

# THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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

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TWOPENCE

## FIGHT!—DAMN IT!—FIGHT!!

**D**OUBT has been cast upon certain statements in the COMMUNIST concerning an E.C. instruction of the A.E.U. This instruction was to the effect that only locked-out members of the Union could serve on lock-out committees. The intention and effect of this was to exclude all the unemployed members, who are not only deeply affected by the lock-out, but are also the elements who are providing all the spirit and fight that is being shown in the struggle.

The existence of this circular has been questioned. It has even been stated that the Executive has no knowledge of the circular. This may be true. We know Brother Brownlie of old. He is quite capable of issuing a disastrous instruction without telling the E.C. anything about it. If so, the sooner the E.C. see to it the better. Meanwhile, the fact remains: the instruction has been sent out, and is in operation. Here is a copy of the relevant paragraphs, as issued to the London District Council:—

That the London Area be divided into eleven sections, and that a Central Lock-out Committee be formed of eleven members, composed of one from each of the eleven groups stated below, *who must be locked out members*. Chairman and Secretary to be elected from the eleven members forming the Central Committee.

### *Method of Election of Sub-Committees.*

In view of the short time at our disposal we advise that the Shop Stewards in each section meet and appoint a Provisional Committee of three until such time as an aggregate meeting of members in the Section can be held to elect such Committee. Such Committee not to exceed seven members, *who must all be locked out members*.

The circular is signed by Thos. Knibbs, London District Secretary, and of its authenticity there can be no doubt. Nor can there be any doubt that by its enforcement grave harm is being done to the workers' cause.

\* \* \*

As if that were not enough, the Grand Council trots up. You will remember that at the last Congress much time was spent in finding out why the miners had not been helped. The General Council promised that "next time" it would see things were done, "next time" it would weigh in indeed, and the bosses would tremble.

Well, it has weighed in. Uncle Arthur has delivered a mighty speech announcing that it has—But, just a moment, What did it do?

*It took upon itself the functions of the Ministry of Labour.*

In the old days the Ministry of Labour went during a strike to the employers and arranged terms with them. Then it sent for the workers' representatives, and if they turned the terms down they had to fight both Government and Bosses. Now the General Council has taken the Ministry's place as "mediator," and we presume that in future the workers will have to face Bosses plus General Council, instead of merely Bosses plus Ministry of Labour.

Anyway, instead of fooling round with mediation, the Council could do one thing to fulfil its promises—it could call a special All-in Trades Union Congress to concert action.

\* \* \*

Pressure by the rank and file can achieve this. Pressure by the rank and file could force the withdrawal of the A.E.U. Executive of this absurd circular. Already the pressure of the masses has moved the Executive Council of the Engineers. Apprentices of the locked-out factories have to join their locked-out comrades. That is one step forward, conceded regretfully under pressure. But the rest is black as black can be. Apart from this one measure, not a single effective action has come from the Trade Union leaders.

They have entered again into negotiations with the employers. Complete obscurity covers the proposals that they are making in this conference, and the statements issued to the public are apparently deliberately evasive and meaningless.

But the aim of the conference is pretty clear. It is to get the employers to consent to such verbal alterations as will enable Brownlie and Co. to take a fresh ballot. They hope that a sufficient number will abstain to let defeat be accepted. If Sir Allan Smith is cute enough and the union leaders are as weak as usual, a way to take this ballot will almost certainly be found.

The conference which started on Monday *did not touch the question of the wages and hours of labour of the engineers*. It dealt only with the memorandum. The Engineers are out. The E. and S. Federation are not out.

Why is this? Since we last wrote, the ballot of the shipyard workers has resulted in a decisive and crushing rejection of the employers' demands. They are therefore in the same boat as the engineers, and morally bound to them. They were told: "Either you accept this or you are locked out." They have chosen the lock-out.

And now they are just waiting until the employers lock them out. *But why wait?* The reason for delay can only be to allow the employers to choose their time. This way lies certain defeat, both for shipyard workers and for engineers.

\* \* \*

This can only be averted in one way: by the activity of the rank and file. And here and now is the time for some plain words from the unemployed and left-wing rank and file to their fellows, locked-out, and about to be locked-out.

**The locked out members of the A.E.U. are not pulling their weight. They are leaving the brunt of the work to the unemployed members of the Union and in some districts will hardly even do picket work.**

This is sheer damnable foolishness. How can we expect the leaders to show fight when members of the rank and file seem to think that nothing out of the ordinary is on? What possible chance of success is there from occasional picket duty? How often must we repeat that the employers are **OUT TO SMASH THE UNION**, and that the old, traditional methods of carrying on a dispute are inadequate?

What in the name of common sense are we supposed to be doing?

Is a lock-out a curate's tea-party? Are we just out for a rest? Or is there a fight on?

Did the bosses smash the miners, or did we dream it?

Did they go on to smash the workers, section by section, until the turn of the engineers came?

Are they to be defeated by nothing more strenuous than the protestations and pleadings of a scared Executive?

**Engineering workers! If you return to work without a clear statement and agreement as to wages and hours of labour you will be crushed to a level of poverty and misery you have never experienced hitherto.**

Only the most instant action in every shipbuilding and engineering centre can evade the disaster.

**Damn the Wage Reduction!**

**To Hell with overtime!**

Compel the Union leaders to agree to a common programme against wage reduction, against overtime, against the lengthening of the hours of labour, the right to control the job.

Don't leave the hard work of fighting the employer to your unemployed fellow-member! It is scandalous that they should have to take the lead in everything. Has all spirit passed out of the employed Trade Unionist?

**Fight, damn it, FIGHT!**

# CORRESPONDENCE

## "The Communist" and Ireland

COMRADE,

Some people are credited with believing that pain is an affliction of the mind alone; that if one were to refuse to believe in the existence of pain, no pain would be experienced.

The obverse of this is to be found among those who, having proclaimed vehemently enough that a certain political state exists, assert—all evidences to the contrary notwithstanding—that such a political state does not in fact exist.

Your note on the action of the Tipperary Gas Workers induces one to think that you belong to the latter school. Despite your profession that Communists are realists, it rather appears that you are romanticists!

"The proletarians of the I.R.A. have the future of Ireland in their hands. If the Irish Labour Party would only dare! A mass movement of the Irish workers in alliance with the I.R.A. could establish a Workers' Republic now."

To assist you in forming a judgment of Irish politics I venture to convey a few facts relating to the present situation.

- (1) In the 26 counties—the only part of Ireland which counts in such a matter at the moment—the proportion of proletarians to peasant land holders is as one to six.
- (2) The I.R.A. is largely, perhaps mainly, composed of farmers and farmers' sons.
- (3) The majority of the I.R.A. will support the party in power.
- (4) The leader and organiser of the rebellious, anti-treaty minority in the I.R.A. is bitterly anti-working class, with only the narrowest, small capitalist, outlook.
- (5) The farmers and farmers' sons, shopkeepers and shopkeepers' sons possess more guns than the workers.
- (6) The strongest passion amongst rural workers even yet is to possess a piece of land.
- (7) The town workers are "fed up" with armed warfare.
- (8) The town workers are overwhelmingly in favour of accepting the Treaty and working it to the best advantage.
- (9) Ireland is dependent for fuel upon importations.
- (10) Her railways and motor traction are only adapted for imported fuel.
- (11) The mass of proletarians reside in cities near the coast, largely dependent upon imported food.
- (12) While Ireland as a whole can easily support her population on home grown food, the city workers could not obtain supplies without the good will of the farmers. (I have already said that the farmers have more guns than the workers!)

- (13) The Communist Party has not yet won power in England.
- (14) The capitalists of England will not remain calm while Ireland is setting up a Workers' Republic, and unless the English workers are busy at the same task at the same time they would find occasion to intervene.
- (15) English warships can interfere with overseas supplies to Irish ports.
- (16) There are no Lenins, Trotskys, Krassins, Radeks, or Litvinoffs in the Irish Labour Movement.
- (17) "There are more ways of killing a dog than by choking it with butter."

Yours fraternally,

J. (Dublin).

[Our Comrade T. A. Jackson will give a comment on this letter next week.—Ed.]

## Whiteley and Norman

DEAR SIR,—Amid the pressure of many matters on your space, would you allow me to state that I wrote a letter to the *Labour Leader* dealing with their article on this subject a fortnight ago, putting to the Directors and Mr. Whiteley, in an abbreviated form, the questions that the COMMUNIST has put in its two articles on this subject? That letter, nor any reference to it, has not been permitted to appear, in this respect suffering the same fate as other letters I have addressed to the *Labour Leader* on this topic, since some of the circumstances became known to me in 1920. I mention this fact for the information of those who read the *Labour Leader* and the COMMUNIST, who may have been surprised that no reference to Mr. Whiteley's article appeared from my pen in the correspondence columns of the former paper. Also because Mr. Whiteley complained that I had raised the question of this "six year old" pamphlet at the present time for some unknown motive, when, in fact, I have neglected no proper means to secure ventilation and discussion of the remarkable connection (unknown to myself) between Mr. H. Bottomley, Mr. E. Whiteley and the Directors of the National Labour Press, which seemingly resulted in 1918 in the hasty burial of this pamphlet "Horatio Bottomley Exposed."

