

# THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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

No. 107

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19th, 1922.

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

TWOPENCE

## AMERICAN COAL WAR

By J. T. MURPHY

ON April 1st, 1922, 600,000 miners responded to their leaders' call and downed tools. It is now August and, in spite of the use of troops in fifteen States; in spite of Court injunctions; evictions; shootings of strikers; hiring of gunmen and thugs; and strenuous endeavours to organise blackleg forces; the strikers stand firm as ever. Wonderful solidarity has been displayed throughout.

At the beginning of the strike there were 520,000 organised mine workers out of 700,000. At the call for action, 600,000 responded and, for the first time in the history of the miners' struggles in America, the beginning of the fight has been the signal for a powerful organising campaign amongst non-union labour, and the success that has followed is remarkable. Instead of breaking the miners' organisations, they have inspired them to fight better. The job of organising non-union fields in America is "some" job. There are entire counties in West Virginia and in Pennsylvania where no union organiser is permitted to enter. The coal companies control the local municipal and court machinery absolutely. They hire the police, they pay the Sheriffs. But despite every obstacle, the union has won over several minefields hitherto non-union, and has forced several steel mills depending upon coal from these counties to reduce production. Between 100,000 and 150,000 non-union miners have joined the strike and at least 35,000 have joined the American Mine Workers' Union.

It was a great thing to begin the fight. The odds against a win were long odds; especially if assistance from other industries and other countries was not forthcoming. But what else could they do other than fight. The conditions of labour were terrible. There is no need for us to emphasise the dangerous character of the miner's life. But the dangers of the American miners are even greater than the dangers of the British miners. The average number of deaths during the past ten years is 2,466 per annum. In 1919 there were 2,317 fatal accidents, more than double the number in Great Britain and Ireland, although the latter countries employed 50 per cent. more miners in that year. Risk!—

File it on to the "reward of their labour." According to Professor Ogburn, of Columbia University, it requires "1,622 dollars annually to keep just above the poverty line, and 2,244 to give a miner a minimum of health and comfort." The most recent figures taken in 200 bituminous mines, show average earnings of 1,357 dollars, 40 cents. That is 264 dollars, 60 cents below the poverty line. On top of this the mine owners demand 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. wages cuts and the abolition of the check-off and State or district agreements. Can you beat it?

The bituminous miner's rate is 7 dollars, 50 cents per day. But what becomes of it when short time beats you at every turn? In Central Pennsylvania, for example, the miners in fourteen counties worked only 122 days in 1921, making the average net income of 760 dollars for the year—i.e., 862 dollars below the calculated poverty-line.

And all the bituminous miners are demanding is—maintenance of existing wage scales and the check-off where it is now in effect.

Remember it is a defensive fight they are putting up against the most vicious and unscrupulous boss class known to history, a boss class who will stop at nothing and who have simply piled up wealth out of the blood and misery of the miners. Prior to the slump, the Senate Report shows for 1917, out of 340 bituminous coal companies, 14 secured profits of over 1,000 per cent., 21 from 500 to 1,000 per cent., 135 from 100 to 500 per cent., 79 from 50 to 100 per cent., 68 from 25 to 50 per cent., and 23 made profits under 25 per cent. or invested capital.

Since 1910 to 1918 the mine owners' increase in receipts per ton are almost seven times those of the miners, whilst the retail-

### Making Germany Pay

By KARL RADEK

(see page 4)

ers' advance in prices is over 9 times the increase to the workers.

And these are they who demand from 25 to 40 per cent. cuts in starvation wages.

No wonder the fight is bitter though the odds are long odds.

On the first day of the strike the U.S.A. Government estimated the complete stock of coal above ground to be 60,000,000 to 65,000,000 tons. It was estimated that non-union labour could produce about 4,000,000 tons per week during the strike, and that weekly consumption during 1921 was at the rate of 8,000,000 tons per week.

Four months have elapsed and the situation has become critical for all concerned. The miners and their families are suffering severe privations. The Government stocks are down.

It becomes obviously an international issue, not only to the student who knew it as such from the beginning, but also to the masses of workers who had not thought of the international implications. The U.S.A. Government has become panicky. It has not only to face the miners' strike, but the railways are being tied up too. Stocks are down. Their demands to the mine owners to open the pits and their efforts to drive the miners into the pits to labour under military supervision prove futile. Neither martial law nor tanks have won. So new lines must be struck. 70 vessels are chartered to bring coal from Britain. 20 vessels are chartered to bring coal from Australia. Arrangements are made for the delivery of 100,000 tons per day from Britain. On July 25th over 35,000 tons were shipped from Cardiff alone. A new boom in coal and shipping is set afoot and that boom is the boom of defeat for the mine workers of America, without help from this country.

How like the story of the miners' defeat in Britain. Starting off as a national dispute it will end as an international calamity without something is done quickly. The *Times* states that the foremost factor is the prospect of obtaining sufficient supplies of British coal to enable industry generally "to hold out against the miners' demands." This is not simply a miners' problem. It involves action by miners, transport workers,

railwaymen, seamen. Already many excuses are being made for doing nothing. From the *Daily Herald* to the *Labour Magazine* much is being made of the fact that the American Mine Workers' Union is not affiliated to the Amsterdam International. What this has to do with the Trade Union's responsibility for international blacklegging we fail to see. If all the unions pursue the policy of waiting until each other are perfect models of virtue to talk of international solidarity becomes a farce. The Amsterdam International claims to dominate the unions vitally involved in the act of breaking the American coal strike. Very well. If it wishes to justify its appeal to the American mine workers, let it use the organisations it controls to stop this damnable business of scabbing and not hide behind paltry excuses. Get the union executives together and rouse the rank-and-file.

Do you think that by allowing things to drift and taking advantage of what the employers jubilantly call a "boom" that you are rendering a service to either British Unionism or International Unionism?

Already you have been instrumental in swamping northern France with coal and forcing strikes in defence of wages and hours, and the defeat of the American miners will rebound in a far more severe fashion than these will do. Listen! The annual requirements of the U.S. amount to 500,000,000 tons of bituminous coal. The capacity of the mines in operation is about 800,000,000 tons. That means 300,000,000 tons per annum for export. The production per man in U.S.A. is 710 tons per annum; in Great Britain, 324. The British miner has been thrust down to "competitive levels" and now there is talk of a "boom." Face to face with the 25 to 40 per cent. cut in American miners' wages what will become of their "boom"? Whilst the U.S. Government and the mine owners are striving to beat the miners, the shipping bosses are manoeuvring for, and will obtain State subsidies and other privileges for shipping.

The defeat of the American miner will thus rebound on to the British miner with a resounding thump and the last stage will be worse than the first.

The British unions—the N.U.R., the A.S.E. and F., the Dockers and Transport Workers, and the M.F.G.B. hold the fate of the British miners in their hands. If they will meet at once and jointly refuse to help defeat the American miners, they can save the American miners from degradation and the British miners from a further calamity. The Bureau of the Red International has appealed to them to act. The Communist Party has appealed to them also. Each have offered to do the utmost they can to render every possible assistance to any move which the organisations we have named alone can make.

We appeal direct to the rank-and-file as well as to their elected leaders.

Refuse to be used as blacklegs.

Use your organisations to save the American miners from defeat if not because you believe in international working-class solidarity, then do it to save yourselves.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Birth Control

Dear Comrade,—

In the current issue of the COMMUNIST there is an article on "Birth Control," signed "Clete," which is, in its way, as striking an example of the exclusively masculine point of view on fundamental human questions as the pronouncement of E. E. Fribourg in 1865, quoted by Comrade Cedar Paul, in the issue of March 11, 1922.

As Communism is the only explicit political and economic creed which advocates complete sex equality and sex solidarity, I trust you will allow me to point out that birth control for women is no less essential than workshop control and determination of the conditions of labour for men.

I have read Comrade "Clete's" article very carefully, but failed to find any indication therein that women and mothers were concerned in the matter as well as men and fathers. Birth control is woman's crucial effort at self-determination and at control of her own person and her own environment.

This has been recognised in countries where sex questions are less obscured by cant than in Great Britain, and in a far more logical and direct manner than would be advocated by the British New Generation League (late Malthusian League). I refer to the splendidly courageous and logical recognition of the right of abortion in the laws of Soviet Russia and the demand for similar legislation in Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Germany, a demand voiced by leading Socialists and proletarian women.

Another point should be emphasised; apart from the right of every woman to refuse unwanted or hopelessly handicapped motherhood, there is the advisability of birth control as immediate self defence and tactics.

