates attended. In particular they are interested in the thesis on the national question.

* * *

The tactical substance of these theses is that the Communists of an oppressed country, while ever strengthening the proletarian elements in the national revolutionary movement, must give every support to this struggle against the foreign imperialism. On the other hand, the Communist Party of the oppressing country must expose in every way from the standpoint of the world revolution, the true significance of this conflict. They must above all render "active support" (not "humanitarian" interest) to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people. The measure and nature of this support is to be determined by the degree of development of this movement. In all cases it is to be rendered in such a way as to consolidate and extend the proletarian Communist elements and prepare the latter for their ultimate struggle against the native capitalism.

With the advent of the Dominion state there must come an orientation of policy. The Irish Communists are in the position of the greedy youngster who said he "preferred both." They desire the fighting to continue (to deal another blow at Imperialism, and to keep the example of the effectiveness of armed action before the eyes of the discontented British workers), and, also realizing the necessity of spreading their influence, they welcome the truce and the coming peace for the attainment of this purpose. Their policy must now be to regroup all the grumbling elements that will assuredly fall away from the republicans when the acceptance of the Dominion is more apparent. They must have a programme ready for them on a Communist basis that they can easily understand. They must gain influence in the bigger unions and pull the more advanced elements away from the opportunistic tendencies in the Labour Party. Thus they will prepare a mass organisation to combat the rising Irish Bourgeois State.

WITH THE RED FLAG Sacco and Vanzetti

TWO Italian labour organisers, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, have lately been convicted by a jury at Dedham, Mass. of robbing and murdering Frederick Parmenter and Alexander Berardelli, paymaster and guard for the Slater and Morrill Shoe Company at South Braintree. Identification was the vital issue, and upon this phase the defence testimony greatly outweighed that of the commonwealth; practically all of the prosecution's identifying witnesses were discredited; some were shown to have made statements utterly at variance with what they swore to in court.

Conviction was obtained, however, on the strength of circumstantial evidence entirely apart from the testimony of the eye-witnesses of the murders. The prosecutors contended that the actions and attitude of the defendants when arrested three weeks after the crime indicated consciousness of guilt.

This was a false interpretation of the facts. And here is a remarkable aspect of the case. Ordinarily in these days prosecutors seek to prove radical affiliations of men accused of crime. But this prosecution sought to avoid such proof. So the defence had to put in the radical connections of the defendants to explain their attitude at the time of arrest.

Evidence was introduced by the defence to prove that Sacco and Vanzetti were opposed to the war in 1917, refused to register and evaded the draft by going to Mexico. That both had been active in big strikes in Massachusetts. That on the night of their arrest, May 5, 1920, they were engaged in carrying out a plan to conceal radical literature, on the advice of a New York attorney. That they and others had been raising money to defend Andrea Salsedo and Roberto Elia, printers illegally imprisoned by the Department of Justice; and that on the previous day they had learned of Salsedo's 14-story plunge to death. These facts made them fearful of prosecution and impelled them to veil their movements so their radical activities might not be disclosed and so they wouldn't have to give the names of any of their friends to the police.

This testimony was pushed aside by the prosecution as being of no import, although it was admitted that at the time of their arrest the defendants were not accused of payroll murders, but were grilled about their political ideas and attitude toward governments.

Many creditable witnesses testified that Sacco was in Boston on April 15, the crime-date, arranging for passports, and that Vanzetti was in Plymouth, selling fish. But the jury totally disregarded this evidence. Newspapers say that the jurors based their verdict largely upon a bullet which the prosecution contended came from a revolver Sacco carried when arrested three weeks after the murders. But even the government's experts admitted that the tiny mark on the bullet, visible only with a microscope, was a common occurrence and might have been fired from any one of many guns. Experts for the defence testified that the bullet did not come from the Sacco revolver.

But if the prosecution tried to avoid proving that the defendants were radicals no juror nor spectator was deluded as to who the prisoners were when the trial began. At the time of their arrest the press was filled with stories of the accused men's radical activities, and this feature was re-emphasised in the press reports while the jurors were being selected, when they had not yet ceased to read newspapers. Both defendants were tried in a cage, which kept uppermost throughout the trial the suggestion that they were dangerous men. Many officers guarded the defendants, jury and judge. Every spectator was searched at the courtroom doors for weapons. The whole atmosphere was surcharged with antagonism toward the accused. Racial and class hatred unquestionably were large factors in the conflict.

Many disinterested persons have expressed the opinion that Judge Webster Thayer's instructions to the jury were unfair. He pleaded for "loyalty to government," talked about "consciousness of guilt as murderers or as slackers and radicals," and admonished the jury to "seek courage in your deliberations as did the American soldier boy as he fought and gave up his life on the battlefields of France." These persons point out that such instructions were not appropriate to the actual issues involved, and were calculated to injure the defendants in the minds of the jury.

Motions for a new trial for both defendants have been filed, and on November 1, a bill of exceptions alleging numerous errors in the court procedure will be submitted. The Supreme Court will pass upon the appeal within the next few months.

Kingsley, Northampton. Letter received.

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THE GREAT DEBATE

IN this issue we conclude our report of the debate between R. C. Wallhead, Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, and Arthur MacManus, Chairman of the Communist Party. The subject under discussion was "Which is the best policy for the working class of Great

Britain—that of the I.L.P. or that of the Communist Party?"

The report which we publish is the first full or even faithful report. Arrangements will be made for the publication of the complete verbatim record in pamphlet form.

[Last issue we closed with MacManus' second speech. We continue with Wallhead's reply.]

