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TWOPENCE

THE RESULTS OF GENOA

By C. M. ROEBUCK

THE news from Genoa as we write has once more taken a grave turn. America, which has been eyeing with increasing alarm the gradual accommodation of private capitalist interests in Russia, has cracked her whip. The bankrupt European governments have been reminded that they are dependent in the long run upon the forbearance of American capital. At the suggestion of the United States envoy, it has been decided to attempt once again to work out a common ultimatum to Soviet Russia. Meanwhile all forms of coercion may be expected: from withholding of credits and suspension of separate political negotiations to—why not?—the withdrawal of the American Relief Association from Russia, and the launching of a Roumanian-Wrangel offensive in the south-east.

At this grave moment, when the working class of the world must begin to gird up its loins for a final stand in defence of the Soviet Republic, it is more important than ever dispassionately to consider what have been the meaning and the importance of the negotiations so far.

The Advance of Russia

First, as to Genoa's meaning in the light of the general historical process—its place in the transformation of capitalist society into Communist society. It is the biggest step taken so far by Soviet Russia towards the consolidation, in an important area of the world, of the regime of proletarian dictatorship, in which alone can be maintained and developed the foundations of Communist society. For four years Soviet Russia had to fight for its life, in order to preserve them. During 1921 her existence became more assured, while here and there she was able to undertake raids, on a greater or smaller scale, according to circumstances, into the positions held by the capitalist enemy. With such raids may be classified the trade agreements concluded with Great Britain, Norway, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Germany, etc.; while the peace treaties with all the border states may be described as consolidations of the principal position. Genoa was the first occasion on which our Russian comrades accepted a general engagement along the whole front—political and economic. We are already witnessing the capitalist counter-attack; but the very fact that Russia was able to undertake such an enterprise in her present condition, shows the progress she has made towards the decisive success.

Material Victories

If we contrast her appearance at Genoa, as an equal, with a policy of her own, with a voice that had to be listened to, with Germany's position at Versailles in 1918-1919, we shall see the justification for confidence in the future of the Soviet star. And the bad language of the capitalist press, we are convinced, is only an indirect testimony to its rising fortunes. Lloyd George and Poincare have not reconciled themselves, of course, and the counter-attack in earnest is beginning; but the firmness of the Soviet Delegation was maintained in the light of a clear appreciation of just how much strength and weakness there was on either side; and no vicissitude will shake that solidly based confidence, moving step by step to victory.

Next, the immediate results of Genoa, whatever it be, raid or offensive. Military science knows of two kinds of effect by which the success of an enterprise may be measured: material and moral. Russia's international position is still sufficiently that of a watchful soldier to require the same treatment. Materially, therefore, we must reckon, first among the gains, the treaty with Germany, by which full diplomatic recognition has been achieved. Nothing was given up in the winning of this treaty which was actually recoverable for Russian economy, and in any case all renunciations of debts and claims were counterbalanced by similar renunciations on the part of Germany. Already the Treaty of Rapallo has created a significant move of German machinery and technical skill into Russia: over 160 contracts and concessions of various kinds, but all involving credits, are under consideration at the present time by the Soviet Government. On April 30 the first passenger aeroplane of the new Berlin-Moscow service landed on the Vlodinka fields, and next day participated in the aerial manoeuvres which formed part of the great national proletarian holiday.

Before long, unless America's prohibition is effective, Germany's example will be followed by a number of other states of Central Europe, who are convinced that there is no hope of reconstruction under the wing of Poincare, and who have been talking to Russia these last six months. But we must get clear that it was Russia's bold stroke in accepting the Cannes conditions and coming to Genoa that finally decided them to come with practical proposals.

The same applies to the private capitalists and companies which, as the bourgeois press does not conceal, are already tumbling over one another in their eagerness to offer their credits and technical aid to men who have been asked to lunch with Mr. Lloyd George and the King of Italy. It does not matter to the unenlightened industrialists of the West that, as one brilliant Russian cartoonist conceived, the hosts were, in all probability, severely indisposed immediately after the meal: the business men have had too pinched an existence of recent years to be troubled with political diarrhoea. . . . This summer, which bids fair to give Soviet Russia an average crop of corn, and thereby increased output and stability in industry, should see the beginning of a real flow of capital—strictly, of course, within the channels fixed by the workers' Government—into the parched industrial fields of the Soviet Republic.

Moral Losses?

But (and this is a big "but"), what of the moral results? Have the Soviet delegates encouraged the capitalists by offering to give up too much? Have they discouraged the Russian proletariat? Have they lost the confidence of the workers of the world (as they have lost the support of certain hysterical "revolutionaries" in every country)? This would have been too big a price to pay for credits and recognition.

They have not paid it. Here, too, the ground has been more than held. Towards the capitalists they rightly adopted the attitude: "We will recognise pre-war debts, in return for recognition that we are the lawful successors of those that contracted

them, and on condition of a long moratorium, until we can begin paying: we refuse to recognise any war debts, unless our counter-claims for intervention damages are taken into consideration, or, alternatively, unless considerable reductions in the amounts demanded are made, and large credits are given us to enable our industry and agriculture to revive: we refuse to recognise the right of pre-war property-holders to claim compensation for nationalisation, but will, as an act of grace, recoup the poor bondholders for their losses, and will offer the rich leases and concessions for developing Russia's natural resources, out of which their percentage of the profits will in the long run satisfy all their claims." These were the practical terms offered: they were not such, of course, as might have been dictated by Comrade Zinoviev, had the Comintern been in session at Genoa: but who, taking stock of realities, will dare to assert that they were unwise or unworthy of Communists in charge of the destinies of 130 million workers and peasants?

That the capitalists do not consider these terms a surrender, is shown by the universal howl of protest and Billingsgate that arose from *Morning Post* and *Daily News* alike. They do not jubilate over the Russian memorandum a whit more than their crest-fallen brethren in Russia over the "new economic policy." The Russian Party has become a Party of business men, but it has no intention of turning Russia into an almshouse and home of rest for the gentle capitalist. That attitude will be maintained, America or no America.

The Russian Workers

That the Russian workers have not lost their faith, that they are ready to accept the concessions abroad as they showed themselves prepared for the change in policy at home, is shown by the declarations of enthusiastic support showered upon Chicherin and his colleagues by countless meetings in shop, factory, and union, and, in particular, by the solid confidence shown at Moscow's gigantic May Day Demonstration, in which 600,000 workers participated.

That the workers of the world will comprehend and approve Soviet Russia's conciliatory policy, and show it by supporting her in the stand she may yet have to make against the combined vultures of the capitalist world, we are confident. The workers know that Soviet Russia was the only power that raised her voice against the crushing burden of militarism amidst the bandit governments at Genoa. They know that, nevertheless, if she has once more to fall back upon the sword in defence of her existence, she is only acting under the pressure of necessity. For those who are working for the emancipation of the proletariat, first amongst them, the Communist Party, the task is clear: by a conscientious and persistent application of the policy of the "United Front," decided upon in Berlin to thwart the malevolence and aggression of the imperialists, to relieve the pressure upon the exhausted workers and peasants of Russia once for all, and thereby to secure the first big victory of world Labour over world capitalism.

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.2. They cannot be paid for at the present.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK

Regarding As long as, by the grace of Rt. Honourables God and our own stupidity, capitalism persists, His Majesty has a perfectly legal and constitutional right to have a Privy Council if he chooses. That is his affair. As a secret council chamber of the propertied interests it is, perhaps, not so dangerous to the workers as other camarillas, seemingly less important. But, nevertheless, the workers have a right to know what their so-called leaders are doing in that galley. Disguise it how you will, you cannot hide the fact that a Privy Councillor's oath is a direct and solemn undertaking to betray the workers to their enemies whenever the growing urgency of the class struggle drives them into extra-constitutional revolt, or what may be construed as such. A Privy Councillor is, by the very nature of his office, a sworn defender of the established order, as personified in the last relics of medieval tomfoolery. If he essays to lead Labour, he must choose his camp. He cannot have a foot in both.

Even the mild Irish Nationalist M.P.'s of pre-Sinn Fein days fought shy of the Privy Council, keen though some of them were for promotion at the English Bar. A healthy fear of Irish public opinion restrained them.

It is satisfactory to note that a similar public opinion is growing here among all sections of the Labour movement, and will be given expression to at the forthcoming Labour Party Conference.

Needless to say, we Communists have not the slightest doubt about the matter. Strangely enough—although for exactly opposite reasons—we agree entirely with Mr. Justice Darling.

* * *

The C.P. and Negotiations between the the Labour Party executives of the Labour Party and the Communist Party, in respect of the application of the latter for affiliation to the former are proceeding.

Questions and answers have been exchanged, and we should be in a position to announce something definite at an early date.

The forthcoming conference of the Labour Party should be more than usually interesting.

The Vendetta Sunderland is "represented" in Parliament by Hamar Greenwood, the "onlie begetter" of the Black-and-Tans.

It is not surprising to find Sunderland a place characterised by the most "Prussian" police methods. Their latest exploit was to "proclaim" an Unemployed Demonstration, on the ground that the speakers were Communists. The proclaiming was done verbally—that is to say, a detective sergeant, with a foul mouth and a fondness for brandishing his baton came forward at the head of a large body of police, and announced to the chairman that the meeting was "proclaimed," and would be dispersed by force if it attempted to carry on with its business.

The difficulty was got over for the moment by the audience forming into procession and marching over the boundary, into territory under the control of Durham County Constabulary. But it does not end there. The Detective Inspector announced (with what legal authority remains to be seen) that "no more Communist meetings" would be allowed in Sunderland, and that he would only allow "level-headed men" to address the unemployed.

The question whether this detective inspector is or is not the Kaiser of Sunderland, and whether Hamar Greenwood's

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CIRCULATION MANAGER

methods are to be "tried out" here, before adoption universally in Britain, has yet to be decided. Comrades in Sunderland can be sure of all the help necessary.

* * *

The Murder of One of the most prominent Victor Kingisepp fighters for the workers' cause in Esthonia has been murdered. The "democratic" government, following the example of the social-democrats who shot 26 Communists in 1920, have executed Victor Kingisepp.

As far back as the revolution of 1905, Comrade Kingisepp, then quite a youth, was active—on the isle of Oesel, in Petrograd, and in Reval. He was very active also in the time of Tsarist reaction, following the defeat of the revolution. He worked "underground" in Esthonia, Russia, and as far away as the Caucasus.

In 1912 he edited "Lutsch" (Light), a Bolshevik paper.

In 1917 he returned to Esthonia and took part (in face of extreme difficulty), in leading the revolutionary labour movement. While preparing the manifestation for the first of May last, he was arrested with others. The Soviet Legation, hearing of this, at once enquired the cause of his arrest. They were told that Comrade Kingisepp was in no danger.

A few hours later he was shot by order of court-martial.

This is how the Esthonian bourgeoisie deals with the worker. Comrade Kingisepp committed one crime—he fought for the emancipation of the working class. Will his murder disturb the conscience of Vanderelde, Martoff, and Adler—those who are so concerned at the possibility of harm coming to the enemies of the workers of Russia, and the assassins of leaders of that struggle?

Here is another and an urgent reason for a unification of the workers' fighting front.

* * *

"Nearer, My During the Genoa Conference, Mrs. Snowden was the guest of Mrs. Lloyd George at the Villa D'Albertis!

This shows . . . ! Doesn't it?

* * *

Wafts The "Labour" M.P. for from Wigan Wigan (J. A. Parkinson) ought to be, and probably is, a devoted admirer of Mrs. Snowden. Speaking on May Day, he propounded his theories, first, that "there is no Class War," second, "that there are no class distinctions to the Labour Party," third, that "during 1915, 1916, and 1917, the miners were given their whole economic value," and fourth, that "the more we build up materially, the further we get from moral well-being."

That's the way it's done. Bother about the morals of the worker and the boss will do all the worrying about his material status.