The inference from this policy of "hushing up" is that there are some elements in this strange story that Mr. Whiteley and his Directors are not prepared to make clear to the public. But it is not surprising that the Labour movement does not inspire confidence in the minds of many concerning its honesty of purpose, when it is possible that such an affair as this should happen in connection with a man of the character of Mr. Bottomley, and when those concerned in it can only meet a challenge to explain their position by silence, or by feeble evasions of the issue under discussion.

Yours sincerely,

C. H. NORMAN.

## Communist Party of Great Britain

### Publication Department

16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 2

The publications department is now able to announce the appearance of three works of considerable importance which have been impatiently expected by our members for some time past. Orders can be dealt with at once. The following is our new list:—

## Communism and Society

By W. PAUL

(Author of "The State," etc.)

Communist theory made plain. The historical development of society considered in relation to the present world situation. Essential to all serious students of Communism.

Owing to the great demand for this work and the fact that the edition is limited, cash orders will be attended to first. Other orders will be executed as the printer delivers. Order now.

Price 2/6. Post free 2/9.

## The British Empire

By T. A. JACKSON

A caustic review of British Imperialism. Argument and satire brilliantly combined with fact. With Map specially drawn by J. F. Horrabin.

Price 6d. Post free 7d. Per doz., carr. paid, 5/-.

## Third Congress of the Communist International

Report of meetings held at Moscow, June 22nd—July 12th, 1921.

Reprinted from *Moscow*, the special organ of the Congress.

Something different from ordinary Conference reports. Vivid accounts of the movement, its difficulties, its triumphs, and its set backs, by leading Comrades in all countries.

Discussions on tactics and policy. Pronouncements of the Comintern. Clearly printed and of absorbing interest.

Price 2/6. Post free 2/9.

Unemployed workers are requested, before accepting work at the Sheppey Glue and Chemical Works, Ltd., to communicate with Arthur E. Hills, Sec. Sheppey Organised Unemployed, Labour Rooms, 3, Russell Street, Sheerness.

C.P.G.B. STEPNEY BRANCH.

Carnival on Saturday, April 1st, at St. George's Town Hall, Cable Street, E. 1. Tickets 1s. 6d. at door. Rally!

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 societies.

L.D.C. PRIZE DISTRIBUTION.

Postponed until April 12th owing to failure to return books. All branches please note.

## C.P. ELECTION FUND

£500 GUARANTEED IF—  
you do your bit

A Manchester member of the Party has offered to double every pound raised for the Election Fund up to the extent of £500.

This is an opportunity not to be lost.

IT IS A GENUINE OFFER.

It is up to the membership to take up the challenge.

Money is coming in and the first list of contributions will be published shortly.

We are modestly only asking for £5,000, but don't object to more.

Every penny given will bring in results.

Collecting sheets are now ready.

Comrades let us hear from you.

All monies and communications to

Electoral Committee,

Communist Party, 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

## ALBERT INKPIN

WE give below some specimen resolutions that we have received from Labour bodies, dealing with the imprisonment of Albert Inkpin, as a model and a spur to other bodies. Such resolutions should be sent to Lloyd George, Shortt, and the Secretary of the National Labour Party, 33, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.

*Mass Meeting of Leeds Unemployed.*

"That this meeting of unemployed strongly deprecates the malicious attack made upon free speech by the sentence of six months' imprisonment passed upon Albert Inkpin of the Communist Party and demands his immediate release."

*Chopwell, Spen, and District L.R.C.*

"This L.R.C. places on record its emphatic protest against the savage sentences passed upon A. Inkpin, Sec. Communist Party of Great Britain, and J. W. Gott, Liberator League, and against all others now in gaol under D.O.R.A., Emergency Powers Regulations, or the Blasphemy Laws. It regards such imprisonments as being part of a general attack upon the workers, and demands the immediate release of all those now in prison."

*West Leeds Labour Party.*

"That this meeting protests against the sentence of six months' hard labour passed upon Mr. Albert Inkpin, under the Defence of the Realm Act, and the Emergency Powers Act, both Acts having ceased to operate, and urges that he be released forthwith."

*Executive Council of the Transport & General Workers' Union.*

"That this Executive Council places on record its emphatic protest against the savage sentence of six months' hard labour passed upon Albert Inkpin, Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain, and against the continued imprisonment of all others in gaol under D.O.R.A. or the Emergency Powers Regulation. It regards such imprisonments as being part of a general attack upon the workers, and demands the release of all those now in prison. This Council requests the National Labour Party Executive, and the General Council of Trade Unions to take all possible steps to secure the immediate release of these political prisoners."

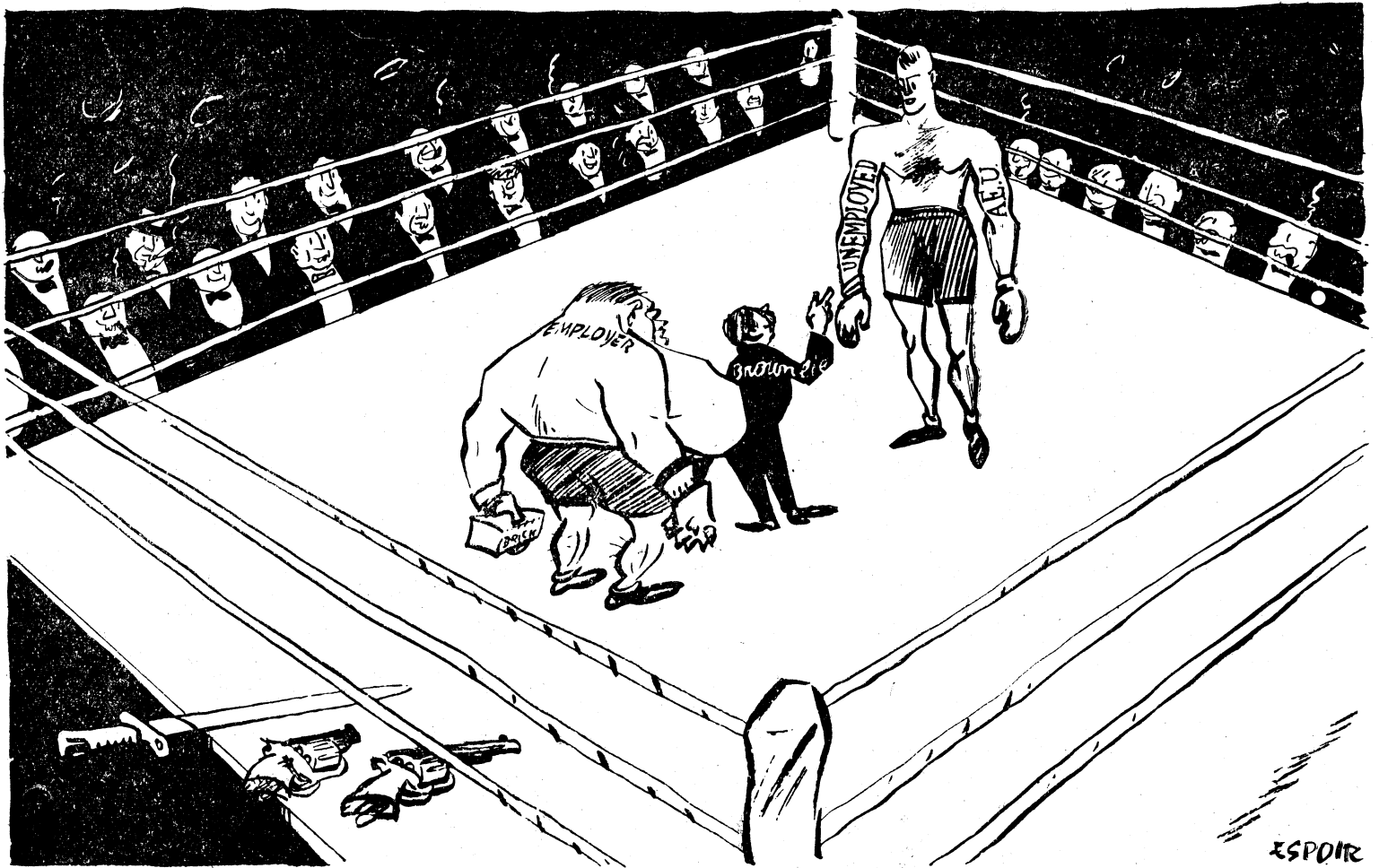
*Bridport T.C. and L.P.*

"This Trades Council places on record its emphatic protest against the savage sentence of six months' hard labour passed upon Albert Inkpin, Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain, and against the continued imprisonment of all others now in gaol under D.O.R.A., or the Emergency Powers Regulations.

It regards such imprisonments as being part of a general attack upon the workers, and demands the immediate release of all those now in prison.