WALLHEAD INTERRUPTED

WALLHEAD: We are getting rather near to grips with this subject now. *(Laughter.)* First of all may I make a reference to the question of the Independent Labour Party and Russia? I am not concerned with what any particular individual in the Independent Labour Party may have written or said about Russia. I am not concerned with what Mrs. Snowden may have said with regard to Russia. I am concerned with the general position of the rank and file of the Independent Labour Party and the general position of its National Council. *(Applause.)* I say that from the point of view of the Independent Labour Party as an organisation the Russian Soviet Government has had no better friends than the Independent Labour Party, that we have from the platform and by all other means in our power assisted and helped them on every possible occasion. *(A voice: "Liar.")* Well, my friends, it is no use any man shouting "liar," it is perfectly true. I think my friend MacManus will be generous enough to admit that generally the Independent Labour Party has defended Russia. *(Cries of dissent.)* What on earth else could we have done? *(Hear, hear.)* Let us remember that even MacDonald has said that if he were in Russia he would back the present Government. *(He'd have to.)* MacDonald has said that so far as he had information there was no other course that the present Soviet Government could have taken. I have heard him say that myself. But I am not here to defend MacDonald. MacDonald is quite able to defend himself. *(Hear, hear.)* I am here to put the position of the Independent Labour Party as an organisation, and I say that its attitude to the Russian question is beyond cavil and beyond dispute. My friend MacManus mentioned the question of the miners' strike, and said that Mr. Lloyd George did a better thing than I suggested when he mobilised the soldiers against the miners. Of course he did. That was because he had got the political power to mobilise them. Does my friend MacManus assume for one single moment that there was any power resting in the working classes at that time that could have prevented or stopped the exercise and the use of military force, had it come to such a dreadful proposition in the end? It was just by that that the miners were beaten, by the politicians, by the exercise and use of political power. *(A voice: "What about Thomas?")* and some interruption.)

The Chairman appealed for order, saying that if there were divided opinions among the audience, they could quite well leave the expression of those opinions to the two gentlemen who were debating the question, than whom there were no better exponents of the respective points of view they represented.

WALLHEAD: So far as Comrade MacManus and I are concerned we came on to this platform perfect friends, and we shall leave it perfect friends. We are not quarrelling. We are simply discussing an important question. I say that Lloyd George could do what he did simply because he does exercise the political power of the country. If Lloyd George had not exercised that power, if, for instance, you had Bob Smillie as Premier, do you think the military forces of the country would have been brought out against the miners of this country? As a matter of fact, the conditions that forced the lock-out would not have arisen if the people of this country had exercised political power in something like a reasonable way. *(Applause.)*

MacManus told us that the workers of Italy had seized the factories, had seized industrial power. But they could not maintain their hold of the factories because they had not got political power. That was the reason. They had missed the first important factor. What they should have done was to get control of the Government first, and then their seizing of the factories would have been all right—even according to my friend MacManus. Well, now, he wants to know what you mean to do after you get a Socialist Government coming into power. I believe it was Marx who laid it down that it would be the duty of the working class to use political power in order to wrest by degrees economic power from the capitalist class. Does my friend MacManus suggest that if you have got a Socialist Government in power, returned at the next election, that that Socialist Government would be a traitor if it refused to pass a universal decree

establishing a whole full-blown system of Socialism at once? If MacManus wants argument for that, then the present condition of Russia has taught him no lesson. If the situation in Russia teaches one thing more than another it is this—You cannot establish a Socialist system unless you have got a Socialist people behind you. *(Applause.)* As a matter of fact if you will take the speech of Lenin—he is a realist. Lenin is not theorising in committee rooms. Lenin is not laying down policies for other countries to pursue that he cannot pursue himself. Lenin is face to face with stern reality. Lenin knows and has admitted that he can establish Socialism only if he has the political power, and that he can only do it by degrees. He can only move as the mass of the Russian people will allow him to move.

Does anyone think for a single moment that the peasant in Russia became Socialist because the Soviet Government went into power? As a matter of fact the peasant in Russia became a strong individualist. In Russia you have not got a proletarian revolution; in Russia you have got a revolution of the peasant. The "Daily Herald" published the other day a remarkable statement from their special correspondent in Berlin, in which they said that in order to cope with the present famine in Russia—which, let me say, in passing, has nothing whatever to do with the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government is not in the slightest degree responsible for it. The drought has come into Russia. When I was there last year they were then suffering from a heavy shortage of crops due to the drought, and if there has been a continuance of those conditions I can well imagine what the situation must be. But it is not due to the Socialist Government, and the capital Press is lying about that as usual. Well, the correspondent of the "Herald," to whom I have referred, sends a message in which he says that the Soviet Government is opening credits with Germans in Germany for the purpose of getting a supply of commodities in order that they may supply the peasants with these commodities, in order that they may release the corn in the areas where there is plenty for the relief of the people in the starvation areas.

What does that indicate? That indicates this—That the peasant in a good many places has more corn than he can consume or than he requires for himself, and that he refuses to part with it unless he receives in return payment for the corn he delivers. Now, I say there you have an indication that the mere passing of a decree, the mere coming into power of a Soviet Government does not make your peasant into a Socialist. In all countries your peasant class is an avaricious class, it is a greedy class, it is aggressive and strongly individualistic. That is exactly what is happening there, and the difficulty of the Socialist is this, that they are trying to jump periods. Lenin, in a speech he delivered at the second Communist Congress, said: "We must give up all prejudices of a scientific character." That is, you cannot get Socialism except by passing through the various stages, that you cannot jump from one position to another without going through the ordinary development of the capitalist system. He admits himself in his last speech on the agricultural tax that you have got to retrace your steps, that you cannot do more than your power will allow you to do.