* * *

"Willy Nilly" Mr. Willy Pilley, acting editor of *John Bull*, has expressed himself as "in sympathy with the ideals of Labour." *Gawd!* "When the devil was sick, the devil—a saint was he. When the devil was well, the devil a saint was he!"

* * *

Loud Cheers "The hero of to-day is the scoundrel of to-morrow."—Mr. J. H. Thomas, at Falkirk, Sunday, May 14, 1922.

* * *

Staggering Humanity Leonid Krassin suggested that a suitable chairman for the commission to inquire into the whole question of the debts owed by the pre-Revolution Russian State and their composition with the Bourgeois Bondholders could be found in either Bernard Shaw or Anatole France.

And the press of Britain could see nothing in the suggestion beyond a piece of characteristic Bolshevik effrontery.

Soberly we suggest that if all the statesmen of the world were confined rigidly "to barracks" until they had read (and mastered) "Penguin Island" and "Major Barbara" the world would be 1,000 per cent. the better for it.

Not the least because the process would involve the incarceration of some of them for the term of their natural lives.

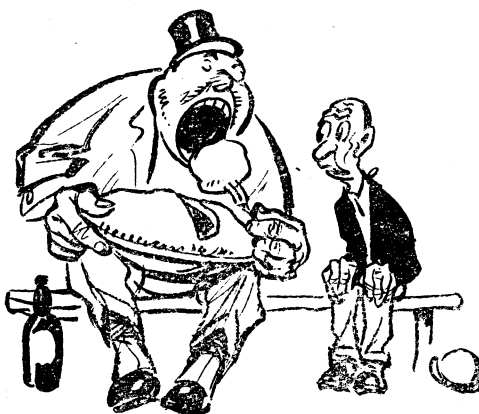
* * *

And Fancy people who admire the "statesmanship" of Lloyd George, calling Bernard Shaw "a jester"!

And those who admire Winston Churchill, calling Anatole France "a cynic!"



"Be industrious . . .



live simply . . .



never lose a —

CUT OFF THE JUICE

By J. T. MURPHY

HOW now, Sir Allan! Your damned impudence has got the answer it deserved. The rank and file of the engineering unions and the great army of unemployed, despised your offer of the open shop, and now you can try your hand again on the leaders. But, remember, the masses will have the final say in this business.

If only the leaders would pull themselves together and show the same determination as the rank and file, we would have no fears of the result of this struggle. Just turn over the record.

First the A.E.U. The leaders recommended the memorandum.

The rank and file rejected it.

The leaders endeavoured to conform to constitutionalism and confine the struggle to the locked-out members. The rank-and-file rejected the policy and the unemployed have borne the brunt of the fight.

The leaders recommended the limitation of the struggle to the Federated firms.

The rank and file all over the country have demanded the stopping of the non-federated firms and rejected the 5/- levy as a protest against the E.C. policy

Then the forty-seven. The leaders protested it was no fight of theirs.

The rank and file rejected the memorandum by 3 to 1.

The leaders played the game of separatism.

The rank and file have made the united front.

The leaders recommended wage reductions.

The rank and file rejected the policy by a majority vote and large sections refused to vote as a protest.

The leaders ordered the men back to work.

The rank and file have refused to go back.

The leaders of all the unions have striven to narrow down the forces in the struggle. The rank and file are striving with might and main to widen the front and make an effective fight. Following on the efforts of the Sheffield workers to stop the non-federated firms, the London workers are moving strongly to stop the utility services, to cut off effective supplies, to involve larger and more effective forces. That is the way to bring the fight to a successful issue.

The spirit of the masses grows better as the fight continues. We wish we could say the same of the leaders. Is it too much to ask them to respond to the solidarity and determination of the men by showing equal determination and purpose?

* * *

They have now had their Court of Inquiry. It has shown what we already knew. The Government backs the employers. Sir Allan is very obstinate. If we were annoyed, we should say, pig-headed. Well, we knew that, and so did the game bird, known as the General Public. And the leaders said—well, with one or two exceptions—enough

to get them the infernal sack from any live organisation. But we will not dwell on that just now. The secret circular business, which the COMMUNIST was the first to expose, was used to show that Sir Allan Smith's brigade were after all out to smash the unions. It is important to observe, that since his Rugby speech, Mr. J. T. Brownlie has become perilously near conversion to that point of view.

* * *

The situation grows more serious. The building workers are balloting on wage reductions, the railwaymen are threatened with wage reductions. Never was there a better situation for developing a wide front and bringing the maximum power of Labour to bear on the employers.

But the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is in disgrace. Its first attempt to enter the arena where there was anything doing, has been a pitiable affair. They have succeeded in giving an impetus to sectionalism, rather than strength and united action. In this, however, they are little worse than other leaders. For example, almost all of Mr. Bell's (of the General Workers) speech to the Court of Inquiry, was a pathetic protest that his union had been brought into this trouble. Mr. Slessor and Henderson, jun., echoed those sentiments for the 47. Nor can we look for much from the N.U.R. leaders. They have not even replied in the affirmative to the appeal of the General Council for greater powers to act.

All the conditions obtain in the industrial arena to-day which cry out for united action. Everything depends upon the push and the energy of the masses.

* * *

Now the shipyard workers, who had been so casually dismissed as "not fighting," have taken the lead in the rank and file fight. In spite of the boss and the leaders,

THAMES-SIDE IS STILL OUT

In Barrow even better. Barrow is an example to the rest of the country. No work is being done at Barrow, and the Barrow men are absolutely solid and disciplined. They stand against the police and bosses as a solid mass. We hear from Barrow:—

Huge demonstrations and mass picketing take place daily and there are remarkable demonstrations of men and women marching in formation under the control of specially appointed officers. Workmen's trains are held up each day and intending strike breakers pulled out. A mass meeting was held on Sunday last under the auspices of the Barrow Trade Union Co-ordination and Disputes Committee. 3,500 people were present, and they unanimously passed a resolution pledging all workers of the 47 Unions and the A.E.U. to refuse to return to work, and to preserve a United Front along with the A.E.U. against resumption, as any return to work would be a gross betrayal of their A.E.U. comrades.

This is the stuff to give them. From this rank and file shipyard revolt, can be built up the mass-united front that will bring victory.

Last week we wrote: "The rank and file movement has begun." Now it is sweeping forward. Its pace must be increased: greater areas must be swept in. Put your shoulder to the wheel, and unite shipyards

and engineering shops into one fighting body!

* * *

To engineers, first, we give this warning:

Look out for any compromise which permits changes to be introduced into the factory without prior agreement between the unions and the employers.

Anything which gives away this position is fatal to the future of everyone in the industry. Do not let the employers play off the unskilled workers against the skilled workers. Every engineer realises to-day that his work simplifies labour and paves the way to the use of unskilled labour. Every labourer can see in this the opportunity for his own advancement. But if they allow these facts to be played off against each other by the employers, skilled and unskilled will soon be performing all kinds of labour at unskilled rates of wages. Only the mutual agreement and united control of the situation by the skilled and unskilled workers, can prevent the improvements of industry being used as weapons to destroy the present standards of life of the workers. Watch the negotiations carefully, therefore, and resist with all your might any weakening in this direction. It is the first principle of unionism to protect the standard of life of its members. Stand by that principle to the uttermost.

* * *

To preserve this position demands the greatest vigilance and organised activity. We have repeatedly appealed to the masses to stop the non-federated firms by strike action. Again we urge this measure. So long as they are allowed to carry on, the unions are divided against themselves, increasing the difficulties of picketing, encouraging scab work, providing the Employers' Federation with an effective safety-valve. So long as urgent orders and repairs can be carried through, the Employers' Federation can proceed with the struggle at a minimum cost. In turn, the non-federated firms will immediately impose the terms of settlement if the men are defeated, and if not defeated, then numberless separate struggles will have to be conducted to impose the terms. Stop the non-federated firms and have one settlement for the lot.

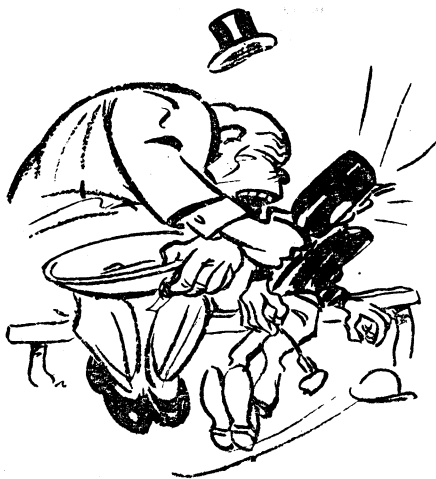
Equally urgent is the demand for proceeding from defensive measures to aggressive tactics. The benign "general public" doesn't care two-pence about the lock-out, so long as she suffers no inconvenience. Very well, get a move on and urge the union executives to call out the workers from the public utility services. Cut off the electricity supply; stop the power stations; draw out the men from the sewage works. Compel the authorities to waken up and bring Sir A. Smith to order. Everybody is tired of his humbug. But he will only give way to the pressure of forces more powerful than his own.

The London Conference of May 15 has sounded the clear call for bold action. The next task before us is to translate its decisions into practice.

LABOUR CAN GOVERN—

if you eliminate Freemasons from your societies. Speaker: Rodway, 149, Merton Road, Wimbledon.

No more Black Fridays if you eliminate Freemasons from your society.—AD.



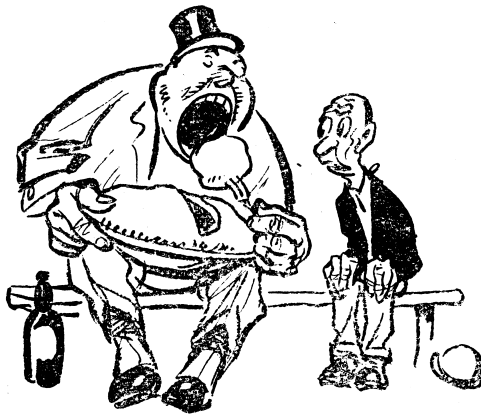
chance—and you will . . .

Ah! Would you?

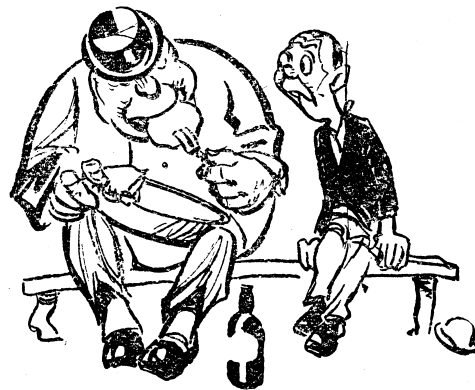
Why! He'd have pinched the lot!"



"Be industrious . . .



live simply . . .



never lose a —



chance—and you will . . .



Ah! Would you?



Why! He'd have pinched the lot!"

A YEAR OF OURSELVES

By R. W. POSTGATE

THIS is the last week that I shall write as Editor of the COMMUNIST. We are all agreed that the Party paper cannot, during the financial stringency, support two editors any more: we are all agreed, too, that Comrade T. A. Jackson is, under these circumstances, the best man available for the job. Everybody, including myself, will welcome him heartily, taking him, as he would say, by the hand as a preliminary to encouraging him yet more ardently. Henceforward, as he says, I am the Setting Sun and he is the Rising Moon; next number will be Twilight and thereafter the Full Moon, or contrariwise as one might say.

But seriously, and after quite seriously wishing Jackson the best of luck (I hope I may be permitted to give a hand to assist him now and then too), I should like to take the opportunity of looking back and making certain reflections on the experience we have gained in the short life of the COMMUNIST. First under Francis Meynell and then with T. A. J. as my assistant, I have spent more than a year in this office. One's first feeling is regret, of course, that private circumstances prevent one carrying on. But on the whole, I think we should be wrong to take anything but encouragement from the history of the paper. We have proved at least one thing, that the glib stories of our opponents to the effect that "there is no market for Communism," that the British worker will not listen to "Bolshevik agitators," are baseless. Our circulation is so much above our party membership that it is clear a large section of the working class outside the Party ranks are willing to listen to Communist propaganda and follow Communist guidance, although they have not as yet made up their minds to enter the Party.

