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TWOPENCE

Who Burnt Smyrna?

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

DESPITE Lloyd George's statement at Manchester that he has succeeded in keeping the peace in the Near East, the crisis has shown itself to be by no means at an end.

Students of international affairs, anxious to get a grasp of the Eastern question, would do well to get (whether by purchase or at the local libraries), Mr. Arnold Toynbee's remarkable book, "The Western Question in Turkey and Greece."

The author is Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature and History at London University, and has had a distinguished career as an adviser on the Near East to the Foreign Office. He came to the nearer observation of the relations between the Greeks and the Angora Turks, as he admits, with a prejudice in favour of the former, but, having seen things upon the spot and Mr. Lloyd George's woman raping friends the Greek army and mountain irregulars at their task of building a greater Hellas at Smyrna and in Anatolia, he has dared to change his opinion and to describe things as he actually found them.

As a statement of recent events in the Ionian territories, of the miserable intrigue by which Lloyd George and Clemenceau got the Greeks into Asia Minor, and the dangerous game that the combatant forces have been playing on behalf of their cynical and unscrupulous seconds, the Governments of Britain and France, and as a portrayal of the historic background to the break-up of the Ottoman Empire in Asia and the ascendancy of Greek Imperialism, Mr. Toynbee's work is a most valuable contribution to the literature of the Eastern Question.

Any Marxist will be able without difficulty to bring into sharper relief the class character of the struggle and to accentuate from his own understanding of the forces behind such problems as these factors to which the author himself is by no means blind.

Atrocities

Nothing better than his analysis has probably ever been penned on the question of atrocities both Greek and Turkish. His indictment of the Greeks and, for that matter, of the British Government's responsibility for the policy of massacre, is particularly drastic. Describing the atrocities that occurred immediately the Greeks landed at Smyrna, when the Greek officers and soldiers bayoneted disarmed Turkish prisoners who would not shout "Long live Venizelos," he says in a foot-note:—

British naval officers and seamen on board warships moored to the quay had to witness these atrocities at a few yards'

distance. They clamoured for shore leave in order to interfere, but leave was refused. The Admiral had instructions from higher quarters to leave the Greeks a free hand when once their disembarkation had taken place. It is not, of course, suggested that the authors of these instructions foresaw how the Greeks would use their licence. Yet it required little foresight to do so! (p. 272).

That is pretty damning in view of his ascription to Lloyd George of the primary responsibility for the presence of the Greeks at Smyrna, when he recounts how they came under escort of the British Fleet and when one recalls the insolent statement of this prejudiced little bourgeois bagman at the Reform Club, Manchester, that the Turks had massacred 500,000 Greeks since 1914 "without any provocation at all."

He gives chapter and verse partly from unimpeachable and official sources and partly from his own personal observation for atrocity after atrocity committed by Greek army officers. For instance:—

"The (Inter-Allied) Mission came to the conclusion that for the last two months elements of the Greek Army of Occupation have been employed in the extermination of the Moslem population of the (Galova-Gemlik) peninsula . . . No cases have come to our knowledge in which these misdeeds have been prevented or punished by the military command." (p. 285).

"On the 29th June, 1921, my wife and I personally witnessed Greek troops in uniform committing arson without provocation . . . among the ruins we found . . . one old Turkish woman named Khadija, who had been violated and beaten with rifle-butts." (p. 287-288).

"In the Aidin district the deportees' houses were sometimes looted and their women-folk violated after their removal by Greek officers and non-commissioned officers." (p. 291).

"A woman named Enime, seventy years old, who refused to put him (2nd lieutenant) on the tracks of her granddaughter, was so cruelly beaten by this hero and his men that she could not move for several days. When the Inter-Allied Commission visited Armudlu on the 17th May, she tried to show them her wounds, but before she could get into touch with them she was driven back into her house by Greek soldiers with fixed bayonets. From first to last many women were violated, for the officer took a different one each night." (p. 296).

What Does He Care?

But what does Lloyd George care? The Greek Army got the women, the Greek corn

merchants and piece goods hucksters were to possess the land and make money and the notoriously bankrupt Coalition Liberal war chest was to be replenished for the General Election by his "Greek friends."

That, comrades, is the real explanation of the little Welshman's passion for the Greeks.

But to the larger issue of atrocities as such, Mr. Toynbee says:—

"If the history of Oriental atrocities is ever scientifically investigated, it will be found, I believe, that they have been worst during the last dozen years that during the rest of the last century and worse again during that century than between the years 1461 and 1821 . . . The two curves of atrocities and Westernization would practically coincide and the true diagnosis of the atrocities might be that they were a prolonged epidemic to which the Near and Middle Eastern societies were subject from the time when they lost their indigenous civilizations until they became acclimatised to the intrusive influences of the West."

Manchester Materialism

In other words, as anyone who has read any articles on the Near East in the "Communist Review" and the "Labour Monthly" will easily grasp, the atrocities have been due to the infringement of the civilisation of the currant and corn hucksters and piece-goods merchants upon the civilisation of a landed proprietor and peasant folk. The intrusion of Manchester materialism and morality thereon ensuing have brought a sword where previously there was peace. "The Christians" in Anatolia were "much wealthier than the Moslems per head of the population," and this was pretty generally so throughout the Ottoman Empire. "Classes in Anatolia," says Toynbee, "are equivalent to the nationalities," and when he tells us that under the Arab Caliphate "Conversion or a super-tax not conversion or the sword (as is often believed in the West) was the alternative offered them, i.e., the Christians, we can understand how and why the peasantry and the landed classes got into the frame of mind, quite apart from the intrigues of Russian spies, to knife the beatific little bourgeois who so gladly (don't you believe it!) came to pay his super-tax and cheated the Government every time he could.