As a matter of fact, his speech on the agricultural tax, published in the "Labour Monthly" a month ago, indicates just a splendid Independent Labour Party policy, because Lenin is pointing out there that you can only proceed in stages, and indicates clearly that you cannot arrive at your final stage in Russia for probably several decades. Why does he do that? Because he has got to explain and gain acquiescence for large concessions to the capitalists of various countries for the exploitation of certain areas in Russia. Lenin points this out, and says, "This is a return to Capitalism, yes, but we can afford this return to Capitalism, we can afford to re-establish these economic forms, provided we keep in our own hands the political administrative power. You say that political power is no use, but Lenin knows that political power is the most important factor he has got to keep if he is to carry through his great experiment in Russia to a successful issue. My friend MacManus asks me what we would do. We would do just as much as the temper of the people would allow us to do. If you have the people as you have them now in England, not convinced Socialists, but grumbling at the pressure of the Capitalist system, you can only go as far as they will allow you to go. The people

are not intellectually convinced of Socialism. They are not prepared to go on suffering for the establishment of that system, and they are the very people to turn round and rend you because you have not brought them everything they want. Therefore, what you would do would depend entirely upon the mentality, the intellectual grasp of the situation of the great mass of the people who had returned you. If they were intelligently accepting Socialism, if they were intellectually out to fight the Capitalist system, if they were intelligently demanding the establishment of the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth, they would be prepared to face sufferings for the establishment of that system, but, if not, you would not get them there. I remember a talk I had with a member of Bela Kun's government in Budapest. He said that certain circumstances arose in which Bela Kun's government could not redeem their pledges and promises to the mass of the people. And what was the result? The result was that the reactionaries brought in the Roumanian troops and they were received by the working class of Budapest as their deliverers; they were received with open arms. Why? Because the people were not prepared to suffer sufficiently to establish the system in which Communists alone believed.

What is the use of blinking facts? The fact is that you cannot get very far outside the mentality of the mass of the people. You cannot get very far outside the economic forms. You can go exactly as far as you have power to go from the point of view of the mentality and intelligence of the people. Some of you, my friends, may say that you cannot get without bloodshed the liberation of the working class from the thralldom of Capitalism and the ushering in of the system we call Socialism. Bukharin has stated that we may suppose there may come a time when the remnants of the Capitalist system will deliver themselves to be established in a new social order. As a matter of fact, he himself visualises the possibility that when the Capitalist system has been eaten into they may hand over bodily the system they have hitherto been controlling. That may be likely or unlikely, but, however it may be, Bukharin is one of the philosophers and theorists of the Third International, and that is the statement he has made, and it is well worth considering, surely. I say, my friends, therefore, that you have got; and I believe the Independent Labour Party indicates the line down which the working class will ultimately advance to their own emancipation, first of all politically, and then to an economic order, for the purpose of establishing the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. *(Applause.)*

MACMANUS' LAST SPEECH

MACMANUS: I intend to take the last point first—the point that relates to the statement of Bukharin and the use that Comrade Wallhead made of it. The particular instance that led Bukharin to make that statement was this—he had in mind particularly the handing over of political power in Hungary to the Communist Party. There it was handed over without bloodshed. That was what he had in mind, and he was using that particular instance to show that the handing over of political power may be accomplished without bloodshed, and yet the revolution is not accomplished. Blood is shed afterwards. What is going on in Hungary just now? The greatest White Terror ever experienced in history. There are no moderates, no radicals even in Hungary now. They are all extremists, and those who are not have migrated and hid in various parts of the world because of the White Terror and counter revolution going on there. That is what Bukharin was referring to. Although there was no bloodshed when transferring the power, yet it is true to say that no revolution has been accomplished without the shedding of blood. So much for Comrade Wallhead's use of that particular statement of Bukharin.

I come to the second point. He has agreed to my enunciation of the class struggle. He has agreed with my universal survey of history, and I took it for granted, therefore, that he accepted the materialist conception of history. I thought he had admitted that, but I find now that he does not accept that because he says you must have the mentality of the people behind you before you can get the Socialist system. What was the whole lesson of the survey I gave—not that mentality created new systems, not that ideals were responsible for progress, but that it was the character of Social Progress that determined the character and

THE DEBATE

(Continued from previous page).

the quality of ideas. (Applause.) So much for that. Now, Mr. Wallhead says, you must have a Socialist majority because you cannot organise grumblers, that it is not grumblers from which you can make an organised social revolution. That is hypothetical. I have a positive argument. Was there a majority of class conscious socialists in Russia? As a matter of fact, one hundred and eighty millions of the Russian people were led into the revolution by an insignificant portion of the population. A very small minority led them right over the period of the revolution. Did that majority turn and rend them as Comrade Wallhead says? No, not even when there was a famine on. And let me say here that I am glad to hear Comrade Wallhead admitting that the Communist Party is not responsible for that famine. That is quite a good admission to have, especially from a member of the I.L.P., because, as I have already quoted, the "Labour Leader" expresses a different view when it says that the Communist experiment is a disastrous experience for Russia. Now, there has never been a revolution in the history of the world where you have had a majority conscious of what the ultimate aim of the revolution was going to be. (Applause.) I want to sum up by saying that the Communist Party's tactical policy is not what Comrade Wallhead has said. He pointed to Italy and said that I had admitted in that case that the failure in Italy was because the Italian workers had not got political power first. I did not say that, what I did say was that they failed by not following up their industrial action by imposing a political dictatorship of the working class in Italy. (Applause.)

Our tactical policy is—we are out to capture the control of the workshop, factories and means of production first, second to impose a rigid political dictatorship of the working class on the rest of the community, and as a result of that the third thing is to maintain that dictatorship right on until such times as everything is secure.