* * *

Now this article is first and foremost an appeal for the continuance of that support and that attention. We ask all our readers to consider what the Communist Party, speaking through its official organ, has done for them in the past. We stand on our record.

Take, for example, the most obvious instance—Black Friday. What did we do then? We exposed relentlessly the intrigues which were leading up to the final collapse—a collapse whose terrible effects are even now only just being seen. Some good comrades of the working class doubted us: questioned the truth of it. But, after the breakdown we were shown to be right—in that blackest of days even one of the best known Fabian leaders had to say:—

"The Communist" wasn't half right after all."

Yes, the COMMUNIST wasn't half right, after all. We ask you to remember that.

What we did then, we shall always do. Not that we do not believe in the "United Front." The "united front" is no new tactic for us. We are, and always have been, pledged to rally round and support any section of the working class, any Executives or trade union leaders who are genuinely fighting the bosses. We do not care what their opinions are; if they are in the fight, we are in with them. But it is a United Front for fighting, for resistance to the bosses. We do not offer our assistance to conceal cowardice or treachery. We simply say we come in to aid in a fight.

But we do not propose to stand silent while the leaders use their tens of thousands of followers after the manner of the Famous Duke of York. Therefore, when those who should have been fighting, lost their nerve on Black Friday, we exposed them pitilessly step by step, following their every action. We did not care that one of our own members, as we believed, had failed in

his duty. We treated him exactly as the rest, because our first duty is to the working class. The principles by which we are ruled, and which we shall always stand by, are those that Trotsky stated in last week's COMMUNIST:—

"We understand by honesty a conformity of words and deeds before the working class, controlled by the supreme aid of the movement and of our struggle; the liberation of humanity through the social revolution. For instance, we do not say that one must not deceive and be cunning, that one must love one's enemies, etc., for such exalted morality is evidently only accessible to such deeply religious statesmen as Lord Curzon, Lord Northcliffe, and Mr. Henderson. We hate or despise our enemies, according to their deserts; we beat them and deceive according to circumstances, and even when we come to an understanding with them, we are not swept off our feet by a wave of forgiving love."

But we firmly believe that one must not lie to the masses and that one must not deceive them with regard to the aims and methods of their own struggle. The social revolution is entirely based upon the growth of proletarian consciousness and on the faith of the proletariat in its own strength and in the Party which is leading it. *One may play a double game with the enemies of the proletariat, but not with the proletariat itself."*

* * *

In doing this we may claim that we have never been deterred by the fear of the ruling classes. The COMMUNIST was the first paper for decades that had dared to strike at the biggest sham of the whole British State—the Royalty. Because of our jesting at this vast hypocrisy, because of the Prince of Wales cartoons, we were raided. So, at least, the late Sir Basil Thomson wrote in the *Times*, and he should know. Did we then cringe and remember henceforward to talk about other things and respect His Maj. and family? If you keep or can find a file of the COMMUNIST, look down it and see. . . .

We cannot go on too long (nor would you like it), blowing our own trumpet. We can at least say that we believe that through the publication of these and many others (such as the Engineering Employers' secret circular), the Party has, in the past two years, stimulated and raised the conscious revolutionary feeling of the British workers to a point it had probably never reached before in the last fifty years.

* * *

We are not (believe me) under the impression that this progress is due to the surpassing talents of Jackson and myself. Surpassing these are indeed, as Jackson intervenes to remind me. But we must always remember this—that not only the circulation but the quality of a paper depend upon its readers.

The readers make the paper: the paper only lives if the readers are a part of it.

It is, of course, necessary that an editor should be a trained journalist, should be able to write, and so on. Agreed, agreed, but that is nothing like all. The paper is only a good paper if it is continually subjected week by week, to the influence of its public: if it hears from them regularly what they want and do not want.

Let us take a lesson from the enemy. Why did *John Bull* succeed? It did not succeed because of the charm of Mr. Bottomley. It succeeded because he was able, firstly, to get his readers to believe in the honesty of his paper, and secondly, because every

reader, soldier and civilian, wrote in to tell of his grievances and experiences—to ventilate his anger even if he could not get redress. The paper was packed with correspondence, answers to correspondents, items of news provided by readers, "scandals" unearthed by them, and each reader had a half-feeling that it was *his* paper.

Now the COMMUNIST has been that, to a certain extent, but not nearly enough. We have not a hundred eyes in King Street for us to see everything that happens all over the country. We speak to Party members first, but also to all class-conscious members of the workers' movement when we say—"This is YOUR paper." We want this paper to be a true reflection of the working-class movement: we want it to voice the desires and anger of the workers: we want, in fact, you to write in and tell us "what about it." Let us know what is going on. More than that, if you don't like what's in the paper, don't be shy. Jackson positively enjoys being ticked off, he says.

* * *

Broader and larger than this is the general question we might be asked: What is our aim in running the COMMUNIST? What are we after? What do we think we are? Well, we are always and everywhere on the side of the struggling working class, no matter how irrelevant or misdirected that struggle may seem to be. And, for our ultimate aim, let me quote a passage which William Gallacher, ex-Bishop of Zion City, has just shown me. It is from Carlyle's "Hero Worship," and deals with Oliver Cromwell and the Rump Parliament:—

"At the uttermost crisis, when Cromwell and his officers were met on the one hand, and the fifty or sixty Rump members, on the other, it was suddenly told Cromwell that the Rump, in its despair, was answering in a very singular way: that in their splenetic envious despair, to keep out the Army at least, these men were hurrying through the House a kind of reform Bill—Parliament to be chosen by the whole of England; equitable electoral division into districts; free suffrage, and the rest of it! A very questionable, or indeed, for *them* an unquestionable thing. Reform Bill, free suffrage of Englishmen? Why, the Royalists themselves, silenced indeed but not exterminated, perhaps outnumber us: the great numerical majority of England was always indifferent to our cause, merely looked at it and submitted to it. It is in weight and force, not by counting of heads that we are the majority! And now with your Formulas and Reform Bills, the whole matter, sorely won by our swords shall again launch itself to sea; become a mere hope, and likelihood, *small* even as a likelihood; And it is not a likelihood; it is a certainty which we have won by God's strength, and our own right hands, and do now hold *here*."

"Cromwell walked down to these refractory members; interrupted them in that rapid speech of their Reform Bill—ordered them to be gone, and talk there no more.—Can we not forgive him? Can we not understand him? John Milton, who looked on it all near at hand, could applaud him. The Reality had swept the Formulas away before it. I fancy most men who were realities in England might see into the necessity of that."

* * *

That, perhaps, as near as few words can give it, is the spirit we want to get. That Reality should sweep away Formulas. And more and more, as the *Herald* falls into the power of the Labour Party officials, as the various weekly "Socialist" papers wilt away and become more and more official, what paper but the COMMUNIST is there that will express that working class Reality?

BETWEEN RED & WHITE

A Study of some fundamental questions of Revolution with particular reference to Georgia. Specially written for the COMMUNIST by LEON TROTSKY, People's Commissar for War in the Russian Soviet Republic.

This is the last instalment of Trotsky's book upon Georgia, the final answer to the propaganda of Ramsay Macdonald and Mrs. Snowden. The whole book is now on sale price 2/-, limp cloth

Let us declare frankly: the sincere and profound enthusiasm with which we contemplate the products of the British genius in the most varied spheres of human creative endeavour, only the more sharply and pitilessly accentuates the sincere and profound contempt with which we regard the spiritual narrowmindedness, the theoretical banality and the lack of revolutionary dignity, which characterise the authorised leaders of British Socialism. They are not the heralds of a new world; they are but the surviving relics of an old culture, which in their person expresses anxiety for its further fate.

CHAPTER IX. SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE REVOLUTION (continued)

We do not only recognise, but we also give full support to the principle of self-determination, wherever it is directed against feudal, capitalist and imperialist states, but wherever the fiction of self-determination in the hands of the bourgeoisie becomes a weapon directed against the proletarian revolution, we have no occasion to treat this fiction differently than the other "principles" of democracy perverted by capitalism.

That the Soviet policy in the Caucasus has also been correct from the point of view of nationalism, is best proved by the relations existing to-day between the Trans-Caucasian peoples.

The epoch of Tsarism was characterised by barbarous nationalist pogroms in the Caucasus, where the Armenian-Tartar butcheries were periodical events. Those sanguinary outbursts under the iron rule of Tsarism were a perpetuation of centuries of internecine struggles of the Trans-Caucasian peoples.

The epoch of so-called democracy gave to the nationalist struggle a much more pronounced and organised character. In the beginning nationalist armies were formed, which were hostile to each other, and which often attacked each other. The attempt to create a bourgeois federal democratic Trans-Caucasian Republic proved a dismal failure. The Federation fell to pieces five weeks after its inception. A few months later the "democratic" neighbours were quite openly at war with each other. This fact alone settles the question, for if democracy was as incapable as Tsarism of creating conditions for a peaceful cohabitation of the Trans-Caucasian peoples, it was evidently imperative to adopt other methods.

The Soviet power alone has established peace and national intercourse between them. At the elections to the Soviets, the Baku and Tiflis workers elect a Tartar, an Armenian, or a Georgian, irrespective of their nationality. In Trans-Caucasia,

the Moslem, Armenian, Georgian, and Russian Red regiments live side by side. They are imbued with the conviction that they are one army, and no power on earth will make them move against each other. On the other hand, they will defend the Soviet Trans-Caucasia against any and every external foe.

The national pacification of Trans-Caucasia, which has been achieved by the Soviet revolution, is in itself a fact of enormous political and cultural significance. In it is expressed a real live internationalism which we can safely put against the empty pacifist discourses of the heroes of the Second International, which are but a supplement to the Chauvinist practices of its national sections.

The demand for the withdrawal of the Soviet armies from Georgia and for a referendum "under the control of mixed commissions of socialists and communists," constitutes a most despicable imperialist trap, masquerading as a national self-determination.

Let us put aside a number of cardinal questions, such as:—On what plea do the democrats want to impose upon us the democratic form of referendum in lieu of the Soviet form, which in our opinion is far superior? Why is the referendum to be applied only to Georgia? Why is such a demand only put to the Soviet Republic? Why do the social-democrats want to apply the referendum to our country, while they do nothing of the kind at home?

Let us put ourselves in the position of our opponents (that is to say, if they have any position). Let us single out the question of Georgia and let us consider it carefully. It is proposed to create conditions for a free (democratic and not Soviet), expression of the opinion of the Georgian population.

1. Who are the negotiating parties? Who is to guarantee the actual fulfilment of the conditions, fixed by the negotiators? On the one side, evidently the Allied Soviet Republics, but what about the other side? Is this to be—the Second International? If so, where is its material strength which would guarantee the carrying out of the conditions?

2. Even if we assume that the workers' Republic is to negotiate with Henderson and Vandervelde, and that, in accordance with this, the controlling commissions will consist of Communists and Social-Democrats, what about the "third" party—the

imperialist governments? Will they not interfere? Or will the social-democratic servants be guarantors for their masters, and if so, where are the material quarantees?

3. It has been said that the Soviet forces must evacuate Georgia, but the Georgian coasts are washed by the Black Sea in which the Entente warships reign supreme. The invasions of the White Guard troops which were disembarked from the British and French ships, are well remembered by the population of the Caucasus. The Soviet troops are to go, but the imperialist fleet will remain. This means that the people of Georgia will have to come to an agreement at any price with the real master of the situation—the Entente. The Georgian peasant will have to say to himself, that although he prefers the Soviet Power, he will have to look for some mediator between himself and imperialism, because the former is obliged for some reason (probably because of some weakness), to evacuate the territory, notwithstanding the continuous peril from that very imperialism. Is not this your plan for violating the right of self-determination of the Georgian people and for forcing the Mensheviks on them?