The wise worker will "prove all things; hold fast to that which is good" and will not refuse to study and make use of contraceptive methods because they are frequently advocated from an anti-Socialist point of view, as a palliative and even soporific!

I should add that the Malthusian League (now New Generation League) has always shown conspicuous fairness in allowing me to state the case for the revolutionary acceptance of birth control in their paper and during the recent International Conference; and that the League, under its new constitution, accepts as members all who believe that the knowledge of birth control should be common to all classes, not reserved as a special secret for those who need it least, and does not limit itself to believers in the new Malthusian doctrine of the ratios of food supply and population.

Yours fraternally,  
STELLA BROWNE.

## A Footnote to History

Dear Comrade,—

The enclosed is a copy of a letter written to a friend by a petty officer on board the "Vindictive" in December, 1920.

I had it lying among my papers these two years and had forgotten all about it till I was reminded about it by reading in the "Communist Review" of the mutinies of the French sailors serving against Russia.

The letter is rather an old topic, nevertheless, I believe it can be useful to the movement.

It shows how our own sailors were not keen on the business—"practically open mutiny," "35 in gaol," etc.—about which one heard nothing in this country. The loss of two British destroyers, which was denied by the Press at the time.

Most important, however, is the fact that Copenhagen served as base of the anti-Russian operations. It shows how widely were the ramifications of the Russian enemies. I believe the aeroplanes, etc. referred to in the letter means war supplies given to Yudenitch by the British.

A COMRADE.  
H.M.S. Vindictive,

Biosko, Russia.

Dear Mr.—

I hope you won't think I've quite forgotten you, but you know what it's like writing when you are stuck away at an old hole like this and feeling rather "phed," to put it mildly.

For you see since the Kronstadt raid things have eased up considerably. Of course, we awakened for a few days when we lost those two destroyers, but soon dropped off again and our one thought has been "blighty."

We went down to Copenhagen in Sept. for more aircraft and enough bombs to blow Russia to blazes; then when we came back we did not think it would be for long as the cold weather began to set in in Oct.

Then the first week in Nov. when our thoughts of Blighty were daily, almost hourly in mind, we got the shock of our lives: to go to Copenhagen again and meet the Argus for a further consignment of aircraft, etc.

At first we could not believe it as the temperature had gone down to 10-12 deg. and it was impossible to fly and again the harbour was quickly freezing in. Whilst down there we had serious trouble aboard, practically open mutiny. Further than saying we had 35 leave the ship for gaol I do not think it practicable.

Anyhow, we got back to Biosko after a few days and we were greeted with 23 deg. of frost, which greatly pleased us, as we thought it impossible to remain. Then, oh my hat! we had a deuce of a storm. The point of course is that we are able to carry on the operations, so goodness knows when we shall get home now.

## The Fife Miners

Sir,—

I am only too sorry the workers of Britain can't and don't grasp things better and quicker than they are doing. I am sure they must be blind if they can't see the way they are being trampled on by the capitalist class.

I for one (a pit-head worker) have a wife and three to keep, and have often to come in after a hard shift and sit down to dry bread so as to let the children get the so-called butter (margarine).

In a five shift week my pay runs 30s. After the rent is off, etc., you will see what can be left to keep the family on. Nothing but a pure existence—starvation!

I was for years a member of the miners' union; but not now. And don't intend, if I can help it. Union?—it is no union; it is only keeping men living on the best, running to London, etc. I suppose their day's "work" will cost them 30s.—We got a rotten 6s.—a d—disgrace to the miners' union.

They have done nothing for the pit-head workers beyond an 8-hour day—nothing to better our wages.

I wish the Communist Party men would take things up instead of the Miners' Union and offer better conditions. It costs 19s. in the £ to work the Miners' Union. How in the name of goodness is it possible to get funds to keep men when on strike?

I hope and trust you will do your best to bring about a new union. I am almost certain the surface men would be only too glad to get into a union that would do something for them.

Since the lock-out the pit-head workers at most pits have to work like convicts. It is terrible the way they have to take it out of their bodies—simply disgraceful! The managers take us for beasts not human beings. It is enough to put a married man in the asylum. He would be better there than starving.

Well I hope you will put this to your valuable speakers (such as Gallacher) to try and get pit-head workers re-organised and connected with your party. I am sure something would then be done to benefit the poorly-paid workers.

I hope and trust you will do your best.

Yours fraternally,  
A low-paid Fife surface-worker.  
GEO. SIMPSON.

## G.E.R.—And Wilson

DEAR SIR,—I am of opinion that the readers of the COMMUNIST would like to acquaint themselves with the circular that the G.E.R. is sending out to its staff.

I can assure you that it is *not* the general wish of my fellow workers that we should place a tablet to the memory of General Wilson at their expense, while the Government can only give their fallen comrades a lump of wood with R.I.P. written across it.

Yours faithfully,  
WORKER.

(Copy of Circular)

Sec. Dept.,  
Liverpool Street Station,  
10th July, 1922.

Dear Sir,

It has been ascertained that it is the general wish of the members of your staff that we should place near the memorial to the staff who lost their lives in the great war, a rural tablet to the memory of the late Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Bart., G.C.B., D.S.O., M.P., who shortly after unveiling the memorial, and paying such brilliant tribute to our deceased members, was assassinated.

A committee has been formed to carry this object into effect with the cordial support of the Chairman, Directors, and officers of the Company. We are confident that you will assist, and I take the opportunity to ask if you will kindly place this enclosed list before the members of your staff at your station or in your department for subscription.

Individual subscriptions must not exceed one shilling.

It is estimated the cost to provide the necessary tablet will be about £100.

Please return list to me on or before 21st inst., together with remittance collected.

Yours faithfully,

F. H. H. THOMAS, Capt.,  
Hon. Secretary.

## The Prose of Postgate's Poetry

Dear Comrade,—

On reading the COMMUNIST of the 12th, I was surprised to find R. W. P. breaking out into poetry. While we realise, or at least we surmise, that it was written in a spirit of camaraderie, the members of the Party and the members of the Club feel somewhat sore at the wording and fearful of the general impression it may create.

Byrom St. Club is a place visited by revolutionaries from all over the world and from all sections of the movement. Anyone reading the poem would have unpleasant thoughts with regard to visiting an abode of "bums and stiffs" for fear of being bummed and stiffed. The "bums and stiffs" however are nearly all good and tried class-warriors, who have taken "Capitalist medicine" with as little concern as they would a further visit from R. W. P.

It would only be fair to give publicity to these facts, for the Club is kept open by the work and sacrifice of the members for the good of the movement and as a calling place for all rebels. Also of course, "esprit de corps" counts a little, for we at Byrom Street, are old enough campaigners, not to be thrown into a panic by any casual visitor of respectable appearance.

Yours fraternally,

WILFRED J. BRADDOCK (Hon. Sec.)

[This, as our lamented Comrade Shakespeare would observe, is a "bloody business." R. W. P. is holiday-making and I must answer for him—with all the risks that attend thereupon.

- (1) R. W. P. has *not* a "respectable appearance." It was the combination of size, spectacles and stoop that quite rightly aroused the suspicions of the Byrom Street company.
- (2) R. W. P. is addicted, in his playful moments—and these are very necessary to the author of "Revolution: 1789 to 1906"—to the American language. In that fearful tongue "bum" and "stiff" are terms of endearment. (A certain cultivated Irish-American who contributes to these columns can, for instance, never be cured of his habit of referring to the Editor as a "bastard"—not because he wishes to suggest that his parents dispensed with legal marriage or that his moral nature is warped, but just as an indication of affectionate interest.) R. W. P.'s reference to the "bums" and "stiffs" of Byrom Street was a spontaneous expression of sincere regard. (R. W. P. seldom sings: his friends see to that. When he does it is generally "Hallelujah, I'm a bum!")
- (3) The Byrom Street company is a very good company as the Editor can testify.
- (4) What we want to know is—in what manner did Edward Carpenter leave Manchester? And does it always make one break out into spasms of poetry? Or is it just Liverpool that excites people to lyric ecstasy?—  
ED. COMMUNIST.]

# Monstrous Cruelty of Life in Prison

## CAPITALISM ENFORCES ITS DICTATORSHIP

By T. QUELCH

### I.

EVERY day men and women are sent to prison for petty thefts, for begging, for little "crimes" against property.

All these men and women have so obviously been made "criminals" by the pressure of circumstances—certainly no man or woman begs from choice—by want and hunger, by worry and despair, that anybody but the blind gentlemen of the Law, mentally perverted by capitalist legality, would see that the real crime lay at the door of society . . . Society buffets and starves and crushes, mentally and morally, tortures people into committing acts of desperation, and then locks them up and still further tortures them for doing so.