Comrade Wallhead has referred to the fact that Marx mentioned getting revolution by degrees. Marx was referring to certain concessions. He stated that the revolutionary will of the working class will be born by degrees according to the experiences they are led into in the class struggle. The reformist's conception of development in the working class makes a goal of what Marx meant only as an educational experience. I want to conclude by saying that the Communist Party of this country stands for that industrial organisation and that political organisation—that seizing of both economic and political power. We will seize political power. Comrade Wallhead and the I.L.P. need not worry about that. We will have political power, we are not anti-political. Regarding the use of illegal organisation, if Capitalism in the struggle compels us to resort to illegal organisation, then we will resort to it. We will become illegal. (Applause.)

I have one point to make in conclusion, and it is to sum up what I consider to be the position. There is room for the Labour Party, the Labour Party represents a phase in the historical progress of the working class, the Labour Party is the last bulwark of Capitalism in its development. But the Labour Party as a party is servile to the capitalist system, whereas what we want is a Labour predominance. That can only be secured by revolution, and the Communist Party is the revolutionary party. The Third International to which the Communist Party is allied is determined to fight for it, to strive for it, to see that the working class gets revolution and gets on with it, and the policy of the Communist Party is for a Labour revolution as represented by the Third International.

WALLHEAD CONCLUDES

WALLHEAD: All I have to say, Mr. Chairman, is that if there is anybody in this audience that now knows the policy of the Communist Party through my friend McManus, then it is more than I do. I have asked time and time again and I have not got it. He has told me we cannot do certain things because the statement I made is not in accord with the materialist conception of history—that is to say, that the mentality of the people does not count at all, that mentality is not a question that will decide the issue. Well, now then, surely, the mentality of the people is the outcome of the economic situation. Surely that is so and surely the economic situation in this country ought to have brought the mentality of the people to the point of view that the Capitalist system is essentially bad, essentially rotten. But that is putting it the wrong way round, says my friend McManus. But the Communist Party will fight for a revolution, they will force a revolution. The Communist Party cannot force a revolution, it cannot compel a revolution, it cannot bring a revolution unless the economic forms are right for that revolution. As a matter of fact, when he speaks about the

minority leading the great mass of the people of Russia, what was the position there? In Russia the conditions brought about by the war made it possible for the Communists to step in, and as Lenin has indicated, and as the Communists themselves admit, to pass over that materialist conception which says that certain things can only come to pass when the economic forms have been prepared. Now Lenin says himself that each country must absolutely pass through capitalist exploitation, that it is not possible to step from small scale production to state production. Here in this last article he states clearly and definitely the policy that the Communist Party in Russia must adopt. He says that we must ultimately get back to large scale production, encourage the Capitalist to go in for large scale production, and that we need not fear so long as we keep political power in our hands. That is the conclusion he has come to. That is the result of his policy after four years Communist control in Russia. The position has come to this, that you cannot jump periods, you must go back to scientific generalisations. That is Lenin's final conviction. The profits obtained by the Capitalists will be, he says, in effect, their payments for instructing us.

WALLHEAD was proceeding to read a published statement by Lenin when the chairman checked him with the remark that he could not introduce new matter at that stage.

WALLHEAD continuing, said, according to the article I mentioned before, Lenin declares that his policy means unrestricted trade, unrestricted capitalism. But, says Lenin, we can afford to reintroduce capitalism in Russia because we must pass through the full scale development of capitalism, we must pass through the various stages, we must pass through state socialism, we must pass through bureaucratic socialism before we arrive at the full socialist state. And accordingly Lenin's conclusion in this article is unrestricted trade and unrestricted capitalism. And I think Lenin is right. I think that if with famine, civil war, with the Capitalists fighting him on every hand, if he brings out and finally establishes there—he is a great man struggling against tremendous odds—if he can show the world that the economic theory of socialism is sound and conducts his work by laying down the economic basis for the establishment of a socialist state in Russia, every socialist movement in the world will be indebted to the Russians for the suffering they have undergone for the common cause of humanity. I believe his policy is right, because I believe in the capture of political control first and then the setting to work to obtain the economic control of industry, so that by your power you eventually secure control by the working class in politics and in industry. (Applause.)

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES

By John Ball

Railway Buffers Moved—Grim Plight of Miners—Unions that Fight in Disunity

THE Scottish railway companies have followed the Irish in hastening to justify the warning given in THE COMMUNIST when the railways were about to be decontrolled. It will not be long before the English and Welsh companies take the same course and demand drastic cuts in wages.

Under the terms of the settlement following the 1919 strike, the railway workers secured "stop" rates below which wages were not to fall in any circumstances. But, Gorblessyer, that is a detail. The bosses say the "stop" rates must go, so they calmly shift the buffers!

The settlement provided that any changes in the conditions must go to the Central Wages Board and the National Board failing settlement with the unions. That may be all right for "constitutionalists" like railway union leaders, but it does not suit the bosses. "This is what we have decided," say they, "and it is to operate on October 1. Here's our plan. Do go and tell your fellows."

Probably the matter will end in a sort of arbitration, but what the railway workers should note is that, whatever course is taken their "stop" rates are not worth the paper they are printed on, and that their wages are going down and down.

Black Friday is taking "some" toll, is it not?

* * *

The next big fight, when it comes, will be a desperate affair. It will not be called by

leaders confident of victory, but will come from desperation in the ranks. Woe betide the employing class then, and it may be soon!

Next month the miners, whom the railwaymen failed to support on Black Friday, will be tasting the full bitterness of their settlement; and they will be in anything but a pleasant mood. Their leaders' game will be to keep them working until the end of November in the expectation of trade improving and wages (as distinct from wage rates) being increased.

For other than the leaders' reasons I hope the miners will be able to avoid a struggle next month. Their machinery ought to be reconstructed before the next stoppage.