This book is an eye-opener and, even if you cannot buy it yourself, see to it that you write its name, name and qualifications of its author and where it can be got in the suggestion book of the local library in your town, club and institute or non-conformist chapel. It will let in the light into many a darkened Christian mind!

"The Western Question in Turkey and Greece." Arnold Toynbee. Constable & Co., London. 18s.

FOREIGN POLICY OF JAPAN

By SEN KATAYAMA

OF the 463 members in the Japanese Parliament, 281 belong to the Seiukai Party, 109 to the Kensekai Party, 30 to the Kokuminto Party, and of the two non-party groups, 26 members are attached to one group and 17 to the other. Each party represents different social interests.

The strongest party, the Seiukai, represents the interests of the property owners and capitalists. At the head of this party there stands the Marquis Sionti, member of the Privy Council and of the Senior Council. The Seiukai maintains the closest relations with the multi-millionaire firm of Mitsum. It is opposed to universal suffrage and up to recently supported the occupation of Siberia and other East Asiatic provinces. At present this party is in an unfavourable position, since the loss of its leader, Chara. After the assassination of Chara, Takahashi was appointed Prime Minister. The latter, however, was not a broad-minded statesman and was soon overthrown.

With regard to the inner organisation of this party, it is run on relatively democratic principles and as a consequence very often changes its leaders. Only the most capable and gifted politicians can maintain themselves at the head of the party. It is to these democratic methods that the growth of the party during the last thirty years is to be ascribed, since the way lies open to every talented member to high commanding positions. In recent times, however, the Seiukai Party has become subject more and more to corruption and has become the scene of many scandals.

The Kensekai Party was founded by Prince Katzura as a party of the bureaucracy. At present it represents the interests of the industrial and commercial magnates. After Katzura, the leadership of the party was taken over by the Marquis Okuma, who was followed by Viscount Kato, the present official president of the party (not to be confused with Admiral Kato, the present Prime Minister). Marquis Okuma represents the Kensekai in the Senior Council. The Kensekai Party maintains relationships with another multi-millionaire firm, Mitzubishi. There was a time when the Kensekai Party fought for universal suffrage and the evacuation of Siberia. Being a party of the industrial and commercial capitalists, its organisations are for the most part in the industrial centres.

The third strongest parliamentary party, the Kokuminto Party, was established in 1910. It represents the interests of the ship-building corporation, particularly of the shipping magnate, Katzura. The party has always supported universal suffrage and the evacuation of Siberia and even supports the revolutionary parties of China. At its head there stands Inukai, the virtual dictator of the party. In consequence of its lack of democratic control, this party has never succeeded in becoming popular and has never had more than 30 to 35 members in Parliament. The Kokuminto Party, like the Kensekai Party, supports the continental policy and is therefore an adherent of the army clique.

The two non-party groups have no definite political tendencies and no definite followers. They are groups of solitary members of parliament who have united for one reason or another.

These are the most important parties of Japan; in addition to these there is the so-called Kenrioto, founded by Prince Ito, the liberal statesman and follower of the European and especially of the German State system. He is also the author of the Constitution and is the promoter of great cultural work. After Ito, Yamagoto took over the leadership of this group. One may say that Japan is actually governed by this group which maintains connections with all important representatives of the capitalists and feudal lords.

Any political party desiring to take part in the Government must enter into a compromise with the Kenrioto. This group controls the whole Government apparatus. Many groups of talented officials who received their education in the State uni-

versities are likewise under the influence of the leaders of the Kenrioto: Ito and Yamagato.

Besides the Kenrioto and the groups allied to it, there are two opposition parties or rather cliques. The one represents the interests of the Army and the other the interests of the Navy. The army clique is in close relationship with the great capitalists and continually strives after increasing the standing army, regardless as to whether the country can or cannot bear the burdens entailed thereby. The naval clique stands chiefly for the expansion of Japan in the direction of the Southern Islands.

The antagonism existing between the military and naval cliques is very characteristic of Japanese political life. Over the question of the budget, they are always fighting one another, but they are united when it is a question of exploiting the country.

These two cliques are always fighting each other over the Japanese Government. The naval clique, for instance, overthrew the government of Katzura and put in its place the government of Yamamoto. After a scandal brewed up by the army clique, Yamamoto was obliged to resign.

After this the interests of the army were represented by the Government of Okuma and Teroutshi, but in consequence of the bankruptcy of the Siberian policy, Teroutshi had to give up his post to Kato. Since

that time, the Navy clique has ruled in Japan through the present cabinet of Admiral Kato, which is supported by the Seiukai.

This struggle of the two cliques is kept alive by reason of the fact that in Japan, only the representatives of the capitalists have the right to vote. To-day, only those citizens who pay at least a tax of 3 yen per year have the right to vote. Of the 60 million inhabitants, only three million can vote. The sale and purchase of votes in Japan is carried on quite openly regardless of the stringent law. The candidate who pays out the most money has the greatest prospect of being elected. In this way the whole political system of Japan is interwoven with capitalist corruption.

In recent times the struggle for universal suffrage has assumed significant proportions but it is almost impossible to obtain universal suffrage through Parliament, since Parliament, as has already been mentioned, represents the interests of the capitalists—the enemies of this movement. The movement for universal suffrage extends to the petty bourgeoisie which belongs to none of these cliques and suffers very much from the venality of the officials.