4. Or are we to be asked to remove the Entente ships from the Black Sea? Who will propose this—the Entente Government, or Mrs. Snowden? This question (see point 2), is rather important, and we ask for an explanation!

5. And where are the warships to be taken? Is it to the Red Sea or the Mediterranean? If so this distance is insignificant in the view of the British domination over the Straits. Which then is the way out?

6. May be, the Straits could be locked up, and the keys handed over to Turkey? For, after all, the principle of self-determination does not imply Great Britain's domination over the Turkish Straits, over Constantinople and the Black Sea, and consequently over the coasts of Turkey. This is all the more important because our Black Sea Fleet has been carried off by the White Guard bandits, and is in the hands of the Entente.

We have consented to put the question as our opponents are endeavouring to put it, viz., on the basis of democratic principles and guarantees. But it appears that endeavours are being made to cheat us, in the most unceremonious way, for we are asked to consent to the material disarmament of Soviet territory, while we are offered as guarantees against imperialist and white guard annexations and revolutions—a resolution of the Second International.

Or are we to assume that there is no imperialist menace to Caucasia? Because Mrs. Snowden never heard anything about Baku Oil? Perhaps she has not. May we inform her (with reference to this question) that the road to Baku is via Batoum—Tiflis? This last point is a strategical Trans-Caucasian fact, of which the British and French generals cannot plead ignorance. There are even now secret White Guard organisations under the high-sounding title of "Liberation Committees" (a title which does not prevent them from receiving money subsidies from British and Russian oil magnates, Italian manganese magnates, etc.). The white guard bands are supplied with arms by sea. All this struggle is for oil and manganese. It is all the same to the oil magnates if they get at the oil via Denikin, the Mussulman Party "Mussavat," or via the gate of national self-determination with its doorkeepers from the Second International. If Denikin has not succeeded in defeating the Red Army, perhaps Macdonald will succeed in removing it by peaceful means. Anyhow, the result will be the same.

But Macdonald will not succeed. Such questions cannot be settled by resolutions of the Second International, even if those resolutions were not as paltry, contradictory, dishonest and indefinite as is the resolution on Georgia.

CHAPTER X. "PUBLIC OPINION," SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, COMMUNISM

One more question must be cleared up: on what does the Second International base its demand that we, the Soviet Federation, the Communist Party should evacuate Georgia? Even if we were to admit that Georgia has been forcibly occupied, and that this fact is the expression of our Soviet imperialism, what right has Henderson, a member of the Second International, a former British Cabinet Minister, to demand that the proletariat organised in a State, that the Third International, that revolutionary Communism, should disarm Soviet Georgia "merely for the sake of his pious eyes." When Mr. Churchill makes these demands, he makes as well a significant gesture in the direction of the long barrels of the naval guns and the barbed wire of the blockade. Upon what does Henderson rely? Is it the Holy Scriptures, or a party programme, or his own record? But the Holy Scriptures are nothing but a naive myth, Mr. Henderson's programme is a myth, if not a naive one, and as to his record, it is a severe indictment against him.

Not so long ago, Henderson was a Minister in one of the democracies, viz., of his own—the British Democracy. Why then has he not insisted that his own democracy, for the defence of which he was ready to make all sacrifices, including the acceptance of a Ministerial portfolio from the Liberal-Conservative

Lloyd George, should begin to put into practice not our principles (heaven forbid) but his own—Mr. Henderson's. Why has he not demanded the evacuation of India and Egypt? Why did he not, at the right time, support the demands of the Irish for their complete liberation from the yoke of Great Britain?

We are aware, that Henderson, as well as Macdonald, does protest, on certain appointed days, by means of mournful resolutions against the excesses of British Imperialism. But these feeble and irresolute protests have never imperilled, and do not now imperil, the interests of British capitalism, and have never led, nor are they leading, to courageous and decisive action. They are only intended to salve the conscience of the "Socialist" citizens of the ruling nation, and to serve as an outlet for the dissatisfaction of the British workers. They will not help to break the chains of the colonial slaves. The Hendersons regard British domination over the colonies not as political questions, but as a fact in natural history. They have never declared that Hindus, Egyptians, and other enslaved peoples have the right (nay, that it is their duty) to rise in armed revolt against British domination. Neither have they undertaken as "Socialists" to render armed assistance to the colonies in their struggle for liberation. On this point there can certainly be no doubt whatever that this is a question of the most elementary, ultra-democratic duty, and that for two reasons: *firstly*, because the colonial slaves certainly constitute an overwhelming majority, as compared with the infinitesimal, ruling British minority; *secondly*, because this same minority, and especially its official socialist section, recognises the principles of democracy as the guiding principle of its existence. There is India. Why does not Henderson organise a rising in favour of the evacuation of British troops from India? For there can be no more evident, monstrous and shameless violation of the laws of democracy than the domination of all the consolidated forces of British capitalism over the prostrate body of this unhappy and enslaved country! It seems to us that Henderson, Macdonald and the rest of them ought unceasingly to beat the tocsin, demand, appeal, denounce and preach revolution to the Indians and to all British workers against this inhuman trampling upon all the principles of democracy. But they remain silent, or worse still, they from time to time, with obvious boredom sign a reasonable resolution, which is as stale and meaningless as an English sermon, and has for its aim to prove, that while supporting colonial domination, they would like its roses without the thorns, and that, in any case, they are not willing to allow these thorns to prick the fingers of loyal British Socialists. For "democratic and patriotic" considerations, Henderson ensconced himself with the greatest equanimity in a Ministerial armchair, and it did not appear to strike him that his armchair was resting on the most anti-democratic pedestal in the world:—the domination of a numerically insignificant capitalistic clique, through the medium of some tens of millions of Britishers, over several hundred millions of coloured Asiatic and African slaves. And, what is worse still, on the plea of defending this monstrous domination concealed under the cloak of democratic forms, Henderson allied himself with the unashamed military and police dictatorship of Russian Tsarism. In so far as you were a member in the British War Cabinet, Mr. Henderson, you were a Minister of Russian Tsarism. Do not forget that.

Henderson, of course would not even dream of asking the Tsar, his patron and ally, to remove the Russian forces from Georgia, or from the other territories which he had enslaved. At that time he would have described such a demand as rendering a service to German militarism. He looked upon every revolutionary movement in Georgia directed against the Tsar in the same light as upon a rising in Ireland, viz., as the result of German intrigue and German gold.

In the end one's brain reels from all these monstrous crying contradictions and inconsistencies! Nevertheless, they are in the order of things, for British domination, or rather the domination of its ruling upper ten thousand over one quarter of the human race, is looked upon by the Hendersons not as a question of politics, but as a fact in natural history. These democrats who, with all their Fabian, emasculated and feeble socialism, have always been and always will be the slaves of public opinion. They are thoroughly imbued with the anti-democratic exploiter, planter, and parasite views on races which are distinguished by the colour of their skins, by the fact that they do not read Shakespeare, nor wear stiff collars.

Thus, although having Tsarist Georgia, Ireland, Egypt and India on their consciences, they dare to demand from us their opponents, and not their allies, the evacuation of Soviet Georgia. But, strange as it may seem, this ridiculous and thoroughly inconsistent demand, is an unconscious expression of the respect of petty-bourgeois democracy for the proletarian dictatorship. Unconsciously, or half consciously, Henderson and Co. are saying: "Of course one cannot expect bourgeois democracy (whose Ministers we become when invited), to take the democratic principle of self-determination seriously. One cannot expect the socialists of this democracy, or the respectable citizens of the ruling nation who conceal our slave ownership with democratic fictions, to aid the colonial slaves against their slave owners. "But you, the revolution, personified in the proletarian State, are obliged to do that we, owing to our cowardice, mendacity and hypocrisy, are unable to do."

In other words, while formally placing democracy above all else, they recognise willingly or unwillingly, that one can put

demands to the proletarian State, which would seem ridiculous and even silly, if they were put to bourgeois democracy, whose ministers or loyal representatives they are.

However, they express this unwilling respect for the proletarian dictatorship, which they reject, in a way which is in keeping with their political vagaries. They demand that the dictatorship should maintain and defend its power, not by its own methods, but by the methods which (in words, but not in deeds) they consider obligatory for democracy, but which they never apply themselves. We have already dealt with this in the first manifesto of the Communist International. Our enemies demand that we defend our lives in no other way except according to the rules of French duelling—that is to say, by the rules laid down by our armies, but they do not consider such rules binding for themselves in their struggle against us.

* * *

In order to refresh one's memory and to get a clear idea of the policy of the "Western Democracies" with regard to backward nationalities, and also the role which the members of the Second International are playing in the policy, one should read the memoirs of M. Paleologue, the former French Ambassador of the Court of the Tsar. If there were no such book, it would have been necessary to write one like it. We would also have had to invent Paleologue himself, if he had not spared us this trouble by his timely appearance on the arena of literature. Paleologue is a true representative of the Third Republic, with a Byzantine name, as well as a Byzantine soul. In November, 1914, during the first period of the war, one of our Court ladies, at a command from "above" (evidently the Tsarina), gave him a pious autograph message from Rasputin. M. Paleologue, the representative of the Republic, replied to Rasputin's impressive message as follows:—"The French people, which is very sensitive, understands perfectly well that the British people's love for its country finds its incarnation in the person of the Tsar."

This letter of the Republican diplomat, which was intended to come to the knowledge of the Tsar, was written ten years after January 9th, 1905,* and 122 years after the French Republic had executed Louis Capet, who was, in the words of the Paleologues of that day, the incarnation of the French people's love for its country. What is strange in this, is not that M. Paleologue, in keeping with the malpractices of secret diplomacy, willingly soiled his hands with these dirty Court intrigues, but that he himself brought this shameful fact to the notice of that same democracy which he so inadequately represented at the Court of Rasputin. And this has not prevented him from remaining up to the present time a prominent political worker of the "democratic republic," and to fill important posts! It is this which would be astounding if we did not know the trend of development of bourgeois democracy, which arose before Robespierre to end in Paleologue.

This frankness of the former ambassador in all probability is only a cloak for his Byzantine cunning. He tells us such, in order not to tell us all. Perhaps he is only putting our suspicions and curiosity to rest. We know what demands were put to him by the capricious and all powerful Rasputin. Who knows what means Paleologue had to devise in order to protect the interests of France and civilisation?

At least one thing is certain, M. Paleologue belongs to-day to that French political group which is prepared to swear that the Soviet Power does not represent the true will of the Russian people, and which is persistently asserting that a resumption of relations with Russia will only be possible when regularly functioning democratic institutions hand over the government of Russia to the Russian Paleologues.

The ambassador of the French democracy did not stand alone. Side by side with him was Buchanan. On November 13th, 1914, Sir George Buchanan (according to Paleologue) declared to Sazonov: "The Government of his Britannic Majesty has recognised that the question of the Straits and Constantinople must be settled according to Russian aspirations. It gives me pleasure to announce this to you." Thus was laid down the programme of the war of right, justice, and national self-determination. Four days later Buchanan declared to Sazonov: "The British Government will be compelled to annex Egypt. It trusts that the Russian Government will not offer any opposition to this." Sazonov was not slow in giving his consent. Three days after that Paleologue "reminded" Nicholas II. that Syria and Palestine were bound to France by a wealth of historic recollections and also by moral and material interests. He, Paleologue, hoped that his Majesty would approve of the measures which the Government of the Republic (same democratic republic), deemed it necessary to take, in order to safeguard these interests.

"Oui, certes," ("Yes, certainly"), was His Majesty's reply. Finally, on March 12th, 1915, Buchanan demanded that in return for Constantinople and the Straits, Russia should cede to Great Britain the neutral part of Persia (that part as yet unpartitioned). Sazonov answered "C'est entendu" ("That is understood").