Every live trade unionist among the miners ought to be insisting on the reconstruction now. We need one mining union, with sections for the various trades. Let there be no more fooling.

* * *

A mass of other wage attacks develop this week.

The engineering and shipbuilding unions are meeting the employers to discuss the demand for the withdrawal of the 12½ per cent. Ministry of Munitions bonus.

So far as the engineering section is concerned, the arrangement was that the matter would be considered in the light of the stage of trade. The boss Press is trying to show that trade is improving (the object of this stunt being to soothe the unemployed). I

I should not like to give much for Brownlie & company's chances of convincing the bosses that what their own Press says is true!

No doubt we shall have more negotiations and ballots. The amazing thing to me is that the unions have been doing nothing to prepare for this situation. Not so the bosses. Their plans are laid. They have weighed up the situation. They know their strength. The unions' only hope, and on this they should concentrate, is to postpone the matter until next year.

This week, too, there will be developments in regard to printing. The Typographical Association and certain unions in the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation are balloting on the amended proposal to accept a cut of 7/6 a week for men. The London Society of Compositors and others are meeting the bosses. The recent negotiations have demonstrated again the need for one union for the printing industry.

On Sunday the soap and candle workers will meet in adjourned conference to deal with the threatened cuts in their wages.

Is it not tragic to see railwaymen, miners, engineers, shipbuilders, printers, and soap-workers all working separately (and even split into sections), fight against a common policy but unable so far to fight with a common policy!

There is plenty of work for the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

STEADY AS YOU GO

By Jim Breslow

NOW that those who go out in ships are battering at the gates of freedom, a number of expert navigators are clamoring upon the bridge of the bright vessel in which the children of the sea sail to seek the lost light-o-day. Each of these unrolls his chart and points out to the crew the course that must be steered, the shoals, currents and sandbars to be avoided and the various reckonings to be made.

Two of these pilots spread themselves over a page of THE COMMUNIST recently upon the question, but Canning Place and Tiger Bay, Wells Street and the Bromiclaw continue undisturbed to eject streams of brown juice and bad language and wonder "where the 'ell we're at."

Though Fellow-Worker "Wobbly" thunders with all the force of revolutionary rhetoric that the seamen are calling for the "Revolutionary International Marine Industrial Union" and the "Blazing beacon of the O.B.U.," and though A. W. H. gets himself rather overheated on account of the I.W.W. and demands a "vigorous propaganda for amalgamation of all unions," it behoves us as seafarers before shifting our helm, to take careful soundings and to use all the traditional caution of a tribe whose life is spent wholly in the fight against natural forces.

First, what exactly is the R.I.M.I.U.; what is its structure? how does it function, and is the "blazing beacon of the O.B.U." one and the same thing? and if not which particular beacon does our forceful Fellow-Worker imply is the correct one to steer for?

There are, for instance, the O.B.U. of Canada, the O.B.U. of the Italian, French and Spanish Syndicates, and also the O.B.U. of the Industrial Workers of the World. There is even our late lamented "Cripple Alliance" glowing dimly in the misty distance, which is, too, a sort of a kind of O.B.U., though it hardly needs an application of the dialectic method of reasoning to be sure that he does not suggest that.

Then there is the trifling fact to be recognised that an international organisation implies a national and local foundation, and there "ain't no sich thing" in this country. It must be presumed, therefore, that a clean break-away from existing organisations and the formation of brand new seafarers' unions is the only method.

If this be so there still remains the question of which of the several O.B.U. structures to adopt.

But of all the piffle ever handed out to the trustful and confiding seamen, nothing has been sur-

passed for quite a while by the Trade Union Twaddle contained in the article by A. W. H. After expending a considerable amount of perfectly good Stephens' Blue Black upon the I.W.W. (probably the most scientific form of revolutionary industrial unionism in existence) he proceeds to blather:—

"The seamen need not worry their heads about an Industrial Union. . . . Let them go ahead with an all round amalgamation movement. . . . Proceed to a vigorous amalgamation propaganda with the ultimate aim of getting back into the Transport Workers Federation and eventually merging in the Transport and General Workers Union."

S'fine! and if Comrade A. W. H. has attempted to lay down a programme meant to keep idle seamen from straying into the hands of Fellow-Worker Satan until the trump of resurrection, he has succeeded splendidly—and then some.

The Transport and General Workers' Union! A veritable Mecca! Yea a Golden Fleece! Imagine those gallant Riders of the Sea, Havelock Wilson, Cotter, Shinwell, "Hull-fire" McKee, Foley, etc., leading the mariners of England in an intrepid attack upon the wide flung fleets of Capitalism, whilst "Heap Big Man Bevin" shoots off in his T. and G.W.U. war canoe to take a four point bearing of the Houses of Parliament. "Woralife!"

* * *

The trend of all trade union amalgamation is to fix the permanent officials in their places, and a glance at the terms of those which have taken place recently is evidence conclusive. In fact, in one instance, eight years was specifically stated to be the fixed period. These officials themselves will take particular care to "go ahead with an all round amalgamation movement," being cute enough to recognise that their existence is threatened by the very conditions which make craft unionism obsolete. In fact many attempts have been made already to nobble the various vigilance committees to work toward that end.

The class struggle develops with ever increasing intensity, and the seamen realise that it is suicidal to fight sectionally as Firemen, Sailors, Spud Peelers, Cooks, etc., and that they must fight together as workers in a particular industry, and, above all, members of the working class. The channel for the passage of their war galleys has already been dredged for them by the system of production and distribution.

The Capitalist system is organised by industries, and the unit of administration is the ship, shop or factory, with a centralised body, the British Federation of Industries directing and controlling.