It further records its disgust that political offenders of any kind should be treated as common criminals, such punishment being, in its opinion, clear evidence of the class vindictiveness of the sentences themselves.

This Council requests the National Labour Party Executive and the General Council of Trade Unions to take all possible steps to secure the immediate release of these political prisoners."



REFEREE BROWNLIE (to the Employer): "I'll have none of that, my boy. You must fight fair. How dare you attempt to use both hands!"

## FAMINE HELP

**T**HE Workers' International Famine Relief Organisation, both in its international centre and its national sections, has always been sharply distinguished from all other Famine Relief Organisations in that they alone have clearly realised that the best help for the famine areas is first to feed the population and then go forward to energetically helping them to rebuild their entire productive and economic life. Other Famine Organisations limit their activities to supplying rations, mostly to children. The Workers' International Famine Relief Organisation realise that the truest help is to help the famine area to help itself. We have got to do more than merely keep the population alive till the next harvest.

Soviet Russia is our Soviet Russia. It is the Soviet Russia of the workers the world over. At once their inspiration in the common struggles against slavery and imperialism, at once the hope of enslaved and backward races, Soviet Russia stands for all that is worth while for the Future. She has won terrific battles against a circle of military foes at a cost of almost complete dislocation of her economic life. To help her to rebuild and become strong and powerful economically, as she is in spirit, must be the task of class conscious workers the world over.

The Workers' International Famine Relief Committee have consistently endeavoured to put these principles into practice. In the first months of panic that followed the beginning of the Famine, nothing more could be done than to rush in food stores, but gradually as the administration of the Committee got down to its work in Kazan and elsewhere in the Famine Belt, it has taken steps to consolidate the ground won, and to help organise the productive work. The life of the workers in Soviet Russia is a life of battle and of struggle. The Famine Front is as much a part of the general struggle as any other, and workers and peasants, rescued from death by starvation, are only too eager to once again take their place in the ranks of the armies of production and fight the enemies of economic chaos and decay.

To this end the representatives of the Workers' International Relief Committee have taken over and supervised the organisation of several large Soviet Estates in the Kazan Area, notably 3,400 acres at Spaseker, Kazan, making themselves responsible for the necessary corn for spring sowings, machinery, and tools necessary for the purpose. The same has been done in the case of several factories in the famine area. In addition to these new ventures, they have also taken over the organisation of three technical schools, a shoemaker's school, a tailoring

## By E. T. Whitehead

school, a school for mechanical engineering, and a Polytechnic. Not only have they rescued the staff and pupils of these schools from death by starvation, but they have helped to put them again on their feet as valuable forces in rebuilding the shattered economic life of the Soviet Republic.

The efforts of bourgeois relief work which is strictly limited to sparse rations, generally issued to children only, allowing the workers and peasants, the soldiers of industry, to die, is one thing. The relief action of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee, which envisages the whole situation of the Soviet Republic, and helps her fight her economic battles and solve her economic problems, is quite another. For workers there is no question of choice. It can only mean all workers famine relief through the channels of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee. It is the first "class" duty, the first revolutionary duty, of the wide masses of the West European proletariat to give every aid to our brothers of Soviet Russia in helping them to rebuild anew the Economic Life. As the months pass the Famine Relief Work will gradually, and more and more pass over to this second side of the struggle. In this wider field, a field of even greater importance from the standpoint of world revolution, the bourgeois relief committees are likely to be of no service whatever.

Indeed, in this field of help great results have already been achieved by other national sections. The German workers in particular have donated such things as electric ploughs, tractors, commercial motor vehicles, 20 field kitchens, three 12 horse-power motors, some small turbine motors, and complete equipment for two smithies outfits and blacksmiths shops. This material has been practically contributed by the workers in the various factories concerned voluntarily working the necessary overtime to pay for these articles.

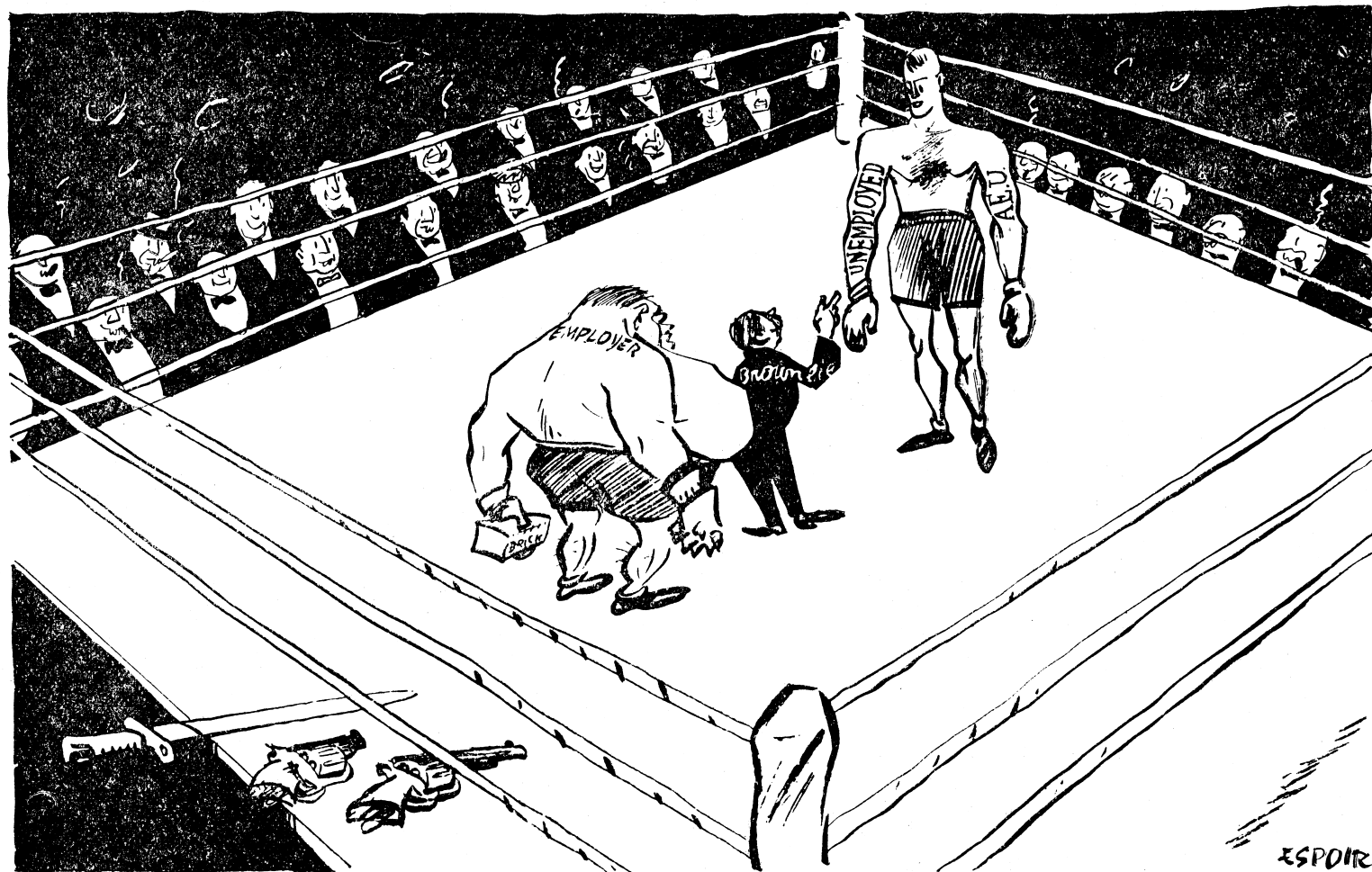
In a similar way the workers of Sweden have provided munitions for the economic battle front of the Soviet Republic, with a whole shipload of agricultural and other machinery in addition to their very large food consignments. The Americans have donated material help to the value of no less than 200,000 dollars, and are arranging a huge "Drive" for ploughs, tractors and agricultural machinery. We in Britain have always considered that the very best form of help we could organise has been cash to buy food, and so far this has been our quota. But in the future it is imperative that the issue should be faced on the wider field, and that British workers should take their place side by side with the workers of France, of Sweden, of Norway,

and of America, in mobilising to help Soviet Russia in her battle on the economic front, realising that the best way of finally defeating this Famine, and preventing future famine is to help Russia to build up her agriculture and industry on a 20th century basis and not on a mediæval basis, as was the case in pre-war times.

## The International Tool Collecting Week

As an immediate and pressing work, the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee, with the agreement of the Soviet Government, have set apart the week May 1st—7th as an international tool collecting week. There is nearly as great a famine of tools in Soviet Russia as there is of food. The whole industrial resources of Russia for the long years of war and blockade had to be thrown into the production of munitions with which to throw back the subsidised armies of the counter revolution. This, coupled with the cessation of imported tools and instruments from industrial Germany, has led to a frightful dearth of tools and metal instruments. To meet this dearth the industrial workers of the West can make a great contribution. Hatchets, hammers, spades, saws, knives, farm implements, ploughs, and all forms of metal utensils can be collected at tens of thousands of collecting stations in Europe and America. An exact schedule of what is required is being prepared so that we of the British working class shall not lag behind other national sections in our work for Russia. This is a big international job. It will require detail attention to organisation arrangements in every district and locality. The centres where the collected tools can be received at will have to be arranged. For the present let us keep this in our mind, and prepare to do our share to putting the workers and peasants of Russia in contact with the tools that alone will enable them to build up a full and rich economic life for the whole people.