Surely nothing could be so grotesquely barbarous as committing attempted suicides to prison, at a time when those wretched, forlorn and pitiful mortals are in most need of care and loving-kindness.

The tragic cruelty of the law—the instrument for enforcing capitalist dictatorship—is evidenced every day in the police courts.

A girl was charged with soliciting. She looked a sad and weebegone figure in the dock. The police gave evidence. Finally, the magistrate, in all unctuousness, fined her forty shillings. How was she to find the money to pay that fine? Unemployment was rife. She had no job. She had no money. The only course immediately open to her was to go soliciting again. That aspect of the case did not concern the highly respectable magistrate in the least . . .

Every day, in those dreary police courts, the iron rigour of the capitalist dictatorship is applied. With the merriest *sang froid*, often to the accompaniment of poor jokes and childish flippancies, men and women are sent to the cells for a month, two months, six months, a year or longer. To the cells—

Just ponder over the following:—

On Tuesday, July 4, in the Saltmarket Criminal Court, Harry McShane was charged with "housebreaking" (preventing an eviction in South York Street, Glasgow) with thirteen other unemployed comrades, and also for sedition.

McShane was charged with saying: "This morning a prison van with five animals came to Sandyfaulds Street. They then came to South York Street to evict one man, his wife and his children. There were four detectives, policemen and Sheriff officers, all enemies of the working-class. We are going to see that this man does not get evicted. We are going to put up a fight and beat the enemy at their dirty tactics. You have all paid for your houses over and over again, so why should you pay the factor now you're unemployed? It is a crime to commit suicide, but it is not a crime to starve.

John McLean got twelve months for telling you not to starve, and Comrade Linden got six months for fighting for the working-class."

The case was eventually dismissed, but McShane being refused bail, lay in Duke Street Prison for 47 days.

Forty-seven days in prison for nothing!

The other day Stanley Ernest Dallas was indicted at the Old Bailey for making a "seditious" speech. He is alleged to have said in reference to the Wilson assassination that "it was done in a good cause and that they (the unemployed) had got to do the same here." He denied making the statement, and other witnesses corroborated him. The jury found Dallas guilty and he was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. He had previously been sentenced to three months for committing damage, so the two terms are to run concurrently.

### II.

I remember, when in prison during the war, how I would have liked to have put into practice Bernard Shaw's suggestion that every magistrate before being empowered to send other people to prison, should

himself be compelled to undergo a month in the cells.

If that was done, no one would ever go to prison.

Just imagine those pompous magisterial gentlemen rushing to the filthy latrines every morning, under the bullying warders, to empty their slops. We can see them in their cells doing their solitary, stupidly monotonous prison tasks, eating the nauseous food—insufficient to the point of starvation as it was during my spell—going on their hands and knees polishing the cell-floors, shining the pots and pans, gazing, tongue-tied, at the blank walls of their narrow cells, and listening to the warders moving around on the outside with the jingling keys and the slamming of the cell doors—those doors that are like the doors of an iron safe. The enforced silence, the utter barbarous stupidity of the whole routine, would fill them with a frenzy of hatred against the system.

It is so easy to condemn other people—but let them try a dose of their own medicine, if only to test its efficiency as a reformative process.

Just recently the Prison Enquiry Committee, on which are the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Sidney Oliver, Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, M.P., the Hon. George Peel, J. R. Clynes and Mr. and Mrs. Webb, amongst others, issued its report, edited by Stephen Hobhouse and Fenner Bockway.

Part I. of the Report is devoted to a description of the prison system. The most extreme expression of the system of cellular confinement is found during the first month of the sentences of hard labour prisoners and the first three months of the sentences of habitual convicts. "The evidence regarding the bad effects of separate confinement is overwhelming," says the Report, and it proceeds to quote the opinion of a number of experienced witnesses. Even when, after the preliminary periods, the privilege of "working in association" has been gained, the regime of separate confinement is modified but little. "In both local and convict prisons the period of each working day spent by a prisoner locked up in his cell is 17½ hours out of the 24, whilst on Saturdays and Sundays he spends 19 to 20 hours in the same condition. There is, therefore, in reality, a great deal of separate confinement even for those who are technically in association, and its bad effects remain throughout the term of imprisonment.

### THE SILENCE RULE.

The silence rule is described as the "most manifestly dehumanising" rule; its working is set out, and the Report states not only that few prisoners attempt to obey it, but that those who do so invariably suffer grave mental consequences. "If it were possible to enforce this rule," says an ex-prisoner of long experience, "90 per cent. of the prisoners would lose their reason within a few months." Conversation occurs to some degree with the prison officials, and to a much greater degree it occurs surreptitiously with fellow prisoners. Even so, the strain of the silence so far as it is enforced is severe, and often the effects are serious. "I have little doubt," says an officer, "that this absurd and unnatural rule is responsible for many of the cases of mental deficiency which constitute a certain proportion of our prison population."

"But the silence rule is only characteristic of the whole system. Self respect is systematically destroyed and self-expression prevented in every phase of prison existence. The buildings in their ugliness and their monotony have a deadening and repressive effect. The labour is mostly mechanical and largely wasteful, and every indication of craftsmanship or creative ability is suppressed. The meals are distributed through momentarily opened doors, as though the prisoners were caged animals. The sanitary arrangements are degrading and filthy, and the dress is hideous, slovenly and humiliating. Education is limited to the most elementary standard and is denied to those above 25 years of age. To

the vast majority of prisoners recreation is entirely unknown, and lectures and music are rarely available. A letter may not be written to (or received from) home until two months of the sentence have been served, and the conditions under which the visits take place are so humiliating that many prisoners prefer not to have them. The religious ministrations are almost valueless because of the conditions under which it is offered, and the classification of prisoners is crude and ineffective. Punishments involving a starvation diet, solitary confinement, the postponement of letters and visits, and the loss of remission, are imposed for innocent and kindly speech or even for acts of unselfishness, and the health of prisoners is constantly neglected under the suspicion of malingering."

Part II. of the Report is devoted to a consideration of the mental and moral effects of imprisonment. The ratio of insanity in prisons is 86.6 per 10,000, ten times as great as that among the ordinary population. Even after deducting those cases where prisoners are regarded as mentally unsound on reception, the ratio is 41.3 per 10,000, nearly five times higher than outside prison. The insanity rate increases with the length of the sentences served. The proportion of prisoners certified insane after three and a half years of imprisonment is nearly three times as high as the proportion certified insane in the first month. Elaborate precautions are taken against suicide, but the suicide rate in prison is three times greater than outside. The proportion of persons between 20 and 25 who commit suicide in prison is nearly five times as great as outside prison, and suicides among prisoners under 20 years of age are at least 12 times as frequent as among youths of the same age outside. The number of "attempted" suicides is even more striking. During the years 1912-14 (the last for which returns are obtainable), the ratio per 10,000 was actually as high as 57.3. The medical officers describe many of these as "feigned," but the "attempts" admitted to be genuine reach 22.1 per 10,000. The cases of insanity and suicide are only extreme cases of a mental and moral deterioration from which the great majority of prisoners suffer.

"Even a few months of imprisonment appear to be sufficient in many, if not most, cases to produce an effect upon memory, concentration, and the power of will. In the case of the long sentence prisoner this process of deterioration may lead to premature senility, or a childish weakness of mind which renders him almost incapable of resuming normal life in any efficient capacity."

The Report claims that there is no such thing as a criminal type, and that the prisoners produce a certain type which is falsely regarded as criminal.

Such are the methods by which capitalism ensures its dictatorship.

We would heartily commend Mr. Cramp and the other Trade Union leaders who are so much concerned as to the treatment of the Social-Revolutionaries in Moscow, to visit the prisons of Britain and then to visit those of Russia, and to compare how the capitalists enforce their rule here and how the workers enforce their rule there.

Speaking for myself, I should like to state that I would sooner spend a lifetime in a Russian prison—and I have visited them and seen how they were conducted—than spend a year at Wormwood Scrubbs.

An article containing numerous facts, observations, and quotations of great interest to class-conscious proletarians.

THE

W. E. A. SPIDER

AND THE

T. U. C. FLY

appears in the August PLEBS, 48 pp., 6d. from all Labour bookshops, or (post paid), 7d., from Plebs, 162a, Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W. 1.