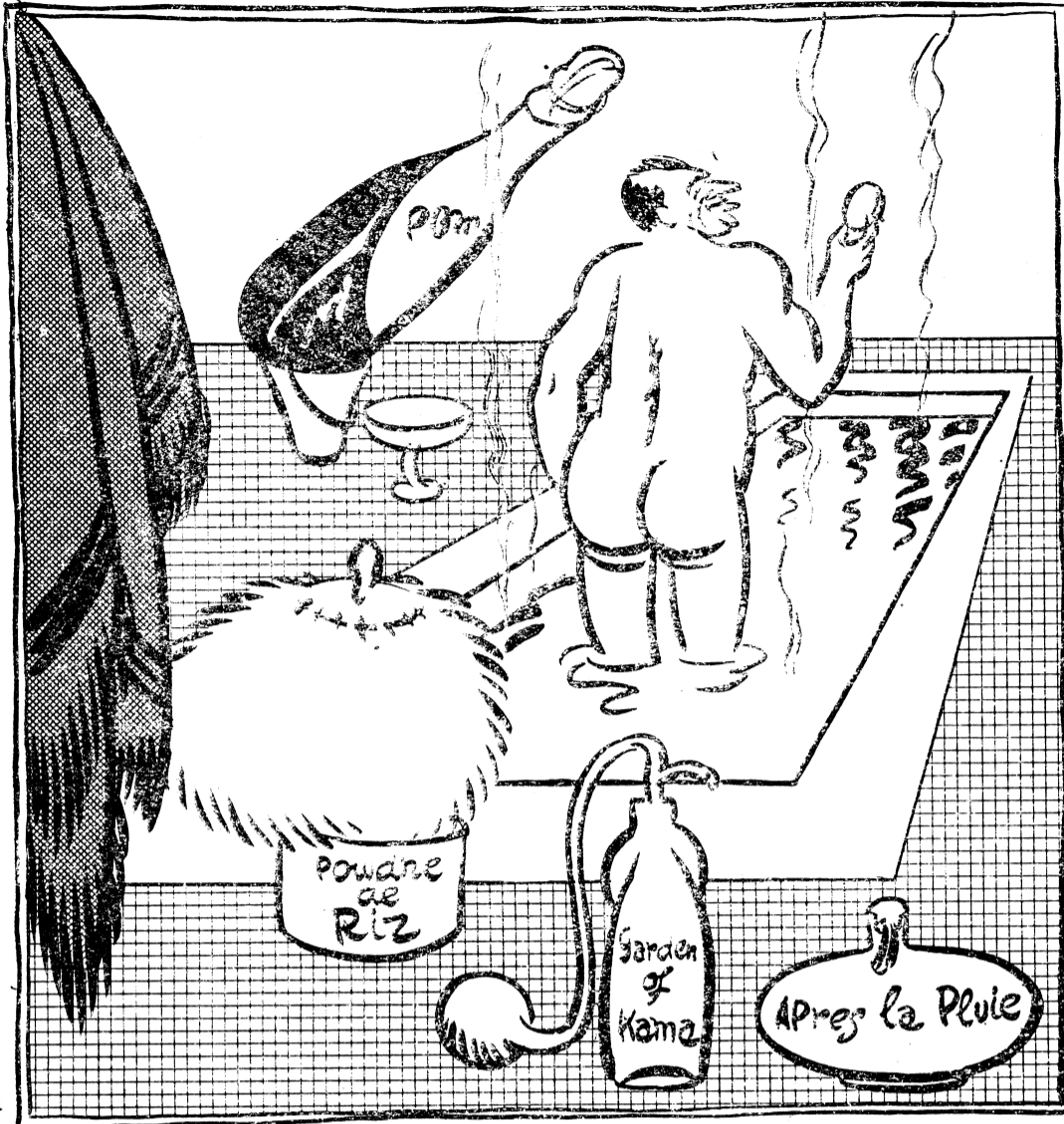
Fronting this, continually engaged in exhaustive rearguard actions, suffering defeats and setbacks owing to defective structure and inefficient leadership, are the labour organisations of the country, the Trade Unions. If these are to be re-arranged and their forces reconstructed, the obvious line for that reconstruction is the line of their enemy, the Capitalist system. Organisation must be by industry instead of craft, the unit of organisation must be transferred from a geographical basis (the branch) to an industrial basis (the ship, shop or factory). The method suggested of bringing this about, by breaking away and forming new unions, is entirely wrong. It would merely segregate the militant sections in particular industries from their comrades in other industries such as the miners—who, having arrived at a much higher standard of organisation, would be unlikely to accept such a proposal. The result would be different structures in different industries, leading to chaos and confusion.

The policy of amalgamation of unions with their reactionary aims and obsolete methods can only land us back to that amazing mass of mis-alliances which crumpled at the commencement of the miners' lock-out and—another Black Friday.

The change can be brought about by the new idea of Rank and File Control, which has for its object not only the cleaning out of the Seamen's Unions (for even if they were washed in the blood of the Lamb and made whiter than the snow, they would be useless) but their transformation into Red Industrial Unions with Revolutionary Aims and Outlook, fighting not for another shilling in wages or another spud in the daily hash, but for the complete overthrow of the Capitalist System and the substitution of Workers Control and Ownership.

By obtaining Rank and File Control of their own unions, seafarers will be able first to sweep away their highly paid and autocratic officials. Then to revise their constitution and rules, transferring the unit of administration from the bench to the ship, and simultaneously to fuse with the other unions in the industry, thus making possible the formation of a Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union organised from the bottom up, which in conjunction with the workers in other industries similarly organised will be able to sweep into the final battle for the Emancipation of the Working Class of the World, and after the victory is won be equipped to administer their industry so efficiently, that to all may be given according to their need.