In this work of aiding in the revival of the economic life of Soviet Russia we have a field of activity in which all Workers' Organisations, both political and industrial, will be only too willing to co-operate. On the policy of helping to preserve Soviet Russia and helping to strengthen Soviet Russia there should be no dissentient voice throughout the Labour Movement of the entire world, and the co-operation and assistance of all sections of the Labour Movement will be cordially welcomed in a spirit of true co-operation in this work of constructive aid. Workers of other countries have already achieved magnificent results in this work of aid for Soviet Russia. Let us do our share in Britain too.



REFEREE BROWNLIE (to the Engineer): "I'll have none of that, my boy. You must fight fair. How dare you attempt to use both hands!"



## NOTES OF THE WEEK

**Misrepresentation** When Edgar T. Whitehead, delegate of the Workers' International Famine Relief Committee was detained at Ellis Island, the British press was filled with false reports that he had travelled out as a "first class passenger," such a report being most damaging and mischievous in the case of a representative of a Famine Fund.

On March 21st, Mr. Shortt, answering a question in the House, again referred to a "first class passenger who had landed at Southampton, on Feb. 27th," who was said to have had literature of a "still worse type" than even Communist literature. This, and the resulting paragraph in the *Daily Herald* only served to increase the bad odour engendered by the first report.

In order as far as possible to kill these false reports we give the facts of the case.

Whitehead travelled outwards as a second class passenger on ss. Baltic. He still holds his detained card as second class passenger on Ellis Island as a proof of this. He returned as second class passenger, berth F 27, on ss. Olympic. All the literature taken from him on Feb. 28th was returned intact on March 11th. Further than that, the suggestion that he had with him literature of a "still worse type" is without the

(2) On the Continent, Italy, Second Honeymoon.

(3) Abroad for two months.

(4) Return to Chesterfield House, for London Season.

(5) Harewood House, after London Season.

(6) Balmoral House, for the opening of the Shooting Season.

"There is no mention of any work this year. Messrs. Clynes, Hodge, and Thomas should sing them a trio entitled: *The Gate to More—Work!*"

\* \* \*

**A Question for Thomas** Terrible revelations were to be published by Mr. Thomas.

Horrible disclosures about Bolshevik gold, jewels, diamonds, roubles and Chinese bonds. The things that Jimmy was going to reveal! The terrible threats he made before his gaping audience at Sheffield! And then—silence, and this paired letter to the *Times*.—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—In your issue of February 20th you report a speech delivered at Sheffield by Mr. J. H. Thomas, in which—referring to subversive propaganda in this country subsidised by Russian money—he promised: "Regardless of all the consequences, the British public shall have the details in public which I have had put before me in private."

Is it possible that I have missed these details, or has Mr. Thomas forgotten his promise? In any

**Fraternal Greetings** The following telegrams of congratulation were received at Headquarters too late for communication to the Conference. They were crowded out of last week's report:—

### The Communist Party of Italy

To the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Dear Comrades,—In answer to your letter of February 24th. We cannot send a delegate to your Special Congress as our second National Congress will be held on the same date. You will remember that we begged you to send a delegate).

We send to your Conference fraternal greetings and an assurance of solidarity with you in your work.

Signed (for the Executive Committee),

A. BORDIGA, Secretary.

### The French Communist Party

To ARTHUR MACMANUS, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2.

The French Communist Party sends fraternal greetings to the British Communists.

French Communists render homage to the bravery displayed by the British Communists in their struggle against governmental repression and against the ambushes set by the reformist socialists always eager for the disappearance of the Communist movement. We watch with interest and appreciation your efforts to organise the revolutionary masses and to establish a solid vanguard of the proletariat. Regretting that the refusal of the authorities to give passports

# Trotsky sat up Two Nights

to finish for the COMMUNIST the new Serial we shall begin to run next week. This Serial deals with the Story of Georgia, and was specially brought back by Arthur Macmanus from Moscow for publication in the COMMUNIST. The full text will be published EXCLUSIVELY in the COMMUNIST. You will be well advised to reserve your copy.

slightest foundation. The suggestion, of course intended is that Whitehead was travelling with pornographic literature.

The facts are that Whitehead did not have in his possession a single piece of such literature, neither in books nor pictures, nor books on sex, nor anything that could even remotely be considered in such a class.

It is doubtful whether our Comrade has any remedy in face of these deliberate lies that he travelled first class, nor this further innuendo. The damage done by such false reports, both to Whitehead personally, and to Famine Relief Work in general, are very great. Such are the methods of the Bourgeois Press.

\* \* \*

**An Apology** We have committed a serious error, and one for which we wish to apologise.

A correspondent signing himself "Peter Plainspeech" writes pointing out that we omitted two names from the list of those Labour Leaders who attended Princess Mary's wedding. We beg to restore these names, with profound apologies. The omitted gentlemen were:—

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
JOHN HODGE, M.P.,

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

Our correspondent adds the truly harrowing detail: "One M.P. overslept himself and was refused admission."

He then goes on to make unedifying remarks on the inattention (as yet) of the royal couple to the "Produce More" slogan of their guests, Thomas, Clynes and Hodge.

"The Boss press," he writes, "gives us the programme of the aristocratic couple as follows (for 1922):—

(1) Weston House, First Honeymoon.

case, I am sure there are numbers of people who are awaiting this interesting statement.

I am your obedient servant,

PHILIP WICKSTEAD.

The County Hotel, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

March 20th.

We, too, wonder what has become of these "revelations."

\* \* \*

**German Victims** The consequences of the attitude of the various political organisations during

the recent railway strikes begin to be felt in Germany. In the last Trade Union elections the Communists attained everywhere considerable successes, and most of all in the German Railwaymen's Union, the leaders of which were against the participation in the strike. In the Berlin district at the election of the new district committee the Communist list has polled 200 votes, as against 184 for the United Majority Socialist and Independent Socialist list.

After the election, the representative of the German Railwaymen's Union Headquarters, made a declaration stating that the Union would not confirm the election but appoint another committee, consisting of Trade Unionists adhering to the Amsterdam International.

In Leipzig also the Communist list headed the poll in the election of the railwaymen's local committee with a big majority. The same thing happened in Königsberg, where the Communists received more votes than the Independent and Majority Socialists together.

Similar favourable news is announced from all parts of the country with regard to the various elections in the Trade Unions, Trades Councils, and workshop councils.

prevents us from doing so in person we address this expression of our great sympathy to the British Communists as an indication of our desire that the closest links should be established between our two parties.

KER, International Secretary.

### The Communist Party of Ireland

To F. H. PEET, Acting Secretary, C.P.G.B.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland extends fraternal greetings to your Conference. It regrets that it has not been able, owing to shortness of time, to arrange for a delegate. The Irish national struggle is entering upon its final phase: a social war is imminent. Realities demand closer co-operation between our parties. Long Live the Federated Workers' Republics of Ireland and Great Britain.

R. CONNOLLY, Chairman.

J. O'LEARY, Secretary.

### The Workers' Party of Canada

The Constitutional Convention sends its fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Although British Imperialism appears on the surface to have grown in extent and power, fundamentally Great Britain has lost tremendously by the World War. Herein lies the reason for the growing bitterness of the class-struggle in Great Britain, for with the growing capitalist inability to bribe the upper layers of the labour movement into conciliation the working class of Great Britain are becoming disillusioned and revolutionary.

The Workers' Party will follow with the keenest interest the efforts of the British Communist Party to penetrate the masses and become the leading political organisation of the country.

The Workers' Party joins with its sister party in its declaration of hostility to British Imperialism which covers up its brutal atrocities incident on its oppression of India and Egypt with the cant of the "white man's burden."

# THE PARTY OF THE MASSES

THE St. Pancras Conference was without doubt the most important that has met for many years. Not in the sense that rival theories were brought into conflict and a decision made between them; but in the sense that it adopted with care and in detail—without excitement or heat—a policy designed to enable the organisation to become the party of the masses.

In its abstract and general sense this is no more than was the desire of every Socialist Party that ever appeared in this country. All of them set out to become great parties. Each of them called upon the workers to see in it their only hope of salvation and to muster in millionfold might behind its banner.

The Communist Party at St. Pancras broke with that tradition once and for all. It never needed to break with the counter tradition—that the masses must be juggled by electoral wirepulling into giving such a mass of votes as could be assumed to indicate an organised agreement.

In scorn and loathing for this "Parliamentarian" conception of mass agreement, the Communist Party was born, and at this its latest Conference it has developed its positive conception in turn.