In this way we see that present-day Japanese politics are determined not by the people, or even by Parliament, but by capitalistic and bureaucratic naval and military cliques. This system will only be overthrown by universal suffrage, which in spite of these cliques and in spite of Parliament, will not allow itself to be kept waiting long.

Lend A Hand

CIRCULATION PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION

The following essay was adjudged the best of those sent in in the first competition of this series. Next week we will announce the details of the second series which the General Election compelled us to break off.

THE cotton trade as a whole is spread all over Lancashire, and can be divided into two main sections, i.e., spinning and weaving. These can be sub-divided into further sections, and there are also additional sections, which could be included (e.g., Dyers, Bleachers, etc.); but these two are the sections where we ought to find the conscious proletarian, and will suffice for our description of the trade.

The two sections are not only different processes, but are *mainly* carried on in separate parts of the county, and by separate capitalists.

The spinning section abounds near Oldham and Bolton, etc., while the weaving section is situated mainly from Colne to Blackburn. In Burnley and Nelson, for instance, there must be thousands of weavers who have never been inside a spinning mill.

I want to confine my notes to the weaving or manufacturing section, as I know that the best. The manufacturer buys yarn from the spinners, and prepare it for the loom. The weaver, generally, looks after four looms, and works in sheds containing four hundred up to one thousand looms. Conditions of work vary enormously. The worst sheds to work in are dark and dismal due to being too low, and where the yarn is held together by chemicals so that the atmosphere has to be moistened to prevent breakages as the shuttle crosses with the weft.

It is this bad ventilation and humidification that causes the streaks of crimson to disappear from the children's cheeks, and causes the factory girls to suffer from anæmia.

In such towns as Nelson practically all the workers are weavers. They work forty-eight hours per week and are paid piece-wages. The average earnings from four looms to-day are from £2 2s. 6d. to £2 10s. per week, according to the quality of cloth being made. But there are very, very few who have had a continuous wage this last two years. The weaver has to stay in the mill the full hours, sometimes for half

wages, if only two of his looms are running. This has been the general condition during the slump. Few have been a little better, but many have been worse. There are now over two thousand totally unemployed in Nelson (population 39,000).

The workers in the manufacturing section are organised into unions according to their craft, i.e., according to the part they play in preparing the yarn or warp for the weaver.

The weavers' unions are the largest, and so wield the policy of the whole section. Some of the other sections are composed of semi-foremen and are a hopeless reactionary crowd. Each section has its own amalgamation for the county and these are linked together into the United Textile Factory Workers' Association. This has been merely a political body for the purposes of running textile candidates for Parliament, but is now in the process of reorganisation. The U.T.F.U. Association includes all the sections of the spinning industry.

Locally the sections are federated into Trades Councils in some towns, and in others have two federations, one industrial and the other the Local Labour Party.

The weavers have a county amalgamation, but it would be an exaggeration to say that any of its officials were anxious for a forward industrial policy. They are industrial officials, but put their faith in the Parliamentary machine.

The general outlook of the cotton operative is one of passiveness. He may desire a change of conditions, but he shows no signs of doing his share to accomplish it. His mind seems to work with the machine. The machinery of weaving has not changed much during the last two generations, and so the mind of the operative appears to be likewise. These "static" conditions do not produce students of change or social development, and thus you have practically no Marxian students in the cotton industry. Without the assistance of economic changes in the above sense, the changing of the mind of the cotton wage slave from a conservative state to a revolutionary activity, is an almost impossible task.

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RE-ORGANISE THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

A CAMPAIGN THAT YOU MUST JOIN

RIGHT throughout the country there is a growing demand for the reorganisation of the Trade Union movement.

The great failures of the movement from the debacle of the Triple Alliance at the beginning of the miners' strike to the collapse of the engineers' lock-out have so impressed the minds of the active Trade Union members that everywhere there is evidenced the desire to re-shape the industrial organisations—to modernise them and to render them fit for the struggles of the future.

The universal attacks on wages and on the hours of labour; the weakening of the unions by the tremendous financial drain on their resources—ten millions pounds at least having been paid out in unemployment benefit; the loss of Trade Union membership, have all contributed towards demoralising the industrial forces of the working class.

Four years ago the Trade Union movement was in a position to successfully contend with its enemies. To-day it is whipped and beaten; hopelessly chaotic. Its record for the past two years is nothing but a record of defeats—ghastly defeats that have enabled the demon of hunger to stalk through the coalfields, the shipyards, the mills and the factories and the dark purlieus of the industrial cities where the workers dwell. Five hundred million pounds have been lost in wages. In every worker's home the failure of Trade Unionism to withstand the massed attacks of the capitalist class is marked by a lower standard of living. The weapon which had been forged for a hundred years, by countless sacrifices and sufferings, proved hopelessly inadequate when the hour of battle came.

Immediately following Black Friday a number of active Trade Unionists gathered round the British Bureau of the R.I.L.U. gave expression to the slogan "Stop the Retreat." Since then, with steadily growing affiliations, the British section of the R.I.L.U. have endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, to rally the routed forces of the Trade Union movement. "Keep in the Unions," "Re-shape your forces," "Away with sectionalism," "Let the General Council of the Trade Union Congress rally the entire movement in support of any section attacked," "Support the Unemployed so that they will prevent blacklegging," "Strengthen the Trades Councils so that effective local resistance can be organised," were the watch-words of our propagandists, who, up and down the country, at meetings, demonstrations and conferences endeavoured to check the demoralisation and turn the retreat into an attack.