# MAKING GERMANY PAY

By KARL RADEK

[The breakdown of the Allied Conference and the general admission therein implied that the Versailles Treaty must be abandoned with the possible rupture of the Allied Entente are all foreshadowed in this powerful survey by our Comrade Radek, a survey which becomes all the more remarkable because it was written well in advance of the events.]

**T**HE Allies will shortly again be confronted with the question of the revision of the economic sections of the Versailles Treaty.

During the peace negotiations, responsible French statesmen demanded sums so tremendous that they actually exceeded the French national treasury deposits. It appeared as though they had promised themselves to enrich France out of the proceeds.

When the Allies sent Germany an ultimatum in the spring of 1921 the demands had reached 132 billions of gold marks. Naturally, this was an impossible amount. It represented half of the national assets of Germany, and, even if divided into thirty annual payments, could not possibly be procured.

Next came the proposal that Germany should pay two billion gold marks annually, as well as 26 per cent. of the value of her total exports. At that time, May 5, 1921, the dollar equalled 60 marks; thus, the required two billion gold marks equalled about 28 billion paper marks. Germany made the first payments, and German currency began rapidly to fall.

In March of the present year, the Allies reduced the money payment for the year 1922 from two billion gold marks to 720 millions. But even this amount was worth 51 billion paper marks. At the same time, the hope of foreign credit was shattered, as the American bankers were not willing to grant any loan unless the economic provisions of the Versailles Treaty were altered.

This led to a new downward plunge of the mark; the dollar climbed up to the 349 mark, and, after Rathenau's murder, it rose to 540 (since the dollar has risen to over 800 marks.—Ed.) In June, the 720 million gold marks amounted to 80 billion paper marks, instead of 51 billions as in March.

Thus we obtain the following pretty results: When, in the early part of the year, Germany was subjected to a tribute against which the whole country rebelled, it amounted to 28 billions paper marks. When, a year later, the Allies charitably reduced the sum by more than one half, the amount of this "diminished" tribute rose to 80 billions. Germany paid again on the 15th of July. She is not in a condition to pay more. And, on August 15th, another payment is due.

Germany desired a moratorium for three years. Before consenting to grant this respite, the Allies demanded that Germany abandon to them the control of her national finances. Germany assented.

The Allies will have two financial commissioners in Berlin, one will control the income, and the other the expenses, of Germany. And at the same time as the budget is presented to the Reichstag, it must also be submitted to the Entente financial commissioners, not, of course, to provide them with entertaining reading, but so that they may order alterations. All the financial supplementary bills of the government, all financial laws, must pass the censorship of the Entente's agents. All statistical data must be given to them. They have the right of control over the expenses of the governing authorities and the right to investigate as to whether those expenditures have actually been incurred.

The German governmental press explains proudly that the state of Germany, in spite of all, cannot be compared with that of Turkey, as Turkey was compelled to place a certain portion of her national income at the disposition of foreign capital. Quite right! Between the position of Turkey and that of Germany there is an important difference. The highly civilised German people must submit to control over their

entire public finances. The German situation is ten times worse than the Turkish.

The German government has entered into a compromise which signifies the renunciation of Germany's financial independence, in the hope that, they would not only gain a breathing spell in the form of a respite of money payments but that their submission will aid them to secure international loans which will render possible the restoration to health of the German economy. Capitulation, however, has already taken place, but the respite is not yet granted, for this concession does not depend only upon the good will of England and France.

France finds herself in such a situation that she cannot forego the German cash payments. The French budget has developed such an enormous deficit, that not even the carrying out of the German payments would cancel it. At the outbreak of the war, France was 29.8 billion francs in debt. Her war expenses amounted to 165 billion francs, of which 23 billions were covered by receipts. Therefore, France emerged from the war with debts amounting to 170 billions. During the three post-war years, her debt mounted to 350 billion francs. On October 1st of this year, the French debt to England becomes due, and France should then start to pay her English debt of 584 billion pounds sterling. Her debt to America amounts to 2,950,800,000 dollars, and her debts to Japan are 133,000,000 yen. England demands from France, either that she pay her debt, or that she consent to revise her demands upon Germany and renounce an important part of them.

The French imperialistic press bitterly defends the French position: "We made the greatest sacrifices; yet they demand from us the payment of our debts, and, ask that conquered Germany be granted a moratorium into the bargain. And, although, according to the Versailles Treaty, France is to receive 52 per cent. of the German cash payments, they only have one vote of the four on the Reparations Commission.

The British imperialistic press answers this mean very cold-bloodedly: "Gentlemen, if you have gone bankrupt, be kind enough to state it openly; otherwise you will be obliged to pay your debts, whether you receive any cash payments from Germany or not."

\* \* \*

The English plan is quite simple. England informs America that she is quite ready to pay her debts to America which, with unpaid interest, amount to 4,500,000,000 dol., and only seeks to have them replaced by a consolidated debt. In her policy towards France, England wishes to proceed hand in hand with America. If France declares herself willing, not only to grant a respite to Germany, but also to strike out a part of the German indebtedness, then England will waive her claims for French payments. And then the American bankers will grant Germany a loan which will serve partly to cover certain German economic needs, and partly to lighten the French financial situation.

M. Poincare, who reproached Briand for his "softness" and complaisance, had to acknowledge openly the national bankruptcy, in his Senate speech on July 29. "By force of arms," said he, we can occupy a portion of German territory, and that has great educational importance. We could also get a small amount of goods and paper marks through this means. All this, however, would not suffice to fill up the breach in our budget. In spite of the enquiries of Senator Jouvonal, Poincare would not say what course he would advise. Poincare's plans, however, may be easily deduced from the official French press. Above all, he desires that the Reparations Commission establish that the insolvency of Germany is her own fault, as the German capitalists have no faith in their own finances and have sunk enormous amounts in foreign currency in order to evade payment of taxes. Poincare wishes this decision to be reached, because it will permit him to take

forcible measures against Germany, at every favourable opportunity, on the grounds of the Versailles Treaty. Secondly, it will purchase England's renunciation of the French debt at the price of a moratorium only, without a postponement of the German payments. The British Press states that England will by no means renounce the French debt at this price, as England is interested in the economic restoration of Germany, not only as an outlet-market for British goods, but also as a co-worker in Russian reconstruction.

In this way, the revision of the economic clauses of the Versailles Treaty is maturing.

It is questionable whether it suits the Allies to permit Germany a breathing spell before it breaks down completely.

## Organiser's Notes

I have to draw the attention of branch secretaries and all officials concerned to the **Monthly Report Sheet** and to say that the alteration in the subscription basis has prevented the sending out of the usual Report Sheet to branches.

The whole question of reports is presently under consideration by the Party Commission. We are hoping to fully inform branches shortly. Meantime, until the method of reporting activities has been decided upon, it is the duty of branches to keep headquarters informed of *all* activities, and change of officials, etc.

\* \* \*

**Trades Union Congress**—We have to again urge all comrades who are delegates to the Congress to communicate with this office.

\* \* \*

**Local Labour Party Affiliation**—The new offensive of the Henderson, Webb caucus that dominates the National Labour Party has begun. The demand of "the machine" has gone out for the local trades and labour councils to incorporate the Edinburgh amendments in their rules in order to keep out the Communists, and the struggle is proceeding all along the line. In the London Trades Council last Thursday our comrades made a good fight but were defeated by 56 votes to 29. Of those 29 votes only five were avowed Communists. As many more were pure and simple trade unionists and the rest decidedly sympathetic. The reply of Secretary Carmichael to our comrades' question as to the relation of these amendments to the members of the Communist Party left no doubt that the new rules were deliberately aimed at the Communists. In effect, he stated that no Communist, though he may be elected by his union to the trades council, was eligible to represent the council on a local or National Labour Party. The fact that the C.P. runs candidates which can not be endorsed by the Labour Party is a sufficient disqualification.

A point of interest emerged in the strong opposition offered the C.P. by I.L.P. and S.D.F.'ers.

Sympathetic support is forthcoming from one important trade union executive. Protests have gone in to Henderson from a number of local Labour Parties. Others are demanding strict definitions from him, not only in London but from important industrial centres, preparatory to definite action.

The middle-class junta are having their hands full. It remains for all Communists to hold tight and we will win through.

In preparation for the forthcoming Annual Conference of the London Labour Party in October or early in November, our members should get active right away.

\* \* \*

**R.I.L.U.**—An energetic campaign is going forward for conferences of trade union branches in Glasgow, Newcastle, Sheffield, Barrow, Birmingham, Cardiff, and London. Information to hand shows prospects of an enthusiastic response. Tom Mann will address most of the conferences and representative R.I.L.U. speakers will attend. Party members should "weigh in" and lend the fullest support to this effort.