It abandons for ever the tradition of claiming the allegiance of the workers as a right.

It adopts with sober earnestness the policy of *earning* the leadership of the working-mass as at once a *duty and a privilege*.

We say "duty." We mean that we realise to the full the responsibility resting upon us as a party to use our understanding of the general conditions of the workers' class struggle as a means of determining the outcome.

It is not enough for us to say that because the establishment of Communism will emancipate the workers, therefore the workers should, must, and, sooner or later, will come over to the Communist Party. That is the traditional "revolutionary" attitude with which we broke finally in St. Pancras Town Hall. What we must face is the fact that for every possible reason we must become *the party of the masses*.

We are, it is true, already a party *for* the masses—in so far as our immediate aims and our ultimate objects are alike in line with the interest of the working class. But we are not yet the party with the confidence of the broad masses of the workers, and therefore we are not the party that guides and leads the masses in their inevitable day to day struggles with the boss.

These struggles, it must never be forgotten, do not arise, and will not arise as a result of any revolutionary propaganda. They arise directly from the sense of privation, injury and wrong aroused in the workers by the inroads of capitalism ever greedier and greedier for the results of ever intensifying exploitation.

As individuals and in isolated groups the workers were driven to make angry protests, to seek remedies, and to offer resistance to encroachments long before the concept and doctrine of Communism were formulated. As industrial capitalism has developed, consolidated, and ramified, so, likewise, has developed the workers' organisation of resistance. But it has developed more by reflex instinct than by deliberate will and purposeful intent. Nay, more! So far as there has been will and intent operating through the defensive organisations of the workers—Trade Unions and so forth—it has been in most cases that of people who proceeded upon the supposition that not the essentials, but only the incidentals of the capitalist system needed check and resistance.

Under these influences the British workers' struggle has been not merely constrained within narrow limits. It has been led and directed into courses which operated to preserve the capitalist system. It was not merely negative and not revolutionary. It was positively conservative. Hence it comes to be that the conflict between the Communist Party and the non-Communist Labour Leaders was bound to arise as a battle over the general end to which all leadership should be subordinated as a means.

It was inevitable that the Communist should suspect the steadfastness of the leaders, because it was inevitable that the capitalist system should develop to a point at which every industrial struggle tends of necessity to precipitate a conflict between the workers and the State. Given such a conflict there can be no escape from an endeavour at a workers' overthrow of the capitalist state, except by the road of ignominious surrender.

Those to whom the very idea of revolution is abominable will and must avoid such a conflict by every means within their power. Those who see in revolution an inescapable prelude to the establishment of Communism—whereby alone the worker will win emancipation—will and must see in every conflict that arises the possibility of such a revolutionary situation.

\* \* \*

This, confrontation of Revolutionary and Reformist aims and tendencies, shows certainly how much depends upon the leadership of the working masses. But it also shows (what is of far more practical importance) that "leadership" does not depend solely upon the personality and mental equipment of the individual "leaders." It depends to an infinitely greater extent

upon the mental and emotional equipment of the general mass itself.

Immediate hardship and privation, or a glaring case of tyranny inflicted upon factory slaves eager for revenge for accumulated wrongs will precipitate an immediate revolt—which cannot always be quelled by the removal of the offender. A general sense of injury pervading a whole craft or industry will, under the stimulus of a comparatively minor attack, provoke a general industrial uprising.

Incidents such as these fill the history of the British working class. But it is also full of innumerable indications that even great inroads upon the workers' life-standards and glaring exercises of arbitrary power have produced nothing but sullen acceptance when they have been made at the expense of men demoralised by defeat or deluded by false beliefs into thinking them inescapable.

That the nature of industrial development is such as to demand ever wider and more intensified organisation—to secure even the immediate aims of the Labour movement—is a commonplace. That the mental and theoretical limitations of the individual leaders of Labour stand as obstacles to such organisation has been, since Black Friday, an accepted commonplace likewise. How to destroy this obstacle without, in the process, destroying the solidarity of the class has been a problem.

\* \* \*

From the first the Communist Party of Great Britain adopted the method of systematic propaganda within the Trade Unions. Its members were charged, as a condition of membership, with the duty of acting together inside the Unions to propagate a policy calculated to bring their members to a realisation of the nature and needs of the whole working class struggle.

At the St. Pancras Conference this policy was extended in several far-reaching ways. Not only must the Communist groups within the Unions be active in extending an understanding of the general nature of the working class struggle (and hence of the principles of Communism—the ultimate goal of that struggle). They must be active participants in every *detail* struggle of the workers, whether it be that of a factory, a craft, or an industry.

Wherever the workers are gathered to do battle against the boss—in workshop committee, union branch, trades council, strike committee or picket line, there the Communist must be—earning by good service the right to be heard with respect whenever he speaks of the general theory or practice of the class struggle.

Not from words alone do the workers learn. In contact with the concrete practical difficulties set by the boss-class to their attainment and enjoyment of a decent life, the workers learn—as in the absence of experience they never could learn from even the most eloquent speaker—that Communism is their only hope.

Here arises a consideration of the first magnitude—one which dictated the most momentous decision of the Conference; that on the United Working-Class Front.

What shall be the issue at stake in any given dispute between the working and ruling classes or any sections of them, is not decided arbitrarily by either. Social conditions determine these issues, and what shall or shall not be the immediate policy of the workers depends upon the nature of the issue raised. And by the specific interest at any given moment of the working class in general, the policy of the Communist Party is, and must be decided.

It is because the working class needs—in an ever intensifying degree—heart and hope and unflinching solidarity, that the Communist Party is compelled to aim at becoming the Party of the Masses. It was as a means to that end that it resolved to fight its way into the Labour Party. It was as a means to that end that it confirmed and elaborated its policy of industrial groups and nuclei.

\* \* \*

By a Mass Party we mean a Party with an organised connection with the mass of the workers. A Mass Party is a Party which in the trades union, the trades council, the workshop committee, the strike committee, the Co-operative Society, the study circle, and the club, has a moral standing and a practical contact.

It is a Party which has such a connection, moral and practical, with every detail section of the working class movement that, when the official machinery breaks down (as sooner or later it must), whether from external pressure or internal collapse, it can take the lead and carry the struggle on to a definitive and final triumph for the whole working class.

To establish a proper connection with the organised working mass demands a great number of efficient and specialised nuclei. To do this work, and so serve adequately its class, the Communist Party must be a large party—a party which even in membership will be a mass. A minimum of 100,000 members must be attained before any possibility exists of realising in the concrete the general

## HOLD THE FORT

By John Braddock

**S**TIRRING days are confronting us, days which are of tremendous import to the future of the working class, now bleeding, battered and almost beaten. Only yesterday it seems we were discussing the diabolical betrayal of Black Friday. It seemed then that the Trade Union leaders and their political henchmen could go no further in assisting the master class to grind the workers down. It seemed the Trade Union leaders had at last opened their hearts and told the working class that they could no longer play the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of working class leaders and capitalist henchmen. Surely now the working class would open their eyes! Surely they would throw down the gauntlet to them!

But no, it was still the same blindly trustful working-class that we met in the shop and at the Labour Exchange, in the days of torment that followed. Desperately we strove to point out the inability of the present leaders to fulfil their functions. We found the working class puzzled, sick at heart, and sullen. As defeat followed defeat, and betrayal betrayal, the working class, morose and brooding, hurled curses at us and at their leaders also. They began to distrust their leaders and accordingly they cursed us for having persistently

told them the disagreeable truth. Still they did not trust the "Communists," they "wouldn't have the Communists" to lead them into action. They even blamed us for driving their leaders, by precipitate action, on to the side of the Government and the bosses. Their leaders, they thought, feared the bloodshed that we Communists were supposed to want, and could take no other action than side with the Government and thus allow the masters to ride roughshod over them.

So, step by step, the workers passed on to the slavery of the open shop and to the convict system of the Labour Exchange, and pace by pace the Communists went with them, suffering doubly the starvation by the boss and the anguish of seeing their own class retreating dumbly, under the direction of the Yellow Leader.

Yet reactionary as we know the process to be, every step meant a move into the confidence of the working masses. No longer did they curse us, no longer could the flag wavers inflame them against the bloodthirsty Communists. They saw for themselves that we advanced with them side by side and shared their sufferings and were ever ready to take the lead despite jails and batons.

In the new struggle, the onslaught of the engineering bosses, once again the Communists must advance shoulder to shoulder with their fellow workers and by the United Front prove to the working class that when the betrayal comes, if such there be, they must turn with open eyes to the leadership of the Communist Party.

No illusions must be allowed of Communists driving the workers to action, while members of the Communist Party remained safe at the base. By the "Ordeal of Fire" the Communists must prove to the unlightened working class that we stand by our own class, patiently bearing the suffering of their mistakes, patiently pointing out the inefficiency of their organisation and lack of solidarity.