During the engineers' lock-out it was the men of the R.I.L.U. who were most active in preventing the collapse and break-up of the A.E.U. In such towns as Barrow and Sheffield mass picketing was organised. The National Organised Unemployed Committees were induced to effectively dam the blackleg tide. Unquestionably the A.E.U. would have fallen completely to pieces had it not been for the rank and file stimulus derived from the R.I.L.U.

We well know that the A.E.U. fight was a losing fight—a fight that was doomed to failure through lack of energetic and forceful leadership and the fact that the engineers had not the backing of the whole Trade Union movement. And even while we were developing the forces of resistance in that struggle we were planning a great educational campaign which would make for the reorganisation of the industrial forces of the working class.

We decided on a series of conferences of Trade Union branches, Trades Councils and other bona fide working class organisations in London, Cardiff, Glasgow, Newcastle, Barrow, Birmingham and Sheffield.

The tasks involved in making these conferences both a general and financial success were very great. Trade Union enthusiasm was almost entirely absent. The miners were crushed and famine stricken. The engineers had received the biggest setback of their existence as an organisation. In every trade and industry the feeling was prevalent that as the unions had been unable to prevent wage reductions it was not much use bothering with them. On every hand the defections from the unions was alarming.

Nevertheless, this series of "Back to the Unions" conferences was very successful.

The resolutions submitted for consideration to all these conferences were identical and were unanimously agreed to. They were as follows:—

1—WAGES.

"This conference of delegates from the Trades Union organisations view with grave concern the continued attacks upon the wage standards of the working class and urges the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to immediately organise a united resistance of all labour organisations and to demand that the existing rates of wages be regarded as the minimum rates below which there shall be no further reductions."

2—HOURS OF LABOUR.

"This conference declares against all attempts to lengthen the hours of labour and urges the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to take more vigorous action to prevent such attempts from being successful and to resist the extension of the 'spread over' system which we are convinced is only a means both to the extension and intensification of the hours of labour."

3—UNION RE-ORGANISATION.

(a) This conference considers that the best means of securing the united labour front in its local application to be the concentration of the unions, working class political parties, co-operative societies and unemployed organisations in the Trades and Labour Councils which should be reorganised into industrial, political and co-operative departments to effect the greatest possible co-ordination and effective unity in action.

(b) This conference calls on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in conjunction with Executive Committees of the Trades Unions to introduce immediately a plan for the complete AMALGAMATION of the Trades Unions into INDUSTRIAL UNIONS centralised in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

(c) This conference declares that the Amsterdam International is a stumbling block to unity of action and calls on the unions of Great Britain to sever their connection with it through the Trade Union Congress and to affiliate to the RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS.

4—"This conference declares itself heartily in favour of the RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS and agrees to send a delegate to the Second World Congress of the R.I.L.U. Such delegate to report back to a re-called conference for the purpose of acquainting the union movement of this country with a fuller knowledge of the international situation and the growth and activity of the R.I.L.U."

These resolutions outline a policy which if carried to a successful issue, will set the Trade Union movement on the road to victory.

That such a policy appeals to all thinking Trade Unionists the conferences have well demonstrated.

An analysis of the London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Birmingham, Sheffield and Cardiff conferences well demonstrate their representative character. The figures for the Barrow representation are not yet available, but 60 delegates attended. It must be borne in mind that delegates fees were charged to cover the costs of the conferences and that the organisations represented paid their delegates expenses.

At the London conference there were 310 delegates representing Trade Union branches, Trades Councils, Trade Union District Committees, Unemployed organisations, etc., etc. The membership of the Trade Union branches represented totalled 49,048. The affiliated membership of the Trades Councils, Trade Union District Committees and Unemployed Organisations amounted to no less than 270,060.

At the Glasgow conference there were 174 delegates. The membership of the Trade Union branches represented totalled 27,936.

The affiliated membership of the Trades Councils, etc., 236,027.

At the Newcastle conference there were 84 delegates. The membership of the Trade Union branches represented 26,041. The affiliated membership of the Trades Councils, etc., etc., 30,988.

At the Birmingham conference there were 137 delegates. The membership of the Trade Union branches represented totalled 16,020. The affiliated membership of the Trades Councils, etc., etc., 239,646.

At the Sheffield conference there were 86 delegates. The membership of the Trade Union branches represented totalled 23,748. The affiliated membership of the Trades Councils, etc., etc., 22,730.

At the Cardiff conference there were 54 delegates. The membership of the Trade Union branches represented totalled 23,108. The affiliated membership of the Trades Councils, etc., etc., 32,393.

Thus there attended the conferences no less than 905 delegates—as many as attend the Trades Union Congress. The total Trade Union branch membership represented amounted to 166,801. The affiliated membership of the Trades Councils, District Committees, Unemployed organisations, etc., also represented amounted to 851,844—making a grand total of 1,018,645 workers directly or indirectly represented.

These conferences demonstrate in some measure the strength of the desire for the reorganisation of the movement.

In every big industrial centre similar conferences could be held. Many other working class gatherings have also expressed this desire, particularly in regard to the reorganisation of the Trades Councils.

The recent first national conference of the Trades Councils convened by the Birmingham Trades Council gave promise of much intensive work in building up local organisations.

The powerful minority movement amongst the miners, initiated in South Wales, which has spread with remarkable rapidity through all mining counties, is equally promising. So also is the minority movement in the engineering and shipbuilding industries.