T. B.

# The Communist

A Weekly Organ of the Third (Communist) International  
 Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain  
 16 King Street, Covent Garden  
 London, W.C.2

Telephone . Gerrard 877

"The Communist" can be sent to any reader direct from this office at the prepaid, post-paid rate of 3/3 per quarter, or pro rata.

Terms for quantities: 1/4 for 13, post paid, sale or return; monthly account. All communications to:—Circulation Manager, "The Communist," 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

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.

## THE SOUTH HACKNEY BY-ELECTION

**I**S the Communist Party sincere in its declaration in favour of a consolidated working-class front?

To the petit-bourgeois political manipulators who have captured the machinery of the Labour Party our sincerity is unthinkable. Themselves the dupes of their own duplicity, they see in our plain, straightforward course, nothing but a Machiavellian manoeuvre. Never sincere themselves, they cannot conceive of sincerity in others. It is useless for us to endeavour to penetrate sufficiently far into the tortuous recesses of their minds to plant a conviction that we mean no more than we say.

With the workers, however, it is different. Whatever else fails, we must and will convince them that our's is the Party that can at all times be relied upon to express, represent, and defend the true interests of the working-class.

For the time being the one thing needful is the creation of a united working-class front against the triumphant exploiters. A sense of solidarity, a determination to struggle, a confidence in ultimate triumph, however vast the forces arrayed against them—these are essential pre-requisites if a workers' class struggle is to be initiated at all. As these grow, so with them grows the workers' power, which alone can compel victory. He who balks at them or by his deeds delays their attainment, or dissipates them when attained—he, whatever his pretexts, has no right to avow himself a friend of the workers "rightly struggling to be free" from the constraints and inflictions of Capitalist society.

The South Hackney By-Election gives us an opportunity of making our determination clear. A Labour Party candidate is in the field against a candidate representing all the "dark forces" which Horatio Bottomley defended so well—until, committing the unpardonable sin of being found out, he ceased to be available for their defence.

The chance that converted Horatio Bottomley from a counsel for the defence of capitalism charged with high crimes and misdemeanours, into a weighty piece of evidence for its prosecution, changed nothing in the nature of the system. Though the House of Commons expel him, it cannot destroy the fact that he was once of its number nor the further fact that he stood on the floor of the House, on the platform and in the Press, essentially for the same social polity and the same economic system as the bulk of its present occupants; which polity and system are and will be upheld by the candidate who seeks the place his expulsion makes vacant and whom the Labour Party is opposing.

Here then, is a clear opportunity to raise the issue of the Working Class and its interests against those of all sections advantaged by the Capitalist order of society. And the Labour Party, in challenging the return of a frankly pro-capitalist nominee, cannot do other than raise the issue of the Worker versus the Boss-class social system. Raise it, perhaps, only negatively; if the circumstances compel it, raise it perhaps in a positive form—but one way or the other raise it they must. And in so doing help to stimulate among the workers that solidarity, that will to struggle, and that confidence in ultimate triumph which are as we have seen, the fore-runners of victory.

The Communist Party has here an opportunity to make its case clear.

The need of the hour is for a united front, and hence, with the Labour Party in the field against a Capitalist nominee, the Communist Party takes its place on the side of the Labour Party in order to ensure its success with all the consequences that will follow. Everything we could do to secure the success of the Labour Candidate will be doing or have done by the time these lines appear.

The Menshevik Trinity—Webb, Henderson, and Macdonald, will rub their eyes and look again to discover some subtle trick of the "dupes of Moscow." They will look in vain—for while they are looking, the working mass will have seen the issue plain. And seen, too, into just what depth of folly the Labour Party was led at the Edinburgh Conference.

As soon as the election opened in South Hackney, the Hackney Trades Council and Labour Party appealed to the local branches of the Communist Party for aid. Referred to the Executive, the request was at once granted. The United Front was accomplished in South Hackney and not until the election is over can Mr. Henderson resume his self-chosen task of convincing his rank-and-file that the Communist Party is not a fit and proper Party for them to have dealings with.

What has been done in South Hackney should be, must be, and will be done everywhere. When the workers are again advancing, it may be necessary to raise again the question as to which of us will go the fastest and farthest. For the present the slogan is—Stop the Retreat. That at least we can accomplish. For that reason we go into the South Hackney Election on the side of the Labour Party. For that reason we shall be on their side in other elections and elsewhere.

We have not the slightest illusion that the Labour Party will usher in a new social order—either now or later. But they cannot defend Capitalism—even if they try—with more than a fraction of the efficiency of Lloyd George and Co. And they cannot win against avowedly Capitalist Candidates without helping the working mass to acquire that habit of struggle which will in time grow to be the Will to Victory.

## Editorial Notes

**AT HEAD-QUARTERS.** Members of the Communist Party will be interested to learn that Albert Inkpin has resumed his duties as Secretary, none the worse for his enforced separation from the functions of that high office. So also has returned another wanderer in the person of T. Bell, who resumes command of the Organisation Department.

These resumptions have the effect of liberating from the offices they have filled as deputies both Fred H. Peet (acting secretary) and Harry Webb (acting national organiser).

The Executive Committee at its last meeting put on record its appreciation of the services of these comrades.

\* \* \*

**MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.** A great scare of the usual journalist order is being worked up around the fact that certain individuals who are or have been members of the Communist Party are alleged to have been found in possession of parts of machine-guns or old, unused, revolvers. In one case the defendant stated quite frankly that he, being out of work, was engaging in a little trading with a view to personal revenue.

Trading in these things may, of course, be forbidden by law—that is a matter that must be settled between the police and the accused. To suggest, as the Press has suggested, that they engaged in the enterprise because they were Communists and members of the Communist Party, is merely one more of those malevolent falsehoods that form the stock-in-trade of anti-Communist propaganda of every variety.

\* \* \*

**ROMANTICS AND REALISTS.** In history we see the working out of great social forces—themselves the product of vaster cosmic processes. These social forces find expression in the persons and activities of classes, masses, and groups, and these again are presented to sight and consideration in the persons of outstanding personalities.

In the dark days of Redmondite ascendancy, Griffith played a great part. Not the part he would have chosen; a part he shrank from; a part he never fitted. None the less, as fate willed, he played it. He helped to break the spell. It mattered little in the upshot that he dreamed of Ireland a vast capitalist workshop. The point was that he broke from the obsession of Ireland a lick-spittle beggar at England's back door. Petit-bourgeois and anti-revolutionary to the very soul, Arthur Griffith was none the less the prime midwife at the birth of the revolutionary slogan of Sinn Fein.

A pacifist by nature and conviction, he was lifted to power and office by the fighting qualities of the very gun-men whom he set out to supersede.

Arthur Griffith, the soul of petit-bourgeois Sinn Fein, Cathal Brugha, the quintessence of the Fenian ideal, Patrick Pearse, the finest flower of the noble Gaelic revival, James Connolly, the perfect synthesis of Irish-rebel and revolutionary proletarian—the giants have gone—for who can see in De Valera anything but one soul left belated from this heroic company, even as by misadventure, Oisín was left belated after all the Fianna had passed and gone—the Romance ends; and for Ireland there is left Class War and Reality that men must face in grim earnest and the cold light of day.

# Our Circulation Competition

We are now in a position to announce the winner of our Circulation Reports Competition. Owing to the large number of reports sent in, it has been a difficult matter to decide, but from all points of view we think that the DUNDEE report is the best record of work done, and a bound copy of the "A.B.C. of Communism has been sent to Comrade Speed.

## A CIRCULATION PUSH.

In view of the developments in the paper, which will take place in a fortnight's time, we want a united circulation push from now on. Every branch, every agent, every reader and sympathiser must participate. Every possible effort must be made during the coming fortnight to at least double the circulation by the time the change in size takes place. As an aid in the campaign we append, herewith, a selected number of the reports sent in. Some of the reports are necessarily abbreviated.

## THE PRIZE REPORT.

**DUNDEE**—Our papers arrive on Thursday, at 2 p.m. By 3 p.m., 10 shops in the city are supplied with papers by a group of unemployed comrades. Posters are immediately displayed in Branch rooms, and sandwich boards for display of posters have also been provided; these are used at all open-air meetings. Comrades act as sandwich-men.