Cynical criticism of their seeming stupidity, indifference to their present aspirations, only drive them to hostility. The workers must be shown the two methods and the two sets of leaders side by side to enable them to realise the hopelessness of the Yellow Leaders. For it is the working class who have to be emancipated and *not* the small minority who make the theoretically trained revolutionary movement. We must descend to the workers and bear their troubles, fight their battles, and show them we are prepared to battle with them behind their treacherous leaders in order to gain their confidence.

## CUPS AND SAUCERS

By E. Clarke

**I**HAD been addressing a meeting for the local branch, and afterwards, being in no great hurry, was having a chat with one or two members. "Is so-and-so still in the branch?" I asked. I had known the chap mentioned in the days when we were in the I.L.P.

"Aye," was the answer, "but he might as well be in the Salvation Army for all he knows about Communism." Apart from indulging frequently in word for word quotations from "Das Kapital," the comrade who uttered these words had never given any evidence to me of intelligence above the ordinary.

"He's on the social committee, you know," he continued. "All he talks of is purveyors' estimates, whist tables, cups and saucers, and all that. Proper old tea-wife, that's what I call him."

I turned to the other comrade. "How is your branch standing financially?" I asked. "Oh, splendid," said he: "We haven't a penny of debt and are quite a few pounds to the good. The fellow he's criticising is one of the finest workers we have. Willing to do anything of which he is capable and would work day and night to get the branch firmly established. Never has any enjoyment himself. If it's a whist drive he's the driver; if a dance he plays for the branch gratis. Has a printing set at home and prints tickets for the drives. He has his mind set on a hall of our own

and would almost steal the bricks and build it himself if that were possible. Naturally he looks with suspicion on any expenditure of the money he's been accumulating, but as the social committee is only six members and the branch forty, things are easily balanced. We can't all be speakers. Study of Marx is not in *all* our lines, but if we find men prepared to do what they can, why discourage them."

I am certain that there is a tendency of this description in nearly every branch of every working class organisation. Money is required for the purpose of furthering our revolutionary propaganda. Comrades who have the gift of speech may be as out of place in a social committee as a pattern-maker with a pick and shovel on a relief scheme. Others who cannot speak on a public platform may be admirably suited for this class of work.

Both are surely of equal importance. Had it not been for the activities of comrades of the "Cup and Saucer" kind little or nothing would have been gathered for the starving Russians. Sneers at their inability to theorise or to expound at length on the platform are likely to dishearten and discourage them. Anyway, they are distinctly uncomradely.

When questions of finance arise one is justified in combating the "carefulness" of the social committees, but the members outside of that com-

mittee must not assume that it is proof of revolutionary fervour to refuse to judge all expenditure with due regard to the standing of the branch itself.

There is more need for unity now than ever. Unity in the branches—a comradely spirit amongst the members—is imperative. All can share in the work, and if each man and woman does his or her best they can do no more. But if we have a cleavage in the branch we'll land nowhere.

A branch afflicted by this complaint is indeed a sorry spectacle. Members of other branches, happening to be in the district and strolling into the branch meeting are able to see it all clearly. Someone of the one clique puts forward a motion. It is duly seconded. The idea is a good one, but the other lot simply *must* have an amendment. Then discussion begins, and for the rest of the evening they snarl at each other, accuse the chairman of partiality, etc., etc. How pitiful and how lamentably commonplace it all is!

It's no use agreeing that this is criminal and shaking one's head as if it were all on the other fellow's side. We've all, at some time or another, been guilty. We require to search ourselves thoroughly for any latent traces of vanity, jealousy or spite, and attempt by our actions as Communists to crush them out of existence. No individual is greater than the movement, and any individual who stands, by his actions, in the way of the movement's progress, has got to be ruthlessly swept out of the way.

## THE PARTY OF THE MASSES (continued)

plan outlined above. To get such a membership, therefore, becomes a point of honour; and to get it the Communist Party must show not only by words but by deeds that it exists in the interests of the working mass, in the widest sense of the term.

It must not be supposed that because it has not yet numbers enough to take the field as itself a mass; and because historical circumstances have not yet developed far enough to enable it to take the leadership of the whole working-mass—in a struggle whose issue conditions have made revolutionary—the Communist Party is doomed to inaction.

The Communist Party, however few its numbers—and they are not so few—can act.

And always it can and will act in line with the immediate interests of the workers' class struggle.

Conditions as we noted above determine the issue involved in any given phase of this struggle. When that issue is Revolution the Communist Party must and will refuse to associate with any but genuinely revolutionary bodies. If the issue is an Imperialist War, it will and must associate with everybody prepared to struggle against that iniquity.

At the present moment the issue—dictated by the general condition of world-economy, the particular tactics of the Bosses and the special nature of recent history—is to stop the collapse that threatens to overtake and abolish the whole organisation of the working class—an issue raised more definitely in Britain than anywhere.

This collapse can be stopped only by the closest possible association of every section of the threatened workers. Only if the workers are so inspired and so led that they present to the boss class a front as united and as stern as their own, will there

be any possibility of preventing such a social disaster as can barely be imagined—let alone described.

We are almost within reach of that "Iron Heel" whose infliction upon the tortured bodies and mangled souls of the working class was described as a prophetic warning by Jack London. If we do not play a man's part now, gone for ever from our generation will be the chance of the life of a man.

The grim logic of fact dictates to the Communist Party that it should be willing to associate as closely as possible with each and every body and organisation that will stand up and do battle for the workers against their exploiters and would-be destroyers.

We care nothing for labels. We are not duped by fine titles. We take our estimate of men and of parties not from their avowals and protestations, but from their *deeds*.

We are not afraid of being "compromised"—we would be shamed and disgraced for ever if we let a quibbling fear of "compromise" tie us down to a cowardly quiescence, which would in practice be a refusal to offer resistance to the arrogant and advancing boss.

We are afraid only of deserting our class in the hour of trial and difficulty; and because the needs of the working class dictate it, we will—while this Big Boss Push endures—make common cause with anybody manly enough to line the front line of the trenches. It will not, it *must* not, be our fault that for want of a courageous defence, the workers lost a chance of a victorious attack.

That was the message of the St. Pancras Conference.—

"On to a Mass Party"; "Down to the Details of the Life-Struggle of the Masses"; "Up with a United Working-Class Front"; and then "Forward to the World Proletarian Revolution."



## Paul to the Laodiceans\*

"And to the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write: . . . I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would that thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."—*Rev.*, iii, 14-16.

**W**ILLIAM PAUL, like the more famous founder of his family, travels in his new book over an immense ground—and in his travels he wrestles mightily with those of little faith. Even as Paul the Apostle admonished Timothy so Paul the Bolshevik admonisheth his brethren—"Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears."

\* \* \*

This book will be looked for with a great deal of interest. Paul's "State" was a work so timely and so well stocked with useful and informative quotations that it created among the more book-learned section of the revolutionary proletariat a keen desire for more from the same source. "Communism and Society" is in several ways an appendix to that justly admired volume. Its earlier chapters summarise its sociological conclusions and the succeeding ones point the moral specifically to the institutions of Democracy, Parliament, Political Action and Revolutionary Tactics.

\* "Communism and Society" By William Paul, C.P.G.B., Price 2s. 6d. 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2

In one respect the book suffers. Its publication has been delayed until the focus of political interest has shifted somewhat away from the question of Proletarian Dictatorship considered as a doctrine to the more concrete questions of how to organise a proletarian resistance to a counter-revolutionary advance. As the preface indicates most piquantly the book was written hurriedly and at a time when the more general question was being discussed with vigour in all circles. The delay in its appearance—for which the author, as the prefix shows, is not at all responsible, except so far as expecting any capitalist publisher to father such a book (whatever his contracts) involved responsibility—makes the book "date" somewhat. For all that I am convinced that it will not only be of immediate value but quite soon become of topical interest.

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The sections dealing with the Press, and the Educational Institutions as instruments of Bourgeois dictatorship are exceptionally well done. Every ruling class since the establishment of the first Class-State has been faced with the problem of creating in the minds of the subject masses a psychology favourable to their rule. When these masses are mentally at the mercy of the Keeper of the Sanctuary, the Guardian of the Sacred Symbols, or the Custodian of the Divine Decrees, these either rule in person or as agents for the Chieftain of the Temple Guard. When the mass mind can be reached only through a hierarchy of heads of families, clans, tribes and nations the business of rule consists in constructing and manipulating such

an imperial hierarchy. When as society develops the "individual" emerges concerned for his "soul" and his personal "salvation" the monopoly of the means of grace ensures the rule of the class able to retain it. When, in time, "opinion" more and more usurps the place of "belief" as in its day, that had displaced "ritual," the machinery for manufacturing "opinion" becomes the one thing needful for the preservation of the rule of a given class. While the priest class through the pulpit and the confessional retain the power to create opinion, not only on faith and private morals, but also upon public virtue and matters of state, the priest stands at the right hand of the king. The printing press—cold, hard and grimy—ushers in a newer and more clattering age in which the pedagogue debased from his wonted "seership" takes rank with the printer's devil as one of the minor cogs in a mechanism for the manufacture of adulation of those things useful for the Big Fat Men who stand at Lloyd George's back and alternately use and abuse Horatio Bottomley.