"LABOUR LEADERS AID UNEMPLOYED"



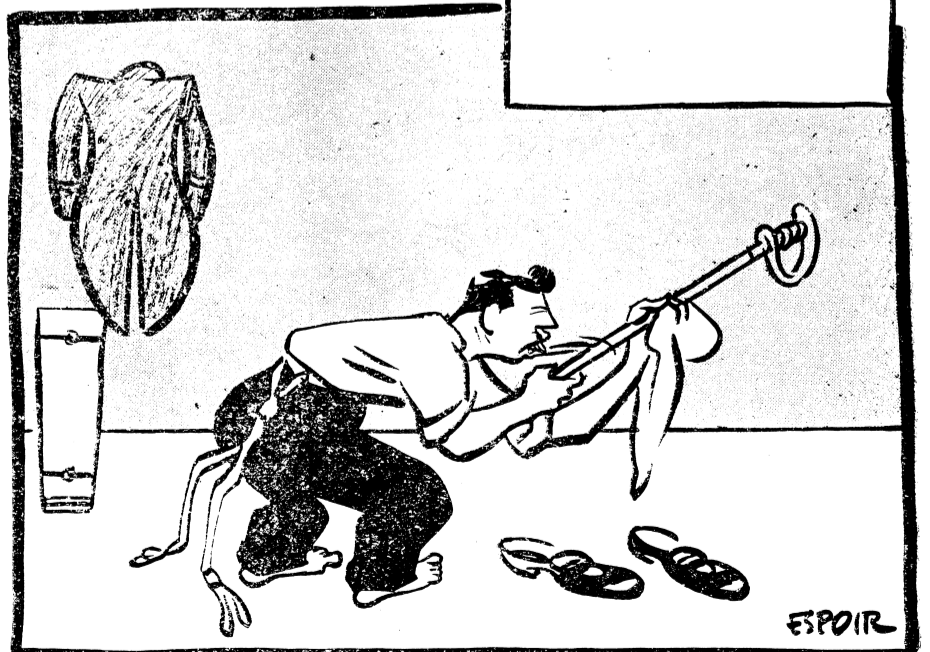
MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS: "When I have washed myself, I shall address the delegates upon unemployment. I shall declare myself in a most revolutionary manner."



THE HACKNEY MARE: "Go to goal for the unemployed? No, not quite. But I will see the Premier—I insist on seeing him."



THE RIGHT HON. C. W. BOWERMAN (at the Havana Cigar Importers' dinner): "And I think, Gentlemen, we ought also to express our sympathy for the unemployed. I do really."