Notes are taken of all meetings to be held in the city, special care being devoted to the I.L.P.; Shipyards, Engineering shops and jute factories, are also visited on pay day. When advertising Communist meetings on pavement, extracts from current issue of COMMUNIST are chalked, also price. Striking cartoons are displayed on a board at meetings, the board bearing the top part of a poster; this has a great attraction. Speakers are informed to dwell a few minutes on some article in the COMMUNIST and advertise same at Communist Demonstrations.

G. SPEED.

## OTHER REPORTS.

**CRAYFORD**—For over two years I have sold on an average three dozen and six copies per week.

The best place for pushing the COMMUNIST is where a man is working. The job previous to the one I am on now, I started with one dozen, raising to four dozen and six, when I was discharged. On my present job I started with one dozen raising to four dozen.

I always take a few copies when attending trade union branch meetings, also trades and labour council meetings, Labour conferences and Labour clubs. I always carry some papers with me when I go to public meetings. To give one instance: I attended an unemployed meeting one Sunday at Northfleet. Noticing that there was no literature on sale, I just pulled out my COMMUNISTS and went round. I sold a dozen.

I should like to make the suggestion to all branch members of the Party that each one of them should guarantee the sale of six copies as a minimum. It is a poor member that cannot get rid of six.

T. GRIEVE.

**CASTLEFORD**—My sales of the COMMUNIST are not what my committee would like them to be, but ever since the lock-out we have been up against a great reaction. We have covered pit heads and pit gates, making a speciality of our posters being well on view; and we have stood for two hours on a stretch all for the sale of ten COMMUNISTS.

Three months ago I started a stunt on my own, viz., standing on the Market Square, and when selling a paper asking the buyer for his name and address. By this method of working, I have got seventy-six regular customers, and am expecting more. My round covers Castleford, Halifax, Pontefract, Glasshoughton, Normanton Common, Kippax, Allerton, Bywater and Lownville—30 miles in all.

S. BARRETT.

**BIRKENHEAD**—In spite of bad weather we are doing well with our sales.

We have the COMMUNIST on sale at two newspaper shops, and our placards alongside the *Times*!

At the propaganda meetings—we have the largest in the Division—we apply method in selling. Two comrades operate on the fringe of the crowd, where most papers are sold, one near the platform and one in the crowd. The comrades move about quietly, announcing their papers, and the speakers are not disturbed.

The way of salvation may be thorny, but we are taking it, i.e., "pub-booming" as the Salvationists have it. Here is a means of keeping up the circulation in winter when the sales drop. Our unemployed comrades are taking this work in hand, also selling the papers at works gates, from house to house, etc.

I am canvassing for regular orders for all C.P. publications, the *Review* in particular. These will be delivered to the customers just as the newsagents do. Here is a good job for the C.C. Corps where one exists.

E. A. ELLIOTT.

**BIRMINGHAM**—The COMMUNIST is sold, if possible, at every branch meeting, indoor and outdoor; trade union, co-operative and otherwise. Where possible, posters are shown on hoardings and outside newspaper shops, which are exceedingly small in number. Poster parades are also held around busy parts of the town.

The chairman or speaker at outdoor meetings sells the paper from the platform, and members of the audience are repeatedly asked if they have got a shilling or sixpence to spare so that those who cannot afford a copy of the paper may get one. This method proved very successful at first, but, owing to money being so scarce, very few respond now.

Comrades are asked to take the paper at wholesale rates and sell it where possible in their districts, and also carry on a systematic canvass of newspaper shops. This, I may state, is the scope of activities regarding the paper.

A. J. LOCKETT.

**LIVERPOOL**—There are five branches in this district, comprising three on the Lancashire side and two on the Cheshire side. Our branch (Liverpool central) has appointed two sellers and the other Liverpool branches two or three each. We get our supply through a wholesale agent, and the paper arrives in this town on Thursday morning. At once we proceed to the "Dock Road" or one or more of the engineering shops in company with a party speaker, and have a meeting. We then proceed to the unemployment meetings at 2.30 p.m. and afterwards to a night meeting to sabotage on the so-called "I.W.W.'s." Of course, if there are Labour, trade union or C.P. meetings on we sellers split up and raid these meetings. This goes on throughout the weekdays. Friday is our best day for sales, because the "unenjoyed" get the dole, and in the evening those who are "lucky" enough to be working get paid. On Sundays we get the "Jimmy Sextons" and "Have the Lot Wilson's" come along to dope the rank-and-file of their unions, and of course we make full use of these opportunities.

I find that posters of the description issued with the Revolution number have a good effect.

J. LYDON.

**PONTYPOOL**—Four months ago our branch started selling the COMMUNIST. We started out with five dozen, with the possibility of increasing it every week. Needless to say, when we hold propaganda meetings, we order a few dozen extra, and sell them. Our method is this: every member gets as many weekly orders as possible, and holds himself responsible for his order. After what is ordered has been delivered, we stand on street corners with what is left endeavouring to induce people passing by to buy one by calling them over to us and opening the paper, and pointing out what we consider would be the most interesting article to them. Of course, to different people, different articles are shown—the cartoon to some, the leading article to others. If sometimes this does not meet

with success, we pick out a worker who supports another party, and, after starting an argument and drawing a crowd, we let the crowd do the arguing and we sell the paper. We are a branch of only nine members, so you can see we are working hard to increase this small amount.

T. EYLES.

**CHESTERFIELD**—To push the circulation of the COMMUNIST three simultaneous efforts should be made, namely:—(1), a weekly distribution to individual subscribers; (2), an effort to induce readers to take four copies for the price of three, the additional copy to be used for propaganda; (3), the establishment of the sale of a quire in each municipal ward, and the appointment of a ward *colporteur* to conduct the distribution.

The literature agent for his particular town or district should undertake the general supervision of the "push" and keep within the limits of quick and efficient service by transferring constant readers to newsagents, utilising surplus profits from the sale of the COMMUNIST in a tree distribution of current copies to selected members of the unemployed, on the understanding that with a job they would be purchasers. The demand for the COMMUNIST and other revolutionary literature should steadily improve to the extent of the above plans being put into operation, and thereby bringing recruits to the ranks of the Communist Party.

FRANK ROGERS.

**MANCHESTER**—We have several methods of pushing the sale of the COMMUNIST. In the first instance, we start right at home. Every member has two copies of the paper delivered to his address weekly by the branch cycle group, one for himself, and one he is instructed to sell to a non-member of the Party. At our public propaganda meetings, in addition to selling whilst the meeting is in progress, the chairman makes a special point of giving a brief resume of the week's contents, stressing some aspect which is deemed most appropriate and conducive to a ready sale. Our propaganda committee compiles an up-to-date list of all Labour meetings in the area, and is thus able to have its literature sellers present at every meeting of which it is cognisant. We are now in process of starting a park-gate literature selling campaign, as this brings us within reach of those folks who do not attend their T.U. branch meetings, or who live away from the heart of the town. In the copies sold here we propose to insert a small typewritten leaflet pointing out the value of the COMMUNIST to the working-class, and attaching to this statement an order form (see appended) which we request should be filled in and forwarded to the secretary. Excursions are made into outlying districts and old copies of the COMMUNIST containing the leaflet, etc., above-mentioned are left, and a week later we call upon those who have not already sent in their order form.

The factory gates, of course, always find our representatives present on pay-days, while every public demonstration is made the occasion for an extra push.

GABRIEL COHEN.

## Copy of Leaflet.

C.P.G.B., ..... Branch.

Dear Comrade,—

Having read the COMMUNIST you will no doubt see its value as the revolutionary organ of the working-class, and will realise the necessity for the maintenance of a constant and ever-increasing number of readers. If you are not a regular reader, then become one NOW, by filling in the form below, and the copies will be delivered to you regularly.

Yours fraternally,

THE BRANCH SECRETARY.

## Order Form.

To the Branch Secretary:—

Dear Comrade,—

Please forward until further notice a copy of each issue of

THE COMMUNIST, 2d. weekly  
COMMUNIST REVIEW, 6d. monthly.

to the following address:—

Name.....

Address.....



# THE NO MORE WARRIORS

By SCHOOL DRUDGE

HOW pathetic these No-More-War cries! These demonstrations, speakers and resolutions? What misdirection of energy. How primitive and childlike it all sounds!

All that can be said for the whole thing is that it's just an emotional reaction—a relief from the sorry and (to those so enthusiastic in settling every problem by the categorical imperative) insoluble chaos which the European war bestowed gratis on us; a chaos which bids fair to precipitate the first real world war.

As a "schoolmaster" (and a prospective Head at that!), I am interested in the efforts of those to-be-pitied souls whose sole panacea for the world's ills is a soul cure for the young.