So two democracies in conjunction with Tsarism, which at that period shone with the reflected democratic light emanating from the Entente, settled the fate of Constantinople, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia. Sir George Buchanan was as worthy a representative of the British democracy as Paleologue of the French. Buchanan remained at his post after the downfall of Nicholas II.

*When the Tsar's army massacred a peaceful mass deputation of Petrograd workers.

Henderson, a Minister of His Majesty and, if we are not mistaken, a British Socialist, came to Petrograd during the Kerensky regime, in order to take Buchanan's place (should this be necessary), because someone in the British Government had imagined that they should speak in a different tone to Kerensky than to Rasputin. After Henderson had taken a survey of Petrograd, he found that Buchanan was the right man in the right place as the representative of British democracy. Buchanan undoubtedly held the same opinion of Henderson, the socialist.

Paleologue, exhibited "his" socialists as an example to the restive Tsarist dignitaries. In connection with the Court "agitation" of Count Witte for the speedy conclusion of the war, Paleologue declared to Sazonov: "Look at our socialists and their correct attitude." (page 189). This summing up of Paleologue of Messrs. Renaudel, Longuet, Vandervelde, and all their followers, is rather startling even now, after all we have gone through. Paleologue, having received and respectfully acknowledged Rasputin's admonitions, in his turn expressed to the Tsarist Minister his patronising appreciation of the French socialists, and recognised the correctness of their attitude. These words: "*voyez mes socialistes—they are beyond reproach*" ("Look at my socialists—they are beyond reproach") should form a device for the banner of the Second International, from which the words: "Workers of the world unite" should have been removed long ago. This latter device suits Henderson as much as the Phrygian cap* suits Paleologue.

The Hendersons consider the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race over the other races as a natural fact ensuring the spread of civilisation. For them the question of national self-determination begins only beyond the confines of the British Empire. This national arrogance is the chief link between the Western social-patriots and their bourgeoisie, viz., it makes them the slaves of their bourgeoisie.

At the beginning of the war a French socialist (a professor of the Swiss University), gave the following answer to a very natural query, as to how an alliance with Tsarism could be reconciled with the defence of democracy: "It is a question of France and not of Russia. In this struggle France is the moral force while Russia is the physical force." He said this was something quite natural and without the slightest compunction for the shameless jingoism of his remark. A month or two later during a discussion on the same subject in the offices of "L'Humanité," in Paris, I quoted the words of the French professor in Geneva.

"He is quite right," answered the then editor of the paper.

This recalls to my mind the words of young Renan—that the death of a Frenchman is a moral event, while the death of a Cossack (Renan means a Russian), is a physical fact. This monstrous national arrogance has its causes. The French bourgeoisie already had a glorious historical past at a time when the other peoples were still in a semi-mediæval barbaric state. The British bourgeoisie was even ahead of the French in opening up the paths of the new civilisation. Hence the contemptuous attitude towards the rest of humanity, which they treated as historical manure. With its self-assurance, its wealth of experience, with the diversity of its cultural achievements, the British bourgeoisie prevented the free moral and spiritual development of its own working class, and poisoned its mind with the psychology of the ruling class.

In the mouth of Renan the phrase about the Frenchman and the Cossack was the cynical expression of the pride of a class, both materially and spiritually powerful. The same phrase, turned inside out by a French socialist, signified the humility of French socialism, its spiritual exhaustion, its purely flunkeyish dependence upon the spiritual crumbs off the rich table of the bourgeoisie.

If Paleologue, mincing the phrase of Renan, says that the death of a Frenchman is an incomparably greater loss to culture than the death of a Russian, the same Paleologue who says (or at least implies), that the death of a French stock-broker millionaire, professor, lawyer, diplomat, or journalist, on the battle-front represents an incomparably greater loss to culture than the death of a French turner, textile worker, chauffeur or peasant. The one is the logical sequence of the other. National aristocratic sentiment is at bottom a contradiction to socialism—not in the levelling milk-and-water Christian sense that all nations, all men are equal upon the scales of culture, but in the sense that national aristocratic sentiment, closely linked with bourgeois conservatism, is completely and entirely directed against the social revolution, which alone can create the conditions for a higher culture. National aristocracy assesses the cultural value of a human being from the standpoint of the past. Socialism considers the cultural value of human beings from the standpoint of the future. It cannot be gainsaid, that the French diplomat Paleologue radiates more imbibed cultural blessings, than, say a peasant of the Tambov province. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the Tambov peasant, who with his cudgel has chased out the landlords and the diplomats, has laid the foundation for new and higher culture. The French working man and the French peasant, thanks to their higher culture, will achieve this better, and progress forward more rapidly.

We Russian Marxists, owing to the belated development of Russia, were not weighed down by a powerful bourgeois culture. We became allied to European spiritual culture not through the medium of our miserable national bourgeoisie, but independently,

*The symbol of the French Revolution.

we assimilated the most revolutionary conclusions of European experience and European thought and developed them to their highest pitch. This has given some advantages to our generation. Let us declare frankly: the sincere and profound enthusiasm with which we contemplate the products of the British genius in the most varied spheres of human creative endeavour, only the more sharply and pitilessly accentuates the sincere and profound contempt with which we regard the spiritual narrowmindedness, the theoretical banality and the lack of revolutionary dignity, which characterise the authorised leaders of British Socialism. They are not the heralds of a new world; they are but the surviving relics of an old culture, which in their person expresses anxiety for its further fate. And the spiritual barrenness of these relics seems to be a sort of retribution for the profligate lavish past of bourgeois culture.

* * *

The bourgeois mind has imbibed some of the great cultural achievements of mankind. Yet at the present time it is the chief obstacle to the development of human culture.

One of the leading virtues of our party, which makes it the mightiest lever of development of the epoch, consists of its complete and absolute independence of public opinion of the bourgeoisie. These words signify much more than they at first sight seem to do. They need to be explained. Particularly if we bear in mind the Second International. Every revolutionary thought, even the simplest truth, must be nailed down here with extreme care.

Bourgeois public opinion is a close psychological web which envelopes on all sides the tools and instruments of bourgeois violence, protecting them against any incidental shocks, as well as against the fatal revolutionary shock, which, however, in the last resort is inevitable. Active bourgeois public opinion is composed of two parts: first, of inherited views, actions, and prejudices which represent the fossilised experience of the past, a thick layer of irrational banality and useful stupidity, and second, of the intricate machinery and clever management necessary for the mobilisation of patriotic feeling and moral indignation, of national enthusiasm, altruist sentiment, and other kinds of lies and deceptions.

Such is the general formula. But some explanatory examples are necessary. When in famine-stricken Russia, a Cadet lawyer, who with funds supplied by England or by France, helped in making a noose for the neck of the working class, dies of typhus in a prison, the wireless and the cables of bourgeois public opinion produce a sufficiently great number of vibrations to arouse a wave of indignation in the receptive conscience of the collective Mrs. Snowdens. It is quite obvious that all the devilish work of the capitalistic wireless and cables would have been useless, if the skull of the petty bourgeois did not serve as a gramophone box.

Let us take another instance: the famine on the Volga. In its present form of unprecedented calamity, this famine, at least half of it, is a result of the civil war raised on the Volga by the Czechoslovaks and Kolchak, that is, by the Anglo-American and French capital which organised and sustained it. This drought fell upon a soil that had been already exhausted and ruined, denuded of working cattle, machinery and other stock. We, on the other hand, have cast into gaol some officers and lawyers (which we by no means hold up as an example of humanitarianism), and bourgeois Europe and America attempted then to picture the whole of Russia, with its hundred million inhabitants, as a vast hunger-prison. They encircled us with a wall of blockade, while their hired White Guard agents applied the bomb and torch to the destruction of our scanty supplies. If there is anyone who handles the scales of pure morality, let him weigh up the severe measures that we are compelled to adopt in our life and death struggle against the whole world, against the calamities which world capitalism, in quest of unpaid interests on loans, showered upon the heads of the Volga mothers. Yet the machine of bourgeois public opinion works as systematically, and with such arrogant self-righteousness, the cretinism of the middle-class represents such a valuable gramophone box, that as a result, Mrs. Snowden pours her surplus human pity out upon . . . the poor down-trodden Mensheviks in our land.

Reverence of bourgeois public opinion is a more impassable barrier to the activity of the social reformers than even the bourgeois laws. It may be put down as a law of modern capitalist governments, that as their regime is the more "democratic" the more "liberal" and "free," the more respectable are their national socialists, and the more stupid the obeisance of the National Labour Party before the public opinion of the bourgeoisie. Why have an outward policeman over Mr. Macdonald when there is an inward one within his soul?

Here we must not shirk the question, the very mention of which is a menace to respectability. I speak of religion. It was not so very long ago that Lloyd George called the Church the central power station of all parties and currents, i.e., of bourgeois public opinion as a whole. This is particularly true in reference to England. Not in the sense of course, that Lloyd George derives the real inspiration for his politics from religion, or that the hatred of Churchill for Soviet Russia is due to his burning desire to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, or that the Notes of Lord Curzon are copied directly from the Sermon of the Mount. Oh no! The driving force of their politics are the very mundane interests of the bourgeoisie which put them in power. But that "public

opinion" which alone makes possible the smooth working of the mechanism of governmental compulsion, finds its chief resources in religion. The legal restraint that has been put over men, over classes, and over society as a whole, as a sort of ideological whip, is merely the unadorned application of religious restraint—that heavenly whip which is held over the head of exploited humanity. After all is said and done, it is a hopeless matter to impose upon an unemployed docker a faith in the sacredness of democratic legality by the force of formal arguments. The first essential thing here is material argument—a policeman with a heavy club on earth, and above him—the Supreme Policeman, armed with the thunder, in Heaven. But even when in the minds of "socialists" the fetishism of bourgeois legality is coupled with the fetishism of the epoch of the Druids, we get as a result that ideal inward policeman, with whose aid the bourgeoisie (at least for a time) can allow itself the luxury of approximate observance of democratic ritual.

When speaking of the treasons and betrayals of the social-reformers, we by no means desire to assert that they are all, or a majority of them, merely bought. If so, they would never do for the serious part set to them by bourgeois society. It is even unimportant to guess the extent to which the vanity of a middle-class man might feel flattered by becoming an M.P. in a loyal opposition, or even a member of the Imperial Cabinet, although there is a good deal of that sentiment, of course.

Suffice it to say that the same bourgeois public opinion which in days of quietude permits them to be in the Opposition at a decisive moment, when the life or death of bourgeois society is at stake, or at least its most important interests—in a war, a rebellion in Ireland or in India, the great coal lock-out, or the Soviet Republic in Russia—proved capable of forcing them to take the political position which was necessary to the capitalist order. Without wishing in any way to attribute to the personality of Mr. Henderson any titanic features that it does not possess, we may confidently assume that Mr. Henderson as the head of the "Labour Party" is a supremely important asset to bourgeois society in England. For in the heads of the Hendersons the fundamental elements of bourgeois education and the fragmentary scraps of socialism are welded into one by the traditional cement of religion. The question of the economic emancipation of the English proletariat cannot be seriously put as long as the labour movement is not purged of such leaders, organisations and moods which are the embodiment of the timid, cringing, cowardly and base submission of the exploited to the public opinion of the exploiters. The inward policeman must be cast out before the outward policeman can be overthrown.

The Communist International teaches the workers to treat the public opinion of the bourgeoisie with contempt, and above all, to scorn those "socialists" who crawl upon their bellies before the commandments of the bourgeoisie. It is not a question of ostentatious contempt, nor of lyrical tirades and curses. The poets of the bourgeoisie itself more than once made the nerves of the latter tingle by their daring challenges, particularly on the questions of religion, marriage, and the family. It is a question of the profound inner freedom of the proletarian vanguard from the spiritual snares and pitfalls of the bourgeoisie, of the new revolutionary public opinion which should allow the proletariat not merely in words but in deeds, not in tirades, but where necessary by kicks, to smash all the bourgeois commandments, and march freely to the revolutionary goal it has set itself, and which is at the same time the objective demand of history.