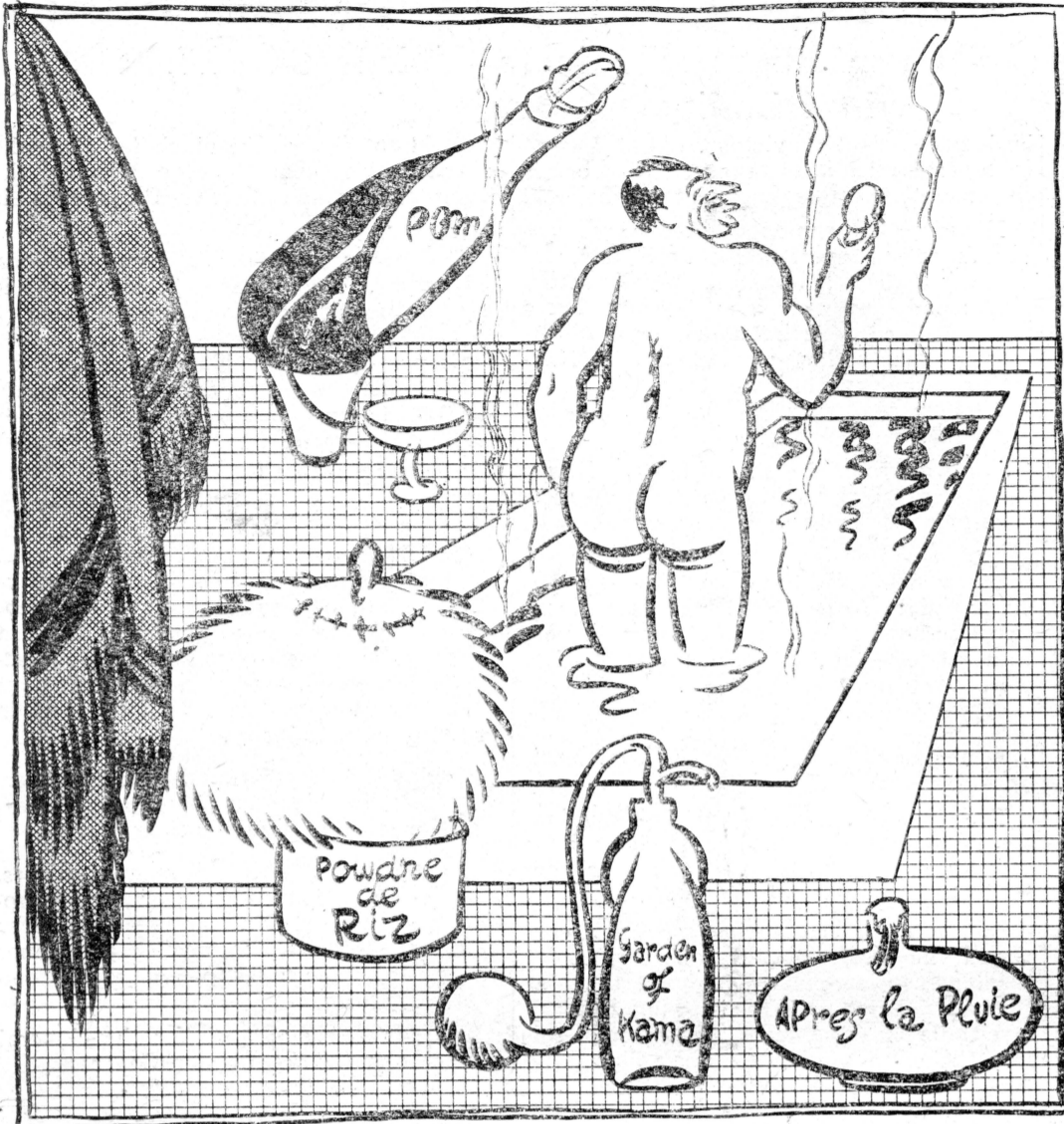


The RT. HON. J. H. THOMAS, P.C., &c.: "As far as I am myself concerned personally, as regards the unemployed, I will, under the abnormal circumstances, if I can only get my Court sword clean, go and see the King about it."

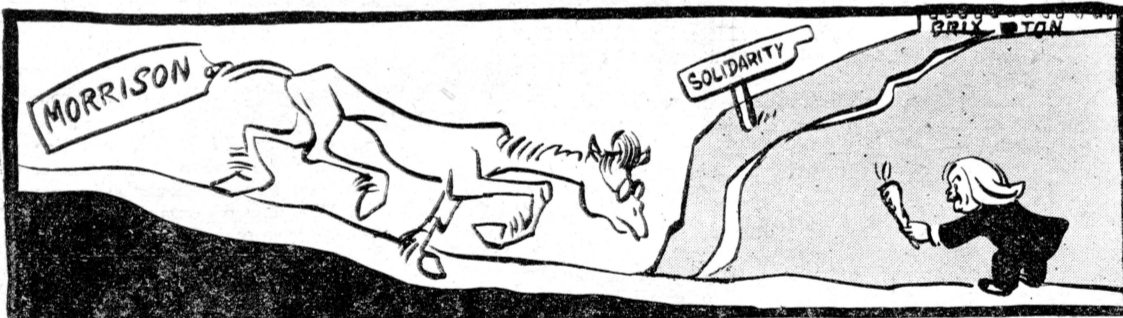
ST. FRANK HODGES: "I say to you—and I know from whence my inspiration comes—There is no way out of this unemployment but to Produce More."



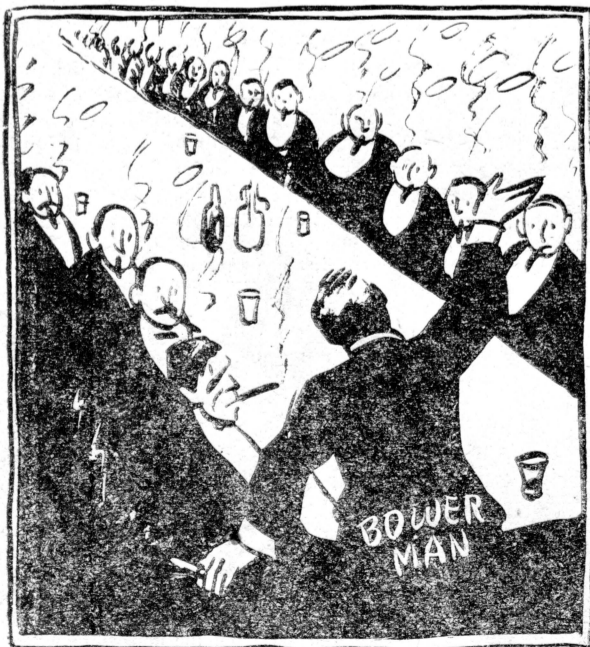
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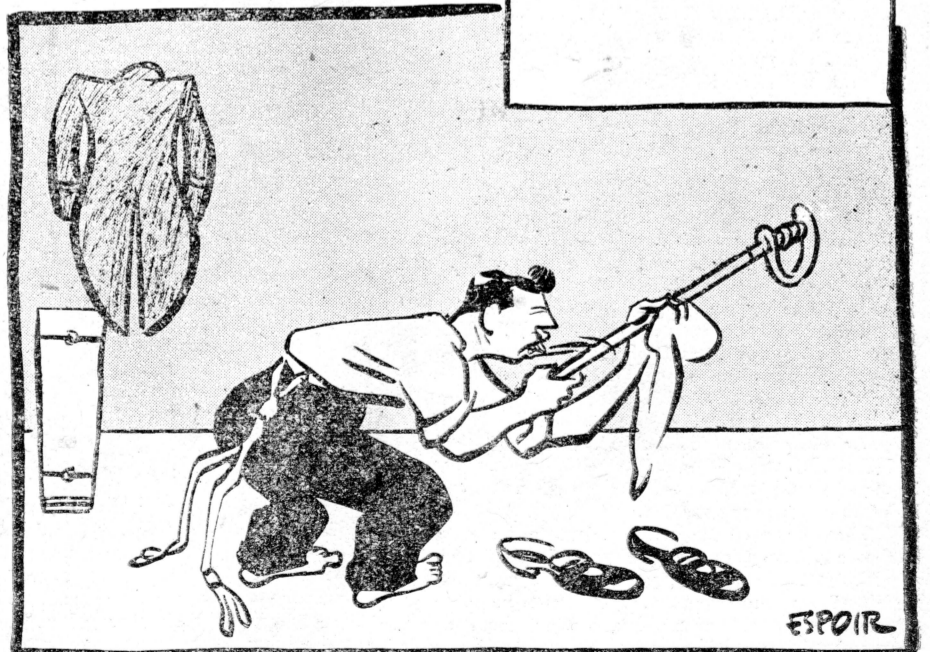
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