Obviously the time has come for a great general re-organisation movement. The whole fabric of the Trade Union movement must be subjected to complete transformation. The old forms are dead and useless. The petty cannon of the sectional organisations are as pop-guns when opposed to the Big Berthas of the united capitalist class massed behind the capitalist state. The old Trade Union movement bureaucracy must either become imbued with wider vision and the true spirit of leadership or else make way for new men with force and purpose.

The concentration of all the local forces of the movement in the Trades Councils, the transformation of the existing unions into powerful industrial organisations, the concentration of the fighting power of the whole movement in the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, are the demands set forth on the banners now raised.

The satisfactory putting into operation of these demands is necessary to the very existence of the movement.

Time presses. The hunger is in our midst. The slave degradation of our class is rapidly proceeding. The capitalist reaction is becoming stronger and more firmly entrenched. We cannot wait, we dare not wait. Action is needed now. Every worker who is a Trade Unionist, a delegate to a Trades Council, a member of a Trade Union District Committee should join with the R.I.L.U. in its campaign of re-organisation. By displaying a little boldness and initiative even one man can do an infinite amount in setting the movement in the right road. Start now. See that your Trade Union branch is affiliated. Then by intensive propaganda through the other branches secure their affiliation. No effort intelligently applied in this way is wasted. With inflexible will and tireless patience work for the consolidation of the forces of the movement—for the real united front—so that when the next great conflict comes, as come it surely will victory will be ours.

The Communist Daily

WE are unable to delay publication of this issue sufficiently to enable publication of the election results, or of any adequate appraisal of the outcome of the polls. This, with the breakdown of communications with the Near East, which makes it impossible to comment on the latest developments, renders this number, perforce, lacking in up-to-date news items.

The Communist Party has played a noteworthy part in this election. Its candidates, aided by a host of enthusiastic helpers, fought in the face of a grim boycott which their gallant fighting ultimately converted into an openly savage hostility, the Communist phalanx has bitten deep into the ranks of the enemy. Dundee and Motherwell will never forget the coming of the Communists in the Election of 1922.

Too late for our last issue we learned that another Communist Party man was in the field. In Greenock the Labour Party failed to find a champion, so the unemployed sprang into the breach and nominated our Comrade "Sandy" Geddes.

The £150 needed for the election deposit was raised by a vigorous canvass in three days.

If a candidate deserves to be elected in proportion to the eagerness of the actual residents to secure his nomination, Comrade Geddes should figure high up the list of merit.

The most daring venture of the Communist Party was the decision to publish a daily edition of the COMMUNIST during the election.

The difficulties that needed surmounting were all but incredible. All were overcome, and the COMMUNIST DAILY made its appearance on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.

Two editions were produced daily from London and Glasgow respectively. The success was astonishing; the eagerness with which the paper was snapped up as soon as the sellers appeared was an indication of the respect which the fighting proletariat are learning to pay to every lead given by the Communist Party.

The cordiality with which the proletarian mass greeted the DAILY, stands in sharp contrast to the frostiness of their leaders. The silence of the *Daily Herald* spoke volumes for official Eccleston Square opinion.

The Labour Party do not love those who make them fight at top speed.

That, after all, was the essential effect of the Communist intervention into the electoral battle. What would have been a perfunctory and lack-a-daisical interchange of debating points was, wherever the Communists intervened, turned into a deep-felt working class fight.

From out of the hurly-burly of speech-making emerged one definite thing—a living sense of the need for a united and determined working-class push.

Whatever the Returning Officers say, that is the result of the General Election.

The Hunger March

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

Friday, Nov. 17th.

A MASS DEMONSTRATION OF LONDON UNEMPLOYED will welcome the whole of the marchers on Nov. 17th in Hyde Park, at 2 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 19th.

A MASS LONDON DEMONSTRATION in Trafalgar Square, commencing at 2.30 p.m., where the marchers will address the demonstration.

Wednesday, Nov. 22nd.

A MASS DEMONSTRATION will take place when the marchers proceed to interview the Premier on this date. All contingents should arrive on the Embankment at 1.30 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 26th.

A LONDON FAREWELL DEMONSTRATION will take place in Trafalgar Square, commencing at 2.0 p.m. This will be a farewell demonstration, provided the marchers have been successful in meeting the Premier.

The Truth about the Sikh Rebellion

By EVELYN ROY

A STRUGGLE whose greatness and potentiality is little realised is being carried on in the Indian province of the Punjab, between the Government and the property-holders on one side, and the insurgent peasants known as the Akali Sikhs on the other.

This struggle is not a new one; it has been going on continuously, though less spectacularly, for many years. But of late it has broken out in such a form as to merit the august attention of the *London Times* and similar organs of Imperialism.

The Sikhs

The Sikhs are a rugged northern people inhabiting the province of the Punjab, of whose population they number about 11 per cent. They are mainly agricultural in profession, the majority being small tenants or day labourers, the number of the latter having swelled enormously of late years, owing to the growing pauperization of the peasantry and the intensifying land concentration in the hands of large capitalists holding directly from the Government. By religion, the Sikhs are a reformed sect of the Hindus, with a strong military tradition dating back to the days when the Moghul Empire was overthrown and the Sikhs under their tenth Guru or spiritual leader, Govind Singh, established an autonomous military state.

The history of this militant sect resembles somewhat the semi-military, semi-religious Christian communities that flourished during the Middle Ages in Europe, and in the manner of living, customs and traditions, is not unlike the Russian Cossacks of the Don. Nine spiritual heads preceded the advent of Govind Singh, who died in 1703, after having re-organised the Sikhs into a strongly militarized political unit and laid down certain principles of religious and social reform which are scrupulously observed by his followers even to-day.