THE END.

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BOUND IN LIMP CLOTH SPECIALLY REVISED

TAKING THINGS SERIOUSLY

By T. A. JACKSON

LET me say at once with all necessary emphasis that I am loyal—in fact devoted—to the concept and policy of the United Working Class Front. I believe in it as a principle, as a policy and as a tactic. I will preach it and as far as is humanly possible will practise it. But—!

Which I mean to say as to how it's like this here—When a silly ass is a silly ass and talks like a silly ass, and knows he's talking like a silly ass, and at the same time is silly ass enough to think I'm silly ass enough to be taken in by his silly assinities: am I to refrain from calling him a silly ass just because he's a member of the I.L.P. and determined to be "united" with me?

All of which means that I have suffered under an oration by a member of the I.L.P. who was spreading himself on the subject of Communist Policy and this particular Tappertit turned Chadband has managed to turn my milk of human kindness sour—not to say clotted it.

The Mistakes of Moses—and Lenin

Moses made many mistakes. He turned all the water of Egypt into blood and thus gave rise to a bad habit of speech, since the result could only be described as a "bloody" mess. All the more so when the Egyptian magicians showed a united front by turning *all* the water in blood over again. (Bad habits are catching). He made *water* to gush forth from the rock, a thing of which nobody but Bob Stewart can approve.

Lenin has a way of admitting the mistakes of the Russian Communist Party. When the Russian Revolution passed into its Proletarian stage these Russian Communists felt forced by pressure of blockade and civil war to institute a rough and ready military communism—particularly in food stuffs. All of the Russian Communists knew, being the trained Marxists they were, that before a completely Communist society was possible, the technical process of wealth production then practised in Russia (particularly in agriculture) would need developing enormously and that this required time for its accomplishment. How much time depended upon the course of events in the remainder of the world. If the proletariat had been victorious in the States in which capitalism has reached its highest technical development the relative economic backwardness of Russia would have been of slight, or negligible importance. Many of the Russian Communists were certain that this victory would be achieved and hence were confident that they could pass from a rough and ready "military" communism to a developed industrial and social communism in a comparatively short time and with no sharp reversal of policy.

Things did not work out this way. The proletariat of Western Europe failed to achieve a revolutionary conquest of political power. Capitalism remained the dominant world system, leaving Russia a proletarian island in a fretted sea of Bourgeois Imperialism.

The Communist rulers of Russia, frankly admitting that their calculations had been falsified by the events, set about accommodating their economic policy to the technical possibilities actually existent in Russia. With a fine scorn for humbug and pretence they set about what they themselves called "an economic retreat." With the calm courage of men who were too big to feel the coward's fear of being afraid, they spoke as though they had been defeated—as in a purely ideal sense they had—and got on with the work. Their success in the conduct of this evolution marks them out even more emphatically as great men than did their military and political victories.

And—!

The mean-souled, pigeon-livered, bat brained, spidery spirited gnomes who creep in and out among the legs of better men, with Fabian leers on their offensive fronts and their protuberant posteriors positively clamouring for pedal percussion—have the brass-cornered, copper-riveted impudence to stand where the babbling bone-heads bray and invite applause to the proposition that "Lenin has made mistakes," and "Russia has come round to State Socialism!"

Let us be plain—but firm.

The mistake "Lenin" made was in supposing the we at this end of the earth were men enough, with the necessary hold upon ourselves and the working class of Britain to make it possible for us to put British Bourgeois Imperialism down and out and so come to the aid of the heroic Russian pioneers.

Who dares to doubt *now* that if the Leaders of British Labour—Trade Union leaders, M.P.'s, I.L.P. propagandists, and Marxian stalwarts—had been united, bold, and courageous, a proletarian revolution *could* have been accomplished in Britain immediately after (if not before) the Armistice?

Who dares to doubt that a victory for the British Proletariat would have ensured a victory for Karl Liebknecht and the German Proletariat—which would have ensured a proletarian triumph in the whole of Europe?

Nobody dares deny this—and yet the very men who actively or passively ensured that no such thing should be now turn round and tell us that because it didn't happen it was impossible; that because it did not happen it never will and never can. The infernal flap-doodlers!

Because society rests at present upon the basis of private ownership of the common means of living society is divided by interest, association, education, outlook, and psychology into at least two classes—the owners and non-owners of the means of producing the essentials of life.

Because the owners possess the essentials of existence they are able to dictate terms to the non-owning mass.

Because the owners are few and the non-owners are many they can only conserve their monopoly by manipulating the minds of the mass as well as the machinery of political administration.

Because this mental manipulation process is of old establishment and long continuance, any struggle to end the exploitation involved in this system must begin as a struggle to undo in the mind of the working mass the bonds woven by the boss and his agents with intent to keep the slave satisfied with his slavery or at any rate fearful of attempting an escape.

Therefore all emancipation struggles must begin with a mental operation which, as it involves learning new things and the release of thoughts and emotions, may be and is rightly called "education."

Involved in every revolutionary struggle is "education," but what then?

Ha! Ha! says my peaceful, platitudinous, not to say putty-brained parliamentary pal—there you are then....!

"The I.L.P. believes in educating the people in the principles of Socialism. The Communists don't believe in educating them. You don't trust the people. You are a set of nasty dictators. All you want is to get into power and then you will deprive everybody of Liberty and Freedom and establish Tyranny. This is contrary to the civilised instincts of modern democracy."

Education and Sophistication

Let us reason together, brethren.

You believe in educating The People—do you mean the *best* people or just the common workers?

Do you mean giving sentimental exhortations on the "Christ that is to be" to congregations of comfortable Aunt Tabithas?—or not too learned lectures on the poetry of Browning and the virtues of a fruitarian diet to a band of solemn eunuchs in a summer school?—or expositions of the success of the municipal ownership of tramways to university gentlemen on the hunt for political ideas?

Or do you mean teaching the workers the need for unity, solidarity, and revolutionary audacity in the conduct of their inevitable class struggle against the bosses, their State, and their system?

You speak, oh! most meticulous mockery of Macdonald of "educating The People in the principles of Socialism."

Excellent idea! Might a mere vulgar Communist suggest that education, like charity, should begin at home?—that before you can "teach the people" you had better learn that which you profess to teach?

If "Socialism" means anything but the will of the workers imposed as a system controlling all economic life in the interest of the workers—and to the destruction of every other class-interest—it is no use to the working class.

The Socialism you profess to preach—to fat Mayors and Aldermen in Council Chambers, to maiden aunts in P.S.A.'s—and superannuated scoundrels in the House of Commons—it is there where you would do your preaching!—this "Socialism" consists of equal parts of pretence, piety and platitude. It consists of turning one's back upon the grim realities of strike, lock-out, wage-cuts, unemployment, boycott, revolt, and revolution to contemplate with cultured admiration Ramsay Macdonald unveiling a portrait of John Ruskin, Sidney Webb enthroned upon a mountain of white papers, and Herbert Morrison white-washing the municipal abattoir. You conceive the United Front as a concerted adoration of the Parish Pump.

You "teach" Socialism! Strewth! Once impudent little boys were bidden teach their grandmothers to suck eggs—now Ernest Hunter and Emanuel Shinwell volunteer to teach Socialism to Lenin and Trotsky.

Let me not be mistaken.

There are many rank and file members of the I.L.P. known to me whose tone, spirit and understanding is such that there is little difference between their "Socialism" and my "Communism." Wherever the workers are at grips with their exploiters there will they be found manfully taking a lion's share of whatever work and hard knocks are going. And whatever be the intensity of the crisis and whatever be the form of action forced by circumstances upon the struggling proletarian masses, right up to the pitch and height of revolution, these proletarian fighters can be relied upon to fight gloriously in the vanguard. It is because of these that the United Front is worth while. But these are not—very much *not*—"the I.L.P." [Would God that they were!]

Vomiting as a Fine Art

There has come to be established in the high places and tabernacles of that mis-named body a tradition and an etiquette to which we of the lower orders are expected to bow; which convention wraps its strangling tentacles around the brain of every sturdy fighter that comes within its range, so that they become in time as peevishly pedantic in their affectation of political rectitude and as lustful for the esteem of Bourgeois "public opinion" as a non-conformist parson receiving a call from the Lord to accept a rise of three-pound-ten a week.

I did not love them, ever; but I love them least when they roll upon me an eye like a decomposing cod and tell me that I am a conspiracy to take away their liberty by force and arms.

When the Bourgeois were (way back in history) fighting their way out from the restraints of the feudal aristo-clerical dictatorship they fought for spiritual, political, and personal freedom. They fought, that is to say, for the right to choose their own interpretation of religious creeds and dogmas—or rather for the right and power to resist the authority of the church; for the right to trade without exaction from the lords or the restraint of popular customs; for the right to coerce the State into their own image and liking and the right to impose restraints upon everybody and everything which interfered with their "freedom" to make money and amass wealth.

In their days of struggle nobody was more romantic in its love of Liberty (in the abstract) than Messrs. Moneybags, Millowner, and Small Trader. In their day of triumph when the exploited working mass used their own battle cries as slogans against the system they had builded—nobody was more jealous of conceding "Freedom" (in the concrete) than this same bourgeois brood.

That class has now grown old and cynical—too played-out to pretend any longer. Now we hear not of the radiant maiden Liberty but of the fanged and taloned hag DORA. And now that the Bourgeoisie has vomited up the "rich wine of freedom" upon which it spent its youth and enthusiasm, along comes a spawn of forked radishes (bred in back parlours decorated with life-size portraits of Mr. Gladstone and Queen Victoria) who rush to the vomit with all the joy of great discoverers.

And they talk to me of "Freedom"—Gawdelpem. Freedom—for the boss to rob.

Liberty—for the boss to lie, and lie, and then some!

Freedom—for the boss to set moving all the machinery of State which he has designed to that end in order to crush me and mine into powder.

Liberty for the boss to set on a special constable to split my skull (provided always that the baton has been manufactured by trade union labour and the "special" wears an armlet which remains the property of the municipality). All the Liberty the boss wants and the sort of liberty he wants—but if I talk of concerting measures of self-defence then, bless yer heart, I'm a "seditious advocate of violence" and must be restrained "in the interest of the community."

* * *

In short, if the I.L.P. means business it will have to chain up these sanctimonious swabs who can't tell the difference between solemn stupidity and sober earnestness and come out whole-hog for the workers' side of the class struggle.

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THE ENGINEERING FACTS

Industrial Notes

EVENTS in the engineering dispute follow one another with lightning rapidity. Following the cynical report of the Court of Inquiry, which in effect quite frankly says that the boss is entitled to be boss so long as we are fools enough to allow him to be, we have the exposure in the *Daily Herald* of the latest circular of the Engineering Employers' Federation. This effusion follows the lines which have been predicted in these columns. The employers are quite determined that this is going to be a fight to a finish and that the defeat of the engineers is to be followed by a general attack which will make the events which followed Black Friday look like a Sunday School treat. For the engineers there are to be reductions amounting to 26s. 6d. per week dilution, reduction of overtime rate and the "open shop." For the rest of the workers in other industries the same conditions are in preparation if they allow the engineers to be defeated. If we let the A.E.U. down as we let the miners down then we shall deserve all that is coming to us.

Foundry Workers Active

One of the few bright spots during the early days of the engineering dispute, when the 47 Unions were failing to act, was the Glasgow district of the National Union of Foundry Workers. They are still keeping up the pressure now that their own Union is in the firing line. They are endeavouring to bring out all the members of the Union in the non-federated shops together with foremen and members in Federated shops where no notices have been posted. It looks as if they will require all their fighting spirit before they are very much older. The Unions in the light castings trade have been approached by the employers on the subject of wage reductions, and after protracted discussions the Unions agreed to recommend a cut of 15s. in three equal instalments in June, July and October. This follows very rapidly upon the collapse of the shipyard workers, and it will not be long before the whole of the engineering industry is involved in this same wage cut, approximating to the 16s. 6d. presented to the bosses by the Executives of the E. and S.F.