\* \* \*

Paul's book treats these topics in a most stimulating manner. Very few people will agree with every word of it—it will be savagely denounced by many. But nobody can or will ignore it for none can read it without being stimulated to a closer study of the issues raised.

It is, of course, a pity that with so much unemployment its price cannot be fixed at less than 2/6, but it is well worth it for its matter, and moreover it is so beautifully printed by (need we say?) the Pelican Press that one feels at sight that it is worth much more.

T. A. JACKSON.

## A Piece of Impudence

*Karl Marx. An Essay by Harold J. Laski. The Fabian Society. 1/-.*

**T**HIS is the sort of thing that makes me weep with rage. It is, I know, quite bad form to make jokes about a man's name. (He has generally heard them before, anyway!) But I cannot hold back from saying that Harold Laski's essay brings to my mind the school child's version of the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father which art in heaven, Harold be Thy name." It is not merely the serene omniscience which makes him refer to Machiavelli, Rousseau, The Bible, Justinian's Digest of the Laws, Harrington, James Madison, Saint Simon, Charles Hall, Owen, John Stuart Mill, and Hegel all on the first page—with Burke, Savigny, de Maistre, Voltaire, Bossuet, Lord Eldon, Henry Brougham, and Young Germany waiting overleaf—as his passion for making man in his own image, that establishes the resemblance.

Emanating as this pamphlet does from the Fabian Society I was prepared for the usual bogey-bogey dressed up ugly and labelled Marx—so that the smug little prigs of the London University might know just where to aim their literary and oratorical stink bombs. In this I was not disappointed; but (woe is me!) woven into the texture of the raiment of "bogey-bogey" there is that which I did not bargain for—a suggestion, a hint, at times, almost, an indication, that if he had been caught young and rightly handled Karl Marx would have grown into something closely resembling Harold J. Laski!

Now the ordinary insults one can stand. One has grown used to them. And besides they no more detract from the grandeur of Marx's intellectual stature than birds nests in the nooks of the architrave detract from the splendour of the Parthenon. One expects a disciple of the Fabian Society to tell the three-thousand and thirty-three times repeated lie that Marx derived his economics from William Thompson, of Cork, because none of them ever feel any call to study the works of either—and therefore cannot be expected to discover that the only connection between them is the fact that Thompson used the term "surplus value" with a totally different connotation from that which it bears in the Marxian system. We expected that, and only in part are we disappointed. But we did not expect to be told that "the main passion by which he (Marx) was moved was the passion for justice. . . . The main passion of his life was the desire to take from the shoulders of the people the burden by which it was oppressed."

Imagine! ye who know the words and works of the Master just what he would have said to an accusation like that!

What would he have said to the man who sought to father upon him such an offspring as this:—

"The real cause of revolution is the unworthiness of those who controlled the destinies of the people. Indifference to suffering, selfishness, lack of moral elevation, it was for those defects that he indicted the class from which he sprang."

That the pamphlet gives a fairly satisfactory recital of the main biographical facts about Marx could hardly be avoided. These are by now so

well known that even the Hyndmaniac Spargo with all his genius for stupidity could not avoid giving the main outline with approximate correctness.

It is in the incidentals that we note the trail of the Fabian over the goods displayed, and the myth of the respectable reformist rises like steam from a cellar kitchen to lend a misty enchantment to the mildewed hash which this Lecturer of the London School of Economics offers for our sustenance.

It is thought worthy of note, for instance, that Marx "never met" John Stuart Mill. Francis Place, who wrote little or nothing and never made speeches except in committee, is described as a "noble-minded agitator," and Mazzini is quoted for the assertion that "Hatred outweighs love in his (Marx's) heart"—the author going on to lament with a keen eye to the proprieties, that "Marx's absorption in the wrongs of the disinherited undoubtedly blinded him to the universality of human nature. He had brooded so long over the method of their redress that he became incapable of weighing the value of alternative channels."

Worst of all is the section on Marx's economics (although the references to his conception of history give it a close run for the booby prize).

That Marx's theory of value "has not stood the test of criticism" we could have expected. But an author connected with a "School of Economics" ought to know better than to make the preposterous assertion that in Marx's system "Labour is paid differently simply in relation to the different amount of labour 'congealed' in any given commodity produced."

Even worse than that is the statement "nor did he (Marx) mention that in addition to labour all commodities to have value must have this in common, that they satisfy some need."

This is purely and simply a lie—only to be accounted for by the supposition that Mr. Laski has decided that it is unnecessary for a person of his eminence to read the works of such an un-Fabian character as Marx.

Mr. Laski should be sent to bed without supper for an impudent attempt to take advantage of the credulity of the Fabian Nursery.

T. A. JACKSON.

## Hidden War

*Oil: Its Influence on Politics. By Francis Delaisi. Labour Publishing Co. Price 2/6.*

**A** PLAIN tale well told. As an essay in the use of the economic interpretation of history to illustrate a specific phase of world development it should be of some value to Communists.

"The Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil," Lord Curzon told the Inter-Allied Petroleum Council at the conclusion of the Armistice in 1918. They rolled there on rubber, too, but that is another story. Since the Armistice oil has become of ever-increasing importance as an economic factor in world politics, determining the course of diplomacy, and, in the most literal sense of the word, making history.

Behind the backs of the politicians, in a world entirely outside the ken of the workers, a titanic struggle proceeds. Shell-Royal Dutch is pitted

against Standard Oil. Translated into terms of personalities this is simply Sir Marcus Samuel and Lord Cowdray versus Rockefeller, or, in a national sense, Great Britain against the United States of America. It is a war of financial interests into which governments and peoples are dragged as inexorably as though by the hand of fate. Unless capitalism is superseded, the foreign policies of the nations for another generation will be determined by the interplay of forces between one preposterous octopus and the other. The puppet statesmen are as helpless as the people they misrepresent. The destinies of millions hang on the fortunes of the struggle, and so we float gaily on a sea of oil towards the next great war for freedom and the liberation of suffering nations.

If one may judge by this book the British octopus is, at the moment, on top. Indeed, the author is at some pains to express his sense of the supreme cunning and foresight shown by this particular monster.

But, being a Frenchman and a patriot, he does not like it, and is, moreover, supremely contemptuous of the part played by the native capitalist. Poor easy going, industrially futile France is left in the lurch, and unless her men of business wake up she is bound to become the victim of the astute and unscrupulous Britisher. The San Remo agreement has bound her hand and foot at the mercy of Shell-Royal Dutch so far as oil is concerned. Therefore, down with San Remo and fair play to Standard Oil! Let the New World be called in to redress the balance of the Old. And that is the whole story.

The average worker will experience a certain sense of bewilderment as he reads this book. There is a world he knows well, a world composed of workshops and factories, mines and railways, tenement dwellings, shops, trade union meetings, the realities of his daily life. There is a world he reads about in which political speeches, Royal weddings, actions for divorce, and horrible murders play their part. This is also real to him. But the shadowland of sordid finance which is dealt with here is as far apart as the planet Mars. The more he connects his present miseries, and the world chaos, with its existence, the more he will be impelled to wreck the capitalist scheme of things that makes it possible. The lords of high finance exist only on sufferance, because of his ignorance. He and his class are learning much, and this book, whether its conclusions are just or not, is likely to teach them more.

FRED WILLIS.

## Just the Thing You Want

*Stop the Retreat. By J. T. Murphy. R.I.L.U. Price 1d.*

**T**HIS is an excellent pamphlet to put into the hands of Trade Unionists. It summarises the situation of the workers exactly—and offers a clear and understandable policy as a remedy. Branches should stock and push it. Industrial Groups should find in it just the very thing they lack. The engineering crisis makes it especially timely. It should have a very big sale.

T.A.J.



# The Lock-out Committees

## INDUSTRIAL NOTES

By John Ball

**T**HE embargo upon unemployed members of Lock-out Committees, which was initiated by the Executive Committee of the A.E.U., has not been the pure and unadulterated success that they hoped for. The London District Committee, for example, having accepted the E.C. decision under protest, proceeded to operate it, and the result of their operations has been that the local Lock-out Committees around London, consist of the statutory number of locked out men, but in the majority of cases they have co-opted the unemployed members of the old Lock-out Committees, and thus they are disappointed in their hope that they would cut adrift the active elements from the fight.

These Lock-out Committees in most cases have the situation well in hand, and the few instances where scabbing is taking place are being effectively dealt with.

Wherever it has been operated, mass picketing has had the effect of persuading the recalcitrant members that it does not pay to scab.

### Another Ballot

Now a further ballot in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation is announced. Although the lock-out notices are posted the delegates have recommended that the Unions concerned shall be balloted again on the 26s. 6d. reduction, which, by the way, seems to have shrunk for the moment to a 16s. 6d. reduction, the remaining 10s. being postponed to some indefinite date.