Nirmalas and Akalis

According to his mandate, the Sikh population was divided into two main branches or professions.—1. The Nirmalas, or Spotless Ones, who formed the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and 2, the Akalis, or Immortal Ones, whose first duty was to be good soldiers and who constituted the military defenders of the Sikh State. Every member of this military brotherhood was enjoined to wear the "five K's"—the Kes or long hair, to protect head in battle; the Karra, or iron circlet; the Kangi, comb; the Kirpan, a knife or sword, and the Kach, or short drawers. In addition, each Sikh wears a turban, folded upon his head in a particular fashion peculiar to his sect.

As time passed, the Nirmalas, whose functions were purely priestly, degenerated into a corrupt and licentious body, fattening on the rich proceeds of the worshippers, and handing on the guardianship of the numerous sacred shrines with their vast landed estates as an hereditary trust to their sons. The Akali, on the other hand, tilled the soil and were forced more and more into the ranks of the agricultural proletariat. Unemployment and their own strong military traditions forced many of them to take service in the Indian army and police force to earn a livelihood.

Sikh Regiments

The Sikh regiments formed the flower of the British defence forces, and in this capacity, have acted not only as the jailors of their own people, but have been freely used to keep other races in bondage, beyond the confines of India. Sikh soldiery served in Europe and were sent to fight in Mesopotamia in the late war, and Imperialism thinks to have found in them an inexhaustible reservoir of mercenaries to carry out its plans of conquest.

But man proposes, and the Law of Economic Determinism disposes. The end of the war and the exigencies of the Indian budget, top-heavy with military

expenditures, forced the demobilization of thousands of men who had learned more valuable lessons than manslaughter during their campaign abroad. Every Sikh soldier who returned to his village carried with him the seed of discontent and incipient revolt against the poverty and misery that he found there. This spirit added fuel to the flame that had already kindled the Punjab with sporadic agrarian revolts.

The Sikh League

The years from 1918-20 are filled with official reports about looting and burning, rioting and killing, on the part of the Punjab peasantry. In 1918, the Sikh League was formed to give political ex-

pression to this growing unrest, and in 1920 the Sikh community formally allied itself with the Indian National Congress, to win Swaraj by means of Non-violent Non-cooperation, including non-payment of rent and taxes.

The Akalis, who were the most aggressive members of the Sikh community, succeeded in forcing upon the acceptance of the Sikh League and the Congress leaders, the prosecution of their programme of reform of the Sikh shrines, which they wished to remove from the guardianship of the Nirmalas and Udasis (an older Sikh sect closer to orthodox Hinduism than to reformed Sikhism), and administer in the interests of the Sikh peasants.

There are upwards of three hundred of these shrines scattered throughout the province, dedicated to the memory of the ten Gurus, and used as places of worship by the people. Up till now, these Gurdwaras, or shrines, have been in the keeping of rich and corrupt Mahants or guardians, some holding their office by hereditary succession, others by government appointment. Needless to say, the treasure and revenues from the vast estates attached to these Gurdwaras, whose annual income alone is estimated at over £700,000 sterling, are vested exclusively in the Mahant or custodian. The programme forced upon the Sikh League and Congress Committee by the Akali Dal (peasant organization) was to take forcible possession of these shrines by direct action. The Congress agreed to back the Akalis provided their tactics were non-violent.

Direct Action

Thereupon, between the latter part of 1920 to February, 1921, several shrines were seized by orderly detachments of Akalis, who would descend suddenly and in a body upon the Mahant, demand the keys, evict him and take possession. The first to be captured in this manner was the famous "Golden Temple," which the Akalis took by surprise and proceeded tranquilly to administer, despite the protests and wails for protection from the evicted Mahants. The Government held aloof in the beginning, not wishing to be accused of interfering in what was ostensibly a religious movement for reform. But the deeper conflict between the vested interests of the rich Sikhs and Mahants and the direct action of the landless Akali peasantry was soon apparent, and forced the Government to take its stand by the side of the propertied classes, where it spiritually belongs.

In February, 1921, the whole of India was startled by the slaughter of 130 Akalis who had visited the shrine of Nankana Sahib to attend a Conference called there by the Sikhs, and who were attacked by armed Pathan soldiery hired by the Mahant. Thousands of Akalis rushed to the spot, to vindicate the wrong perpetrated upon their brothers, and the forces of the Government intervened. Hundreds of Akalis were arrested and sentenced to jail, while the Mahant who had caused the outrage, after being put on trial and condemned to death, had his sentence reduced to transportation for life.

The Sikhs United

This incident united the Sikh community against the Government and made a political issue out of what had seemed a purely religious affair. A Bill introduced by the Government in April, 1921 for the reform of the shrines had to be withdrawn because the Sikhs refused to co-operate in its discussion unless all Akalis held in jail were released and the Bill were drawn up according to the dictates of the Gurdwara Frabandhak Committee (Committee for the Reform of the Shrines). Sikh members of the Legislative and Provincial Assemblies resigned, and one of them, Sirdar Mehjak Singh, former Government Advocate and Vice President of the Punjab Legislative Council, became Secretary of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. The effect on the Sikh masses was instantaneous and alarming to the Government. Every Sikh, man, woman and child, armed himself with a Kirpan, which grew overnight from a conventional religious symbol into a shining two-edged sword. Disaffection spread to the Sikh regiments, recruited directly from the peasantry, and soldiers appeared on parade in black turban and trousers, with their kirpans conspicuously displayed. Those sentenced for insubordination for refusing to remove these symbols went on hunger strike; whole companies followed their example. So serious did the situation appear that the Government was forced to make hurried concessions to save its face during the visit of the Prince of



"IF WINTER COMES"

The Communist Party

Formation of District Committees

ANY inquiries have been received from branches asking when the new organisation of the Party will be brought into being. This brief report will give some idea of the work that has already been done.