"Create the mentality opposed to war!" Yes, my gentle sir, walk into the schools of Britain on Empire Day. Hear the songs, the recitations. See the flags and decorations. And then ask the teachers about it all!

Ah, there's the problem these sentimental idealists have to face. THE TEACHER! Comrades often ask me, why are teachers in the mass such simple muddle-heads, so hopelessly prejudiced, petty, ill-informed, dull and apathetic? Are they a special or peculiar type of person?

I do not think so. They, with their well-known peculiarities, stand as the most damning indictment of State Education, and as proof of its wonderful efficiency. For teachers are the product par excellence of a brain-numbing machine, capitalism's means of deadening the minds of its victims so that they may put up with its evils with cow-like contentment and do its bidding with unquestioning servility. I am often astonished at what a powerful, lasting bias capitalist "education" gives to those most completely under its mill-like influence, the teachers and, to a lesser extent, of course, the workers whose minds are warped and whose brains are pithed—until the Plebs League or the Communist Party gets hold of them.

Yet the pathetically well-meaning "No-More-War Criers" expect teachers to sow the seeds that will stop war! Evidently capitalist education has succeeded in sowing the seeds of muddle-headed sentimentalism in them. How well such a contradiction illustrates the Communist teaching that the CLASS STRUGGLE must be understood and its implications followed out before one can be effective in ridding the world of capitalism and its offspring—war.

\* \* \*

The school environment oppresses and suppresses, perverts, and inverts. Bourgeois experts admit as much! If analysed psychologically and philosophically the educational "system" will at heart be found to be practically the same as that which existed when the monk and nun were the teachers. That is, the knowledge which State education imparts is not built up from real premises, the facts of life, but arises in a primitive manner out of the false, misleading mists of religious dualism.

No wonder then that teacher and child are devitalised spiritually and given a perfect distaste for true knowledge and the scientific method of searching after truth; that teachers, once their course of training is completed, rarely if ever open a book of real value, but settle down under the influence of their routine work to a dull doze of despair hidden neath a desperate attempt to appear dignified and respectable. Are not teachers omnivorous readers of fireside magazines?

\* \* \*

There is no hope of putting an end to capitalist wars if we have to depend on the teachers and their influence in the classroom. The handful of left-wing socialist teachers realise this. Even if an appreciable number of teachers could be found to carry out the wishes of the "No-mo" warriors (and they certainly cannot be found), the result would be negated by the prison environment of the schools and homes in which the children's minds are moulded according to traditional ideas and modes of behaviour. The child is mainly what the parent, home and general social

conditions make it. Capitalist or State schools put the finishing touches, "knock off the corners" (i.e., destroy through oppressive means independence, will, initiative), and give the necessary bias. Thus is laid a firm foundation. The Press, the Pictures, plus the monotony of machine industry and the dreariness of big-city home-life builds a fitting superstructure in the after-school years. The result is a mind which is the workers' own worst enemy.

Hence, not until the whole socio-economic system which creates and conditions the educational system is abolished, will a sufficiently radical change take place in the child's environment to enable it to be trained as a means of revolutionising future society in any way. Communist Sunday Schools will do more in this respect than ever State schools can or will do. That is why certain lords and knights are so concerned! Perhaps that is why certain Labour lords are ominously silent. . . .

Those few ambitious teachers who strive for professional self-government in the hope of gaining control of teaching by teachers so that they may have the power to teach what they wish how they wish, are doomed to considerable disappointment. The real rulers of the country, the Finance and Industrial Capitalists through their hirelings of the "upper" class at the Board of Education and the many local education offices, are easily able to keep the leaders of the chief teachers' organisations clinging to the hirelings' coat-tails. Teachers generally are magnificently middle-class; but, like many trade union and Labour leaders, the higher they "rise" the more perfectly bourgeois in attitude and petit-bourgeois in thought and action do they become.

If teachers did start in earnest to secure and practise self-government, they would soon find where and what kind were their

enemies! The present leaders of the N.U.T. undoubtedly instinctively realise this. Hence they have shelved the question for the Teachers' Registration Council to take down when it can! Where is the Socialist President of the N.U.T.?

No, the "upper-class" officials control and mean to control everything vital. It would be subversive of the State for one of its main supports to be socially controlled and administered! If the mines cannot be nationalised, certainly not the schools. We pay the teachers, says one section of bureaucrats. We think out new schemes, create fine theories, advise and administer say the other sections of experts, officers, inspectors, etc., etc. And the teachers merely do their bidding, the real work. With hat in hand they bow before these Gods, "look up" to them and FEAR them because officially they are paid and appointed by them.

My dear No-Mo-Warrior, I know no class of worker whose heads are so completely in the pocket of their oppressors, the war-makers, as the teachers. They are exploited as few others. But, by subtle means they are kept divided into grades and classes (for of course it is essential to perpetuate class distinctions in the schools) and they would sooner do an injury to one another than combine to defeat their real enemy. Since their work is mental, they are more the victims of their training and work environment than are any other workers—completely blinded, in fact, by the darkness of Capitalism's brain-curing factory, where the young absorbent minds are first smoked, then pickled and cured.

\* \* \*

The lesson of all this?

Genuine Communist teachers should get together and organise themselves into a determined body of agitators and propagandists. The Party should give a lead. More than to prepare the minds of a minority of present teachers and of an increasing number of coming teachers and lay plans in readiness for the future social revolution cannot be expected yet awhile.

## HOLBROOK'S SAUCE

By F. Tanner

WHILE it would be a poor compliment to patrons of Drury Lane to suggest that better pantomime is provided at Westminster, there is no harm in recognising that the two shows are strikingly similar in one respect, viz., that a few of the actors are constantly in the limelight, a large number have small parts, while the remainder—and vast majority—form the chorus.

It does occasionally happen, however, that, out of compliment to his constituents, a member of the Parliamentary chorus feels it incumbent upon him to do a turn on his own account. Then is it revealed, to all with eyes to see, how truly great and wonderful is a "representative of the People."

An interesting case in point has been brought to our notice by a comrade from Basingstoke, whose "representative," secure in his native back-woods and freed for once from the restraints of Westminster, recently took the bit between his teeth and let himself go to the extent of two closely-printed columns in the *Hunts and Berks Observer*.

The name of the orator is Sir Arthur Holbrook and his audience the Women's Branch of the Oakley Unionist Association. Having got on the soft side of his fair followers by proclaiming himself a Die-Hard (and proud of it), he proceeds to grapple like a valiant man and true with all the knottiest problems of the day—paying special attention to the British Empire, Ireland, Moscow, and Ramsay-Macdonald.

Concerning the first of the quartette, he displays the simple and direct enthusiasm one naturally expects from one of his creed. It is not for a defender of the last ditch to be led astray by the drab realism of unimaginative historians. So we are informed that the B.E. is the greatest the world has yet seen, because it has been built up on constitutional principles. Hence there must be no tampering with "our insurance" (the British Navy), for "if we become only a second-rate power what guarantee have we that other nations are going to be as kind to us as we have been to them?"

Which shows how proof is the simple

faith of a Die-Hard against the wiles of the wicked, even when they take the form of such hard constitutional facts as Sir John Hawkins, Warren Hastings, Dr. Jameson, Ireland, Egypt, opium, bombs, and rum.

There is a hint of realism in the statement that "we are living in difficult times." The special difficulty that troubles Sir Arthur is the corpse of Henry Wilson. It is true the perpetrators of that "foul crime" will shortly expiate it in the good old-fashioned way which is satisfactory as far as it goes. But "we shall not get at the real instigators of the crime when we hang these men."

Who are the instigators? Why the Irish rebels, of course. But only the immediate instigators. The real problem is who instigated the instigators? And here is the solution: "The minority of rebels have been supplied with funds by a violent organisation known as the Third International, which has its headquarters in Moscow. That organisation has set itself to destroy order and government throughout the world, as they have already done in Russia. They have their agents in India, Egypt, South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, as well as in this country. Our police know they are about but no one can tell with whom they are communicating. They never write to Moscow or to well-known Sinn Feiners. All their correspondence is carried on secretly, but the police have knowledge of the action of these men and they are all carefully watched." (It is rumoured that at this point an irreverent member of the audience, being understood to murmur "who told you, your mum?" was summarily ejected).

Viewed through Die-Hard spectacles it is but a short step from Moscow to Edinburgh; and Edinburgh without Ramsay is like Hamlet without the Prince. Hence this final gem: "Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who has been one of the most violent preachers of Communism, seems to be preaching a milder doctrine. It looks as if he has learnt a lesson. But I do not trust him."