It is difficult to see what the Unions hope to gain by a further ballot unless it is the intention of those in control of the affairs of the Union to keep up the succession of ballots until at length in sheer weariness and disgust the acceptance of the "cuts" is carried by reason of the absence of the active members. This cannot be allowed. Without slackening for a moment the agitation for an immediate stoppage and common action with the Engineers, every member of the forty-seven Unions should make it his business to see that the "cut" is rejected again by an even larger majority than on the previous occasion. Black Friday was a tragedy, but it will pale into insignificance in face of the tragedy which will ensue if those who have consented to this further ballot get their way.

### More Brownlie

Generally speaking, the cause of the immunity of Trade Union officials from just retribution at the hands of their rank and file is due to the short memory of the latter. This reflection is prompted by a letter I have received from a correspondent in the A.E.U. My readers will probably remember that in August of last year Brownlie attended the Congress of the International Metal Workers' Federation, at which he and the rest of the English Delegation distinguished themselves by being the only dissentients when a resolution endorsing international strike action against war was passed by the Congress.

The A.E.U. Journal for September mentions his presence together with the rest of the delegation at the Conference and promised a report in a later number of the Journal. An outcry against the attitude of the English Delegation was raised in the A.E.U., and I am unable to trace the promised report in the Journal. Many branches sent in resolutions asking whether Brownlie had any mandate to vote in this manner, but little or no satisfaction could be obtained.

The mystery now becomes a little clearer. My correspondent informs me that the E.C. have now replied to his branch to the effect that Brownlie was not an official delegate, but being on holiday on the Continent (the A.E.U. have paid out nearly three millions in Unemployment Donation) he took advantage of the opportunity to attend the Conference. My correspondent concludes with a pertinent query: *If Brownlie was a visitor how came he to be making lengthy speeches, and on the fourth day to be elected Chairman?* To which I will add the further queries: *Who gave Brownlie his mandate, and when will he make his report?*

### Civil Service Retreat

The retreat that has demoralised organised labour since Black Friday has spread to the Civil Service. The Reorganisation Report which, by a policy of immediate lump sum benefits in December, 1920, staved off the discontent in the Service until after the outside organisations of the working class had been beaten, is now being tampered with. The policy of the Treasury in dealing with the Service seems to be one of threatening big attacks and delivering little ones. The policy is eminently

successful, for the Civil Servants, getting the "wind up" badly, flock to the Central Hall, and are there treated to the impassioned oratory of W. J. Brown, of the Clerical Officers' Association. Shortly after the threatened big attack is withdrawn—and during the general rejoicings another batch of privileges are taken from the unsuspecting Service.

### A Case in Point

At the moment, there is an excellent case in point. Before the Geddes Axe fell the Service was filled with rumours of its impending fate. War bonus was to go, the Reorganisation scheme was to go, everything was to go, if indeed it had not already gone. Mass meetings were held, to which Communists were specially invited in order to give the necessary enthusiasm to the rank and file, the "big guns" went off and the watchword was "Fight." Then the Treasury apparently retented and the Geddes Report did not contain all the dreadful things which had been rumoured. Promptly the celebrations began in Whitehall, whilst the leaders of the various organisations had their offices littered with bouquets from grateful members. Then—the Treasury struck its blow. The Reorganisation scheme is not to be retrospective and Civil Servants lose a nice little lump sum payment that they had been building upon. Will they fight? Not they! They are too busy celebrating their last victory to notice this defeat.

### This Story has a Moral

And the moral is this—never give the boss anything without putting up a fight. If you will concede small things without a struggle don't be surprised to find that the boss has obtained by degrees the very things that you would have fought to the death rather than relinquish.

### A Denial

I have been favoured with a letter from the Head Office of the N.U.C. in reference to my paragraph of a couple of weeks back on the subject of the proposed reorganisation of the Union on the Guild basis. After being kind enough to inform me that they have no fault to find with my outline of the proposals they proceed to take exception to my statement "that the official gang are using every effort to get it turned down." According to the Head Office the adoption of the report will not be opposed by the Executive. I can only say that my information, which was unfortunately only verbal, was quite definite on the matter, but I am pleased to hear that the Executive are behind the proposals.

# The Vendetta in Birmingham

**T**HE continued persecution of our members by the Birmingham police has now developed into quite a desperate situation, and has resulted in the resurrection of the local Free Speech Defence Committee. In Birmingham, the C.I.D. extended their Prussian tactics to the local Trades and Labour Council, whose meetings they now attend. Recently this Council offered to send a deputation to the local authorities on this matter, and it would be interesting to know how many Trades Councils (weak as most of them are) would tolerate the presence of C.I.D. men during Council meetings. I am pleased to learn that the Free Speech Defence Committee already referred to is determined to offer a local United Front against police persecutions. From our Birmingham branch secretary we have received the following letter, which speaks for itself:—

The Chief Constable, Birmingham, 7/3/22

SIR,—I have to draw your attention to a most deplorable incident that occurred at a meeting held under the auspices of the above party in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, on Sunday, March 5th, at 11 a.m.

I am informed by several reliable witnesses that the Chairman was commencing to make reference to a case recently heard in the Birmingham Courts when a member of your staff, Sergt. Freedman, rushed forward and loudly threatened to arrest the speaker if any reference was made to the Birmingham City Police.

This is an intolerable and totally unwarranted provocative action obviously endangering the peaceful conduct of a meeting.

We believe the officer concerned merely acted on the impulse of the moment, and had no authority from you to take such action—obviously illegal.

Please be good enough to let me have some explanation with reference to this incident.

I may point out that in the history of politics no body has been so often in legal conflict with the police and yet maintained such a restrained and unprovocative attitude as have the members of the Communist Party.

If statements are made from any platform which any member of your staff considers libelous his redress is either through the civil or criminal courts, according to the nature of the alleged libel, or if the

statements are made which members of your staff consider untrue or misleading then they, as citizens, have the remedy which all citizens have, i.e., either to rebut the statements from their own platform or to take advantage of the free use of our platform which we offer to all political opponents.

The Police Force is a public body and its members public servants, and as such are open to any kind of criticism that any public servant is open to. To maintain the opposite is merely Prussianism.

The Communist Party is a legal party, carrying on by legal and constitutional methods a political propaganda advocating a political and economic change in the structure of society. As such we demand that any police officer or other person who by his action attempts to turn an orderly and peaceful political meeting into a disorderly one shall be suitably reminded that his actions are not conducive to the preservation of the peace.

Believing you will immediately take such disciplinary action as may in your judgment be necessary.

H. M. EMBRY, *Hon. Secretary.*

Since the above letter was forwarded to the Chief Constable, warrants have been issued for the arrest of two of our comrades, one of whom up to date has been tried and fined, and in his case an attempt has been made to estreat sureties entered into on his behalf several months ago. The case was taken to the Courts, and the police defeated.

## ORGANISER'S NOTES

**TO PARTY MEMBERS.** Now that the Policy Conference has been held, and definite decisions arrived at, we must immediately apply ourselves to the practical details of developing and strengthening our party machinery. These, Policies and Programmes are utterly useless unless we have a well-knit party machinery, within which we have a zealous, disciplined membership eager to operate the decisions arrived at by the Policy Conference. Most of our difficulties could soon be overcome if those of our comrades who hold minority opinions would remember their obligations to the majority will of the Party. We must all pull our full weight from now onwards. I am anxious to know

what every one of our members are doing to make the Stamp System a success. Therefore "ATTENTION" to the following circular sent to branches by our Welsh Divisional Organiser:—

"Branch Secretary.

DEAR COMRADE,—Despite the instructions issued regarding the inauguration of the stamp system, both by Headquarters and the Division, there seems to be in certain quarters either a lack of knowledge of the system or a tendency to disregard the instructions issued in above connection.

Whatever the reason may be we desire on behalf of the Divisional Management Committee to state that in future the procedure laid down regarding the operation of the stamp system *must* be observed. Nothing is gained by displaying a disregard for instructions issued, by failing to observe and carry out same, as a matter of fact only confusion can result.

We take it that there is at least generally a genuine desire to assist in making the new system work, and therefore with a view to helping Comrades to operate the system we again state on behalf of the Divisional and Headquarters the chief points to be observed.

- (1) Headquarter's report sheet *must* be sent to the Divisional Organiser each month.
- (2) Headquarter's and Divisional dues *must* be sent to the Divisional Organiser every month.
- (3) Do not send report sheets without money or money without report sheets.
- (4) Note that supplies of stamps required *must* be ordered on Headquarter's report sheet.
- (5) Do not use Headquarter's and Divisional portion of membership subs. for branch purposes.
- (6) Do not pay for stamps in advance.
- (7) Money for stamps should be forwarded to Organiser at the expiration of each month; this should be on the basis of 4d. for each 6d. stamp and 2d. for each 3d. stamp that has been sold to members.
- (8) No money should be sent to Organiser for stamps still in the possession of the branch secretary.
- (9) Report sheets should be returned *not later* than the 7th day of each month to the Divisional Organiser.

Retain this circular for guidance when forwarding report sheets and Divisional and Headquarter's dues."

H. WEBB.