The new Statutes and Rules were adopted at the Party Conference on October 7-9th. The Organising Bureau of the new Central Executive Committee immediately set itself the task of working out the constitution of the district organisation required. The underlying basis was provided by the Report of the Party Commission to the Annual Conference. The materials were examined and reported upon, and in continuance of this work communications were sent to every branch of the Party and further detailed reports of membership and activities arranged for. The mass of information obtained has been carefully classified and recorded, and it is being used first of all for working out the lines for the correct delimitation of the new Party districts. The reports from the divisional organisers have been of valuable assistance in this work.

At the same time a study has been made of the steps required to apply in concrete form in the different districts the guiding principles outlined in the report of the Party Commission.

District Congresses for the inauguration of the new districts and the election of District Party committees have now been arranged to take place as follows:—

London: Sunday, November 26th.
South Wales: Saturday, December 2nd.
Manchester: Saturday, December 2nd.
Liverpool, Saturday, December 9th.
Sheffield, Saturday, December 9th.
Glasgow: Saturday, December 23rd.

In each case a representative of the Central Executive Committee will attend the Congress, and it is hoped that there will be a full representation of branches.

This is not at all a bad record of work for a period of only a month since the Annual Conference—with a General Election intervening. In the meantime arrangements for the remaining districts are well in hand, and announcements regarding them will be issued shortly. Further detailed consideration is being given to the problems of local organisation within the districts.

Wales. In January, 1922 Sikh prisoners were released, the keys of the Golden Temple which had been taken by the Government were handed over unconditionally to the Gurdwara Reform Committee, and the Kirpan recognised as exempt from the Arms Act.

Akali Movement Grows

The next few months witnessed a steady strengthening of the Akali movement, now organised into well-disciplined peasant societies known as the Akali Dal. Their programme was access to land, free of rent and taxes, and their tactics that of passive resistance by the application of Civil Disobedience in the shape of non-payment of rent and taxes to the landlords and Government. The repression that visited India on the departure of the Prince of Wales, fell heaviest of all on the Punjab. Over 3,000 Akalis were thrown into jail, martial law was declared throughout the province, and the press effectually muzzled to conceal the true state of affairs.

Out of this state of darkness, the Punjab has once more leaped into the centre of the world's stage. The Akali Sikhs, after suffering temporary suppression, have recommenced their activities in a more determined and sensational manner than before.

The Akali Volunteers

The forcible capture of shrines has been again resorted to in the teeth of Government opposition, and Akali volunteers are marching in bands to the shrines, clad in black turban and kirpan, singing nationalist songs and refusing to obey the order of troops posted on the high-roads to turn back whence they came. At Guru Ka Pagh, a shrine six miles from Amritsar, five Akalis were arrested by order of the Mahant for chopping down a tree on the estate of the shrine. They were sentenced

(Continued on Page 6)



“ IF WINTER COMES ”

Economic Help for Russia

By E. T. WHITEHEAD

(British Delegate at Berlin Conference of Workers' International Russian Relief Committee)

AT the Third World Conference of the Workers' International Russian Relief Committee, held in Berlin in July and at the subsequent meetings held last month of the full Executive, the final plans were worked out for the programme of the coming twelve months. The former pure famine relief work is now superseded by three main forms of activity.

The Workers' Loan and Economic Help.

This loan, which has been mentioned continually during the past twelve months, has now been issued. The first issue is for one million dollars, and bears interest at five per cent. It is repayable on the 1st January, 1933, and both interest and principal carry the full guarantee of the Russian Workers' Soviet Government.

Those contributors who object to interest are asked to donate the interest to the support of the Children's Homes, supported by our organisation.

The loan will be used by the Workers' International Russian Relief Committee, through its central international committee in Berlin for running certain chosen specific undertakings in Russia, providing raw materials, and the necessary tools and machinery, and helping build up in this way large scale production in the Soviet Republic.

Already very considerable concessions have been obtained and are being developed, notably five large estates, three of which are in Kasan Province. I inspected one of these recently and there is no doubt whatever that this form of work affords a most valuable means of aiding Soviet Russia to develop her agriculture on 20th century lines and avert the threat of possible future famines.

In addition, a large forestry concession in Kasan province is being exploited, and upwards of a million trunks of timber is expected to be floated down the Volga to our Kasan headquarters next spring. Seven of the ten necessary wood cutting machines had already arrived when I was there and were being assembled.

A modern machine boot factory in the Moscow Province is also in our hands and has been fitted up with modern machinery and is now functioning well.

Further, other smaller factories are in our hands and negotiations are proceeding for a large mining concession.

Our committee naturally work in closest touch and harmony with the representatives of the Soviet Government, and the extension of our work is only bounded by our own capacity for furnishing the necessary technical experts for developing the work.

This branch of work is looked upon as of the utmost importance by the Soviet authorities, as leading to the industrial and economic sure foundation for the prosperity of Soviet Russia.

2. CHILDREN'S HOMES. The number of orphans left as the aftermath of the Famine is very great, and there is most urgent need for help for these little people. Our own Committee has agreed to make itself responsible for twenty thousand children, both as regards feeding, clothing, and educating them. The Soviet authorities have agreed to give us the necessary buildings to form the Children's Homes, and we then undertake the furnishing and ultimate management of them.