Scabbing on the Unemployed

If you refer to Schedule A, para. 11, of the agreement between the Transport and General Workers and the L.G. Omnibus Co., you will find these words in reference to overtime: "Agreed that a driver or conductor who works *voluntarily* on his booked rest-day shall be paid time and a quarter on current rate for the day." Yet the men concerned are being informed definitely both by the Garage Superintendents and the Union officials

By John Ball

that any man *refusing* to work his rest day when required to do so will be dealt with and is liable to dismissal. My informant further tells me that the people who work "voluntarily" on their rest days are obtained in his garage by putting up a notice "Rest Days Cancelled," followed by a list of the men required. This corrupt and brutal method enables the company to keep itself permanently understaffed. The busmen get neither week-ends nor public holidays, and now that the "spread-over" is in force their rest days are their only leisure.

Trade Union Finance

As the COMMUNIST has been prophesying for the past twelve months, the present financial position of many of the Unions is now critical in the extreme. They have relieved the rates by the payment of unemployment benefit and have thereby depleted their own funds and have none left for fighting purposes. The immediate consequences are levies which drive members away (the L.S.C. have just agreed on a lock-out levy of 1s. in the £ on wages in addition to ordinary contributions and an unemployment levy) or sheer bankruptcy (the Printers and Paperworkers are about on their last legs and have just rejected a proposition for a levy of 1s. per week). Now you watch out for the rats deserting the sinking ship.

The duty of the Communist and the Communist sympathiser is clear. Even if the Unions have failed us in this crisis they have got to be built up again on more scientific lines, and, when lack of funds has led the official gang to seek "fresh fields and pastures new," it becomes the task of the rebels to carry on the Unions by voluntary work. In this way we shall at one stroke rid ourselves of the old bureaucracy and prove to the masses that the Communists alone are faithful to their class.

Frankie's extra £3

John Thomas' remarks in the COMMUNIST recently on Frank Hodge's *minimum* salary of £750 a year are endorsed by a resolution tabled for the M.F.G.B. Conference, withdrawing the extra £150 that he receives for "extra work" as secretary to the National Wages Board. Pay your officials a decent wage, by all means, but there are some wages which are indecent. We venture to think that Frank's £12 a week is (without the extra £3) *enough*; and if it really is such a heavy extra task as to claim that £3, are there no competent members of the Federation who would be only too glad to take it on at that rate? Anyway, every Lodge had better do whatever it can to support Durham's motion.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

This Concerns Communists Only

THERE are many thousand readers of the COMMUNIST. We want to address a little talk to those of our readers who are seriously in sympathy with the Communist Party.

Communism is a serious movement. Its purpose is to rally into one powerful organisation those working class elements whose experience has taught them that the successful issue to the struggle of the working class against capitalist domination can only come as the result of the employment of the revolutionary tactic of no surrender or compromise with the boss class.

There is no need to re-state the fundamentals of Communist principles. The test of the accuracy of Communist principles and tactics rests on the every-day experiences of the industrial and political struggles of the proletariat. Struggles for the MAXIMUM DEMANDS backed by SOLIDARITY AND FIGHTING SPIRIT result every time in victory for the workers. Compromise, disunity and apathy inevitably bring defeat.

There are two policies before the working masses. The Communist one of solidarity and class-consciousness, with the determination to fight and fight until Capitalism is overthrown and power is held by the working class, and the other, the blind, hesitating, compromising tactics of the reformist elements within the Labour movement, which makes concession after concession to the capitalist class, refusing to break with the traditions of capitalist government, thus consciously or unconsciously aiding the perpetuation of capitalism.

There can be no question which is the policy for the working class. The growing success of the world-wide Communist movement attests the correctness of the Communist tactic.

COMRADE READERS FALL INTO LINE. PLAY YOUR PART AND PLAY IT MANFULLY. Ours is the greatest Cause the world

has ever known, and it demands of you that you get into harness and shoulder your share of the task. No excuses, no lack of self-confidence should stand in the way. The Movement needs men of character, sincerity and enthusiasm. There is a niche in the Movement for every Communist to fill. With every recruit we go forward. Help it to go forward by joining the Party. If you mean your Communism seriously join the Party, but do not put your hand to the plough only to turn back in time of crisis or danger.

THE AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE C.P. are the establishment of a Communist Republic. It seeks the abolition of the present system of wage slavery through a social revolution.

It stands for the tactic of the DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS, and for the Soviet system of government.

Its immediate task is the educating of the masses in the principles of Communism. By industrial organisation and agitation and revolutionary political action it seeks the realisation of its objective.

The obligations of membership are the acceptance of the principle and tactics of the Communist International. The C.P. claims loyalty and fidelity from its members and the subordination of other interests to those of the Party.

DO YOU ACCEPT THE ABOVE? ARE YOU A CONVINCED COMMUNIST? If so, your place is in the Party contributing your share to the achievement of COMMUNISM.

Send your name and address to the National Organiser, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 2. He will put you in touch with the nearest branch. If you want to know more about the C.P. apply to the National Organiser.

A. E. COOK.
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Tools for Starving Russia

¶ The Tool Collections have been very successful. Ploughs, Harrows, Hoes, Hammers, Chisels, Spanners, Files, Spades, Picks, etc., have been received.

¶ So successful has it been that we have decided to continue the collections until the end of May. Get your district to help.

Centres have been set up at 221, West George Street, Glasgow; Socialist Hall, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle; Socialist Hall, Briggate, Shipley; Socialist Hall, Margaret Street, Higher Openshaw, Manchester; and 35, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. 1.

¶ Sign the Roll Call. The demand for the Roll Call Sheets is phenomenal. Have you signed yet?

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OUR POLICE METHODS

By W. T. COLYER

WHEN my wife and I were deported as Communists from the United States on the Aquitania last month, some of our American friends amused themselves—and us!—with fancy pictures of the reception that awaited us on this side of the Atlantic. Radicals living under the iron despotism established by big business in the United States are apt to take rosy views of the rest of the world. A few even hinted at something like a civic reception, and what they meant was not the interview we actually had with a couple of pleasant gentlemen from Scotland Yard before we were allowed to land, but a real demonstration of public feeling.

Even ourselves, as soon as the boat dropped the pilot, became conscious of a change. It was not that we were tempted to modify our views regarding the characteristics which are common to every capitalist state; but we did experience something of the relief felt by a convict who is transferred from a prison with a particularly bad name to another which is reputed to be less savagely governed. The dropping of the pilot, I should explain, meant our release from the lock-up in which we had previously been held. For the escape of any deportee consigned to his care the captain of a liner may be fined £200, and he therefore takes no chances until the boat is well out to sea.

The Lancaster Case

We have not yet entirely lost the sense of relief, but we are not without startling reminders of the worst features of American "frightfulness." The article "Beaten by Police in Cells," appearing in THE COMMUNIST of May 6th, had quite a trans-Atlantic flavour, except that no allegation of police brutality would appear "almost incredible" to our American cousins. What they would find difficult of belief would be a statement that the police had acted in accordance with the law or had obeyed the dictates of ordinary humanity in their treatment of political prisoners.

In the United States lawless brutality on the part of the police and all officers entrusted with the custody of human beings has been erected into a system, and it is in the light of first hand experience of what that means, that the story of the Hawkins-Lancaster case has such a sinister significance. That an individual officer should be savagely cruel is bad enough, but, if that were all, the social consequences might be relatively unimportant. Such acts, however, if allowed to pass without vigorous protest, are officially condoned and create precedents which in the course of time acquire more than the force of law. So-called legal and constitutional safeguards count for nothing as compared with the habits which public indifference permit the police of a country to acquire.

Nothing could read more sweetly than the constitutional amendments which "protect" the people of the United States from illegal arrest, search, and imprisonment, and, after conviction, from "cruel and unusual punishments." Yet "third degree" is a commonplace of American police procedure, and every person arrested for radical activity runs a grave risk of being "put through" it. "Third degree" is just a polite name for the use of torture to extract confession. Usually it leaves its victim a nervous wreck; occasionally, as in the recent case of Andrea Salsedo, it ends in death. Salsedo's case is particularly interesting because it is for their activities in making the facts concerning it known through meetings and leaflets that the labour organisers Sacco and Vanzetti are now on trial for their lives. It is also worthy of special attention for the vivid way in which it illustrates the lengths to which a capitalist state will go in its treatment of alleged "reds."

Just why Salsedo was arrested nobody outside the United States "Department of Justice" knows to this day. He was held secretly without hearing or trial of any kind for about eight weeks in the Park Row Building, where the Department has New York offices. At the end of that time his body shot out of a fourteenth storey window and fell to the pavement below. Opinions differ as to whether he was killed in the building and his body thrown out to conceal the murder, or was driven crazy by ill-treatment and jumped out, or was pushed out by some official who wanted him out of the way. Mrs. Salsedo is seeking to recover from the then head of the Department, Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer, \$100,000 damages for her husband's death while illegally imprisoned; but as the case at present stands, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals has, by a majority of two to one, reached the conclusion that she has no *prima facie* cause for action! In this decision we get a fine example of what the workers have to expect from

the courts when the police have been allowed to get out of hand.

Filth in Letters

It was my good fortune to live in a district where they have, among the Federal judges, a liberal of the old school whose appointment must have been due to a mistake, for nothing delights him more than to exercise his powers of compelling the bourgeois state, through its agents, to abide by its own rules. Fear of being made parties to an action before this judge caused the federal officials to keep a much tighter rein upon themselves than was usual in other parts of the country. Yet even so, I have seen opened letters from their wives or sweethearts handed to men in federal detention, with the filthiest of gutter obscenity scrawled in the margins by somebody or other through whose hands the prison correspondence had to pass on its inward or outward journey. From the contents of some of the inward letters it was clear that the outward had been similarly decorated.

Only a few months ago a man suspected of illegal possession of intoxicants was shot dead in cold blood by a Boston policeman, on the pretext that otherwise he would have escaped. The last May Day procession attempted in the same city was fired on without warning, and many of my friends had narrow escapes from death. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely, but there is no need to do so here. Enough has been said to show how serious the situation has become for the working class on the other side of the Atlantic as the result of gradual and little noticed usurpations of power by officers of the police.

Along with the arbitrary tyranny of "the cop," there has grown up in the courts a spirit which also is worse than would be generally tolerated in England at the present time. Thus it has been held in New York that legal prohibition of attempts to change the form of government by "unlawful means" applies not only to methods forbidden by law but to any method not expressly authorised by statute, in other words to practically every form of non-parliamentary agitation. In radical cases the judge's summing up usually resembles a Tory stump speech more closely than anything else. Witnesses whose testimony bears every sign of deliberate falsity are given great weight, while independent evidence, however convincing, is brushed aside. Juries are entreated to remember the boys who gave their lives in France, and to show the same qualities in framing their verdicts. Such appeals are understood—and rightly understood—to mean: "Find the accused radical guilty in the spirit of insensate fury in which a soldier rushes forward in a bayonet charge."

"Habeas Corpus"

The latest, and in some ways the most alarming, exhibition of lawlessness on the Bench occurred in Pennsylvania shortly before our deportation. An arrest was made in Pittsburgh for alleged radical activity: the police produced no tangible evidence against the accused, but he was nevertheless held for the grand jury on exceedingly high bail (\$10,000, if my memory serves me). *Habeas corpus* proceedings were at once taken by defending counsel on the ground that it was unlawful to hold a man in custody under such circumstances without preferring definite charges against him. The judge who heard the petition refused to grant a writ of *habeas corpus*, saying that it was unnecessary, as if there were nothing against the defendant the grand jury, when in due time his case came up for consideration, would not indict him. So poor Blankenstein remained behind the bars while the police had time to consider just what offence they would charge him with and to "prepare" the case for the prosecution.