Sir Arthur evidently trusts his instincts. And for once they have not led him astray.

# THE PASSING OF CAPITAL

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

**W**HEN you pick up a newspaper, especially one of those malodorous "rags" that keep the less God-fearing of the proletariat amused on Sunday, you are almost certain to read therein that, whilst unemployment is still severe and the state of trade leaves much to be desired, there is light breaking upon the dark horizon and in a few months things will be ever so much better.

For the better—or, in the economic sense, the worse—part of two intolerably weary years the newspapers have been heartening their readers with hopeful stories of a coming recovery in business conditions, forecasts not merely of enquiries for tenders and quotations but actual orders, prophecies of increased demand and consequently of a slow but steady rise in wages. Every few weeks there has been turned on to the readers the tap of optimism to refresh them with expectations that the scribes and their employers knew to be vain and empty.

The capitalists among themselves, after the manner of a down-and-out at the corner, stamping his feet to keep them warm till the swing doors of his favourite bar open, have been gesticulating to one another and to the hesitating members of the investing public to the effect that things are looking up.

Financial papers and market reports published by and in the interest of "bucket shop" promoters of companies, of investment agencies, and stock and share brokers, have been spreading lying rumours about Lenin's health, the temperature and pulse beats of the cotton boll-weevil, the gullibility of Mr. Thomas' admirers and the influence of Mr. Snowden's campaign to increase the production of unsaleable shirts—all with the aim and object of inducing someone to take worthless shares and valueless stocks off the hands of the brilliant geniuses who bought at 30s. shares that are now quoted at 6s. 7½d.; or flattered themselves on acquiring for 1s. what they cannot now get rid of for 3½d.

In the sweet by and by the soap king, who bought palm kernels at £90 and suddenly saw them slump to £30; the great shipping companies, with half their tonnage strung up in the Sloyne or at the Tail of the Bank; the huge shipbuilding syndicate at Belfast, reduced from constructing 50,000-ton ocean greyhounds to 150-ton ferry boats, hoped and still try to make

their workless hope that, if they will only listen to Henderson and incline their ear to Hodges, capitalism will get on to its legs once more.

For two years, those captains of industry, those jugglers with millions, those masters of finance, those final and finished exponents of private enterprise evolved out of the native genius and accumulated experience of a century and a half of classic capitalism, have been wriggling and twisting, turning and manoeuvring in a pitiful attempt to escape from the inevitable bankruptcy into which, under the guidance of their academic economists and their political practitioners, they are plunging.

These business men, these statesmen, these experts of capitalism, equipped with all the resources of technique, endowed with all the wealth of the propertied class and supported by all the mechanism of the State and its extension throughout the Empire, can do nothing but talk and talk and talk, whilst millions starve for necessities and the same millions look yearningly at the idle machinery they so wish to operate and to set to production.

Go to the Tyne, the Wear and the Tees and you will see the great gaunt gantries and the empty slips or else unfinished hulls left unwanted on the ways. You will see hundreds and thousands of shipyard workers standing in the streets or lined up at the Labour Exchanges.

Go down the Clyde from the Broomielaw to Rotbesay Dock, wander through London's dockland, walk the quays of the Birkenhead Float or the line of warehouses of the Liverpool riverside and you will see huge ships tied up, vast, empty, echoing sheds, deserted wharves and silent stretches of unchurned sludge.

In the back streets of Bootle and Poplar, of Anderston and Tranmere, you will witness the steady degradation of an idle proletariat sinking into the abyss of despair and the pit of apathy.

Go to Motherwell, where, in prosperity, the roads are paved with solid soot and inches deep in grime, and you will see—oh, terrible sign of the times—blue sky and clean sidewalks. You will hear no rush of steam, no clanging of hammers, no roar of rolling mills. Here and there a furnace is lit and a wisp of smoke climbs faintly from the steel stacks of Sperrings' "Folly"—the once busy, but now deserted "Lanark-

shire." Colvilles are doing little, age-old Colliness no more. Wishaw Steel Works is as silent as a cemetery.

In this, the metropolis of steel, there are 13,000 men out of work.

Go to Barrow, where the world's greatest armament firm was employing 14,000 men before and 30,000 during the war and, out of 18,000 workers in the town, 14,000 are on the "burroo," and the Board of Guardians is £60,000 in debt to the bank and at its wits end to find the means to pay a maximum of 35s. a week per family.

Yes, or go to Birmingham, or Sheffield, or Openshaw, and you will find engineers, boiler-makers, chemical workers, skilled men and unskilled men, idle by the tens of thousands.

Go where you will, from the wind-swept streets of Edinburgh to the deep valleys of Glamorgan, from the myriad spindles of Oldham to the machine tool shops of Coventry, from the silent repair yards of Belfast to the sacking factories of Dundee and EVERYWHERE you will see capitalism at the climax of its power, at the acme of its centralisation, at the culmination of its achievement, collapsing before your very eyes.

The land is there, fenced about and fertilised. The factories are intact and filled to repletion with the labour-saving devices of a century and a half of machine production. The steam engines and electric dynamos, the driving belts and the wire cables are connected. The collieries are equipped with the latest apparatus for getting and sending up coal. The railways and their rolling stock stand ready to haul the fuel from the pit bank to the furnaces and the fire-boxes. The great ships wait at the docks, the telegraphs and the telephones, the wireless and the postal services are available. The raw material and the foodstuffs are at call. Workers by hand and brain—administrative, clerical, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled—the perambulating and sentient means of production, the human repositories of labour power are registered at the Labour Exchanges.

Capital is passing out of existence but the means of production and distribution stand ready to your hand.

Workers, the challenge of economic evolution, of historic destiny, of human achievement and human need calls you to solve the riddle and to make of the instruments of social production the foundation of Communist society!

## Where are the Recruiters?

**W**E remember, during the war, how Trade Union leaders, tumbled over each other to recruit the men and boys of the working class for the bloody shambles. They were extraordinarily energetic in providing "cannon fodder" for the bosses.

Working on paid Government Committees, travelling about the country—taking pleasure-trips to the back of the front—they spoke and spoke until the sounds of their mouthing were almost as loud as the noises of the cannon.

O, they were wildly enthusiastic. The Right Honourables of the working-class movement were frantically restless, going around as Government oil-cans greasing the industrial machinery so that, the "nation should be united in the war to end war."

Some Trade Union officials even became colonels and captains, while others, who recruited in safety were subsequently decorated with O.B.E.'s. Never before did the Trade Union officials work with such tireless and ceaseless effort—not for the Trade Union movement, not to build up the industrial organisations—Oh no—but to send even members of their own unions into the red mud of France and Flanders.

Now these same Trade Union leaders are crying over the depletion of the membership of the Trade Unions. There has been a decline, we are told, of no less than 20 per cent in the ranks of the industrially organised workers. The unions are financially bankrupt.

But the Right Honourable Members of the King's Privy Council, the Colonels and Captains, the recipients of the Order of the British Empire, are not rushing and dashing about, holding meetings and demonstrations in every town and village on a tremendous recruiting campaign for Trades Unionism.

The sound of their mouthing does not mount to the skies calling the workers to rally to their own organisations. Such noises as they make are pitched in a minor key, their voices are dolorous with disaster . . .

Workers, get these fellows busy repairing the damage occasioned by their pusillanimity and stupidity. Make them work to build up the Trade Unions. Set them to recruiting to some purpose.

Or, better still, find men who will be loyal and faithful to your class, who will recruit not for the bosses but for yourselves.

### ADVERTISEMENT RATES

**PROPAGANDA ADVERTISEMENTS.** (C.P. branches and kindred organisations):—Displayed, 5s. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on) 6d. per line (6 words) or part thereof.

**COMMERCIAL ADVERTISEMENTS:**—Displayed, 7s. 6d. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on), 9d. per line (6 words) or part thereof.

No advertisement will be inserted unless copy is received, together with cash in prepayment, by second post Monday for insertion in current week's issue.

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

### MEETINGS

#### Communist Party Branches

**CROYDON.** Saturday, 7.30 p.m., Leslie Arms. Sunday, 8 p.m., Katherine Street, outside Town Hall. Prominent Speakers.

**KENNINGTON.** Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park, 8 p.m. August 20th. Speaker: F. Elliott.

**ORGANISED COUNTRY RAMBLES** (Leeds environs) Local comrades (both sexes) free invitation. See weekly announcement in *Leeds Weekly Citizen*.

**FREEMASONRY** is a curse to Humanity from the Christ Ethic. Speaker: Rodway, 149, Merton Road, Wimbledon.