From such conduct it is but a short step to a complete government "frame-up." In such cases—of which the Mooney affair in California and the Sacco-Vanzetti trial in Massachusetts are striking examples—the "evidence" is manufactured and the testimony purchased. The accused have rendered themselves obnoxious to the powers that be, and as they obstinately refuse to do anything for which they can be legally arrested, arrangements have to be made for their conviction for murder or some other very serious crime which will ensure, if not their death, at least their imprisonment for a long term of years.

Another manifestation of the same general tendency is to be seen in the power which many of the States, in defiance of the Federal Constitution, have conferred upon irresponsible officials to order the asexualisation or sterilisation of practically anybody who "gets in wrong" with the authorities. Prison inmates—and any radical is liable to get into that category—may, in some States, be operated

on for one or other of the purposes mentioned, on the basis of "previous unsocial acts," or if suffering from "marked departures from normal mentality," or if the authorities consider that "procreation is inadvisable" in the case of the victim. Inasmuch as Mr. Wilson's Attorney General circularised the press, on his official letterhead, in January, 1920, to the effect that American Communists were mainly criminals or "unfortunate men and women suffering with various forms of hyperesthesia," it is not difficult to realise the dangers to which our comrades in the "land of the free" are exposed.

The Strongest State

Thus does the Government of the United States, the strongest creditor government of the capitalist world, point the way to the goal at which capitalist dictatorship aims. It has been able to get so far without encountering anything like organised mass opposition from the working class. To explain the causes of such astounding apathy it would be necessary to write a brief history of the United States, which cannot be done here. This much, however, may be said: that, if when the American authorities first began to break the rules they had themselves laid down, they had met the kind of criticism and opposition to which they are now, at this late stage, subjected by an organisation like The Workers' Party of America, the present situation would be very different. Possibly the onward march of capitalistic tyranny would not have been checked a whit, but the incidental protests and agitation could not have failed to create and develop class-consciousness and revolutionary discipline in thousands upon thousands who are to-day untouched.

Every infraction by the State of its own laws makes the class character of society more plain, and radicals cannot afford to let slip the opportunities of propaganda that such infractions offer them. If their protests are in some measure successful they have secured a little more elbow room for the working class militants. If they fail, they will, in failing, convince many, whom they could not otherwise have reached, of the truth of their indictment of the bourgeois state.

LITTLE PARODIES No.2

Twopence Coloured By T. A. J. . . n

THE carrion crows have been to their obscene feast; the carrion crows have returned gorged and glutted.

Meeting in secret conclave the banded bosses of British Imperialism have decided to exterminate, as well as exploit and expropriate, every section of workers which refuses to bow the knee and offer sacrifice to the great god Mammon. By force and fraud, by chicanery, cajolery, lies, outrage, battle, murder, and sudden death, these besotted descendants of past tyrants mean to retain their present domination.

Let them try. Let the little tin gods who sit in the seats of the mighty, and for a pretence make long prayers, remember that the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, and the night cometh when no man can work—not even at swatting up useful phrases from the Authorised Version.

* * *

As for the pimps, panderers and profligates, the lackeys and flunkies, the miserable drivellers of coagulated nonsense, who congregate round the greasy carcasses of the counterfeit Pooh Bahs and imitation Lord High Panjandrums of political democracy; for these we have nothing but contempt. Take any specimen. He has the mind of a turnip, the grinning face of a drunken ape, and the hybrid soul of a Black and Tan.

Meanwhile the intellectual eunuchs of the Yellow International float like golden cherubims in the purple haze of Eccleston Square; or, clothed in the sky blue robes of Doctors of Literature, recline on beds of pink and white roses in a vain endeavour to look like sea-green incorruptibles.

We say recline, but it were more appropriate to say they lie. We take them by the hand as a preliminary—(Sorry, and all that).

* * *

In the name of the tortured and martyred millions of all the ages; in the name of all who have fought, and bled, and suffered, and died in the holy cause of the weak and downtrodden; in the name of everything and everybody; we call upon everyone else to have done with words, idle words, from now henceforth.

It is a time for action, not accident; for indomitable deed, not interminable declamation. To press this important point home to the workers, we propose to write a series of full page articles extending over an indefinite period, and continued weekly until further notice.

In short, we are throwing off the mantle of Lady Godiva in order to assume that of Old Mother Hubbard and the Cow that jumped over the Moon.

"A ROTTEN REVIEW"

By FRANCIS MEYNELL

[Francis, after persecution amounting to physical violence, sent in this review. He picked the title himself, and we do not endorse it. Except perhaps in this sense—that the astonishing wealth of *Espoir's* 40 odd pages of cartoons could probably only be dealt with in a review of 40 pages.]

COMMUNIST CARTOONS is the liveliest, the most dramatic, most realistic, most suggestive—the funniest, grimmest, most provoking, most satisfying and the most telling piece of pictorial propaganda I have ever seen. Excuse the welter of contradictory adjectives! You'll find excuse quite easy, and you'll enlarge the dictionary when you study this collection. I don't think that any movement in any country has put out such a book—a triumphant book. Its triumph is that of a remarkable unity—the clean, clear outlook with consummate draughtsmanship, subtle judgments simplified into these masterly pen-marks.

"Espoir" makes the book, for there are about sixty of his pictures (among them two magnificent double-pagers) against less than a dozen contributed by three other clever artists. He makes the book. I think he made a lot of things besides. Not money, to be sure! But he made "a sensation" undoubtedly. He made a host of admirers. He helped to make a libel action—and I think he made himself, or at least found himself, as an artist.

* * *

When the *Daily Herald* was preparing for its first issue after the war I was told to find a sporting cartoonist for its back page. In the welter of stuff that was submitted I came suddenly on a little pile of samples of a very different quality. "Here's a man," I said, "who can draw. He's got pen-control (even that's a rare thing!) and his line is like a line of downs—mighty movement stilled." Of course, he turned out to be an Australian, but at that stage he hadn't the faithful sense of likenesses nor the intellectual adroitness of the great



A "PRINCE" CARTOON

The J.C.P.: A Rebel?
The P.O.W.: Not exactly—a selected person.

Australian school. He had, however, a swift but sure beauty of touch which Dyson, for instance, has never in my opinion equalled.

As a sporting cartoonist "Espoir" was only a three-quarter success. Enough, though, to get one of the great capitalist dailies so persistently after him that he left the *D.H.* I was sorry enough at the time; but I am glad now. "Espoir" made (I believe) something of a mess of that job, or his new masters made a mess of him. The result was that when I came to the COMMUNIST "Espoir" was longing to use a pen which had been still for some months—and willing to turn it to quite new uses.

"Espoir," the great political cartoonist, came into existence.

My admiration for his work is so intense and so general that I find it almost impossible to choose from among the sixty pictures (they are that as well as cartoons); and I really can't set down my rhapsodies about the lot. But the Prince of Wales!—that smile, that tie, that row of war ribands extended a foot beyond his chest! And his august father, in many different aspects. And the Cripple Alliance; and Mond; and "Jimmy."....



"Pity and all that . . . But he wasn't a member of our Union."

[C. T. Cramp and the Mallow murder of Railwaymen]

Then the sense of architecture that the man gets into his pictures—that marvellous vast empty amphitheatre, with its suggestion of mosaics, in which are absorbed up the four little politicians; the sort of tunnel in one of the small pictures of the Japanese Crown Prince series; and the prison interiors in two of the grim Irish cartoons—these indeed are masterly.

"Espoir's" cartoons infuriated the *Morning Post* week by week as they appeared, and delighted scores of thousands of COMMUNIST readers. Let me assure both these sections that the accumulated passion, the political sense and fearlessness of which this book—printed in a sort of hand press style very apt to these drawings—is the vehicle will afford a new series of enhanced sensations. The cartoons seems better than ever, truer than ever, and—most markedly and strangely—newer than ever.

"Espoir's" name will live in the records of politics, and in the records of art. If this book gets into the hands of book speculators it will be selling, in five years time, at a fancy price as a first edition.

In a Russian Village

In a Russian Village. C. R. Buxton. 2/6. Labour Publishing Co.

BUXTON went with the British Labour delegation to Russia in 1920. He did not follow the usual practice of idly visiting the obvious places, but broke away from the party on the Volga and spent a week in an ordinary Russian village, called Ozero. In this typical village he simply spent a week using his eyes. Probably no Englishman had ever been there before.

The booklet is merely the story of his week in the village. It is well written and amusing, and also very valuable. It has its limitations—after all a week's experience is not much—but it gives a vivid picture of what the Revolution has done and has not done for the peasant.

A shade of gloom hangs over it all. Ozero is in the heart of what is now the famine area, and probably nearly all the pleasant people we meet in these pages are dead.

R.W.P.

Another Secret Circular

THE real nature of the attempt of the Engineering employers to smash all trade union regulations, becomes clearer every day. We have the greatest pleasure in adding to this exposure by publishing to-day the relevant portions of another secret circular, issued by the Employers' Federation to its constituent firms:—

METHOD OF VOTING.

1. In the event of the reply of your Association not being received by 31st March, 1922, the aggregate votes of your Association will, in accordance with Article 26 of the Constitution and Conditions of the Federations, be added to the majority of votes returned in order to ascertain the final vote, such added votes being deemed recording votes.

WAGES QUESTION.

2. The Executive Board having considered the proposed working conditions submitted by the Special Negotiating Committee, as also the question of a reduction in the war bonuses of 26s. 6d. per week, recommend as follows:—

"That as regards a reduction in the war bonuses of 26s. 6d. per week the question be left in the hands of the Special Negotiating Committee on the understanding that a reduction of not less than 16s. 6d. should be obtained at such periods and of such amounts as the Committee may be able to arrange, the matter to be subject to the view of the Local Association, with regard to the question of overtime on dayshift."

MANAGERIAL FUNCTIONS AND PROVISIONS FOR AVOIDING DISPUTES.

3. Until the procedure above has been carried through the instructions of the management shall be observed, and there shall be no stoppage of work either of a partial or of a general character. No stoppage of work shall take place until the question has been fully dealt with under the "Provisions for avoiding Disputes."

The fact that a workman not belonging to a Trade Union shall not of itself be a ground for objecting to his obtaining or continuing in employment.

[Note.—It was suggested for consideration it might be well to provide that work people, as condition of employment, should be required to give the name of their union, if any.]

Employers have the right to train and employ those whom they consider best adapted to the various operations carried on in their workshops.

Employers have full discretion to appoint the men they consider suitable, to work all their machines, machine tools and appliances, and to determine the conditions under which they shall be worked.

Employers have the right to employ workmen at rates of wages mutually satisfactory to the Employer and workmen concerned.

Employers shall have freedom to introduce payments by results. Pending an arrangement being come to regarding piecework prices, bonus or basis time, the workman or workmen shall proceed with the job in accordance with the piecework prices or bonus or basis time allowed by the management.

HOLIDAYS.

4. Double time for work done on New Year's Day; all other holidays time and a quarter.

YOUNG JOURNEMEN LOSING RATES.

5. There shall be a probationary period of two years with a proportionate periodical increase in wages rates to bring the rates of young journeymen up to the majority of adults of the class concerned.

APPRENTICES.

6. There shall be no limitation in the number of apprentices to be employed.

The Trades Union agree that they shall not interfere with the relations between an employer and apprentice, where the apprentice has entered into an indenture of apprenticeship or an agreement of service with the employer, which embodies a period of service and an obligation on the part of the employer to train the apprentice.

OVERTIME ON DAYSHIFT.

7. A workman working through his meal hour shall be paid at time and a quarter for the meal hour so worked unless an equivalent period in time is allowed. Time and a quarter for the first two hours worked, and time and a half for the hours worked thereafter until the usual starting time next morning.

NIGHTSHIFT.

8. Nightshift shall be paid for at the rate of time and a quarter for all hours worked. Hours worked after the full night has been worked shall be paid at the rate of time and a half.

If you
choose
you can

A Cartoon before Black Friday