The section of Children's Relief is being divided among the different countries in proportion to the results achieved in the Famine Relief Work and our own British committee is asked to make itself responsible for five hundred children.

The initial cost of establishment in connection with each child, equipment, outfit, etc., amounts to £1 2s. 6d., and the further monthly sum necessary to maintain it at 9s. per month. Individuals and organizations are asked to make themselves responsible for one or more specific children, or wherever possible, a group of workers might share the joint responsibility. Where this is wished for the name and address of the child will be given, and later photographs and letters, etc., may be exchanged. Sums not so specially earmarked for specific

children, will go to the general fund for the maintenance of the five hundred children allocated to the British Committee.

This system of "Godparents" taken over by groups and individuals, will, we think be more satisfactory and afford a much closer personal contact than a merely general scheme.

In addition to maintenance, such articles as children's clothes and articles that will be useful in the Children's Homes will be much appreciated, and may be sent to our Committee for forwarding.

Two homes, one in Tscheljabinsk, and one in Tzaritsyn, are already functioning with a full complement of children, and other homes are in an advanced stage of preparation. Very many French, German, Swedish and other woman workers have volunteered for service in these homes, and some of them are already at work as nurses, teachers, and supervisors. Later on we hope to organise a home completely supported by the British section and with a staff of British women workers. It is only necessary for the matter to be taken up energetically enough by the women's sections over here to enable this plan to materialize quickly.

3. THE FOOD PARCEL SERVICE.

A uniform service has now been established through our organisation whereby any individual, group, or organisation whatever, may send food parcels to any individual, group, or organisation inside Russia, with the minimum of cost and trouble, and the fullest guarantee of certainty and quick service.

Each parcel is uniform and contains:—

- 5 Kilos white flour, rice flour, or maize flour.
 - 1 Kilo Sugar.
 - 1 Kilo Tinned Meat.
 - 4½ ozs. Tea.
 - 2 Kilos Bacon.
 - 2 Tins of Condensed Milk.
- (One Kilo equals 2½ lbs. approximately).

The cost of this parcel is 12s., and affords a great saving on what would be expended were the goods purchased retail and carriage paid.

The parcels are put together in our Petrograd depot, and all that is necessary at this end is the name of the sender, name of person for whom the parcel is intended, and the amount. A receipt signed by the person receiving the parcel is returned in due course.

In this service we have the help and assistance, not only of our international purchasing machinery, and of our organisational machinery inside Russia, but also the active help and support of the Russian Soviet authorities.

Parcels sent by our scheme, owing to their being put together in Petrograd, avoid customs and other tiresome delays.

Such then, in a very brief outline, is the main programme for the next twelve months. The help afforded through the International Workers' Famine Relief Committee in the past rose so quickly that in the final months of the famine we were actually rationing more famine sufferers than any single organisation whatever, with the sole exception of the American Relief Agency.

The weight of food sent through was three times greater than that supplied through the Amsterdam International, although that latter body, judged by its published membership, ought to have been able to have afforded a much greater relief work than our own organisation.

Many national sections, notably the Dutch, Swedish, French, and Belgian, also the "Friends of Soviet Russia" in the U.S.A., which is affiliated to us, have worked up a very large working class organisation for Russian Relief, and it is to be hoped our own British effort will in future be in proportion to our importance in the field of International Labour.

All communications relative to the work of the British Committee should be addressed to the Secretary, W. McLaine, International Workers' Russian Relief Committee, 35, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.

Correspondence

To the Editor of the COMMUNIST.

Sir,—
In your issue of October 14th, "Clete" criticizes my booklet on "Sunday Observance," and misrepresents my sentiments therein expressed towards the working man. Nowhere in that book will he find any statement of mine to the effect that I am in favour, firstly, "of the working classes being employed six whole days a week," or of "filching from him his Sunday afternoons," and, secondly, of employing "seven days a week, those occupied in trading and all forms of entertainment." I merely stated as an historical fact that, owing to the deadness of Sunday, produced by the Lord's Day Observance Acts, Saturday afternoons had to be instituted as a holiday to give the industrial classes a chance of doing what they were debarred from doing by the restrictive clauses of the above Acts, on Sundays. And I advocated freedom and liberty to all to work when and as long as they like, without being hampered by Acts of Parliament, or (I might have added), by the interference of self-interested agitators. For if a man feels disposed to work six days a week, instead of four or five, and gets pay for six days, why should he not? Who has a right to restrain him?

As regards the second mis-statement of my views: I nowhere advocate the employment during seven days of the week of traders or those occupied in houses of entertainment. To quote my own words, I said that "There need be no difficulty in arranging that those two take their turn on Sunday duty shall be free on another day of the week, on the same principle as the give and take of night and day "shifts" amongst miners. I fail to see how this statement justifies "Clete's" criticism.

I trust to your courtesy to give this letter the same publicity that you have given to your Reviewer, who so misrepresents me.

Yours faithfully,

W. W. HARDWICKE, M.D.

(Author of "Sunday Observance").

The Sikh Rebellion

(Continued from Page 5)

on a charge of theft to six months' imprisonment and a heavy fine. Next day five more volunteers were called for and they came in hundreds, then in thousands. The railroads, by Government order, refused to carry them, and so they walked, swinging along the high-roads in organized formation, singing their martial songs, and declaring themselves ready to die in the cause. Troops were rushed to the spot to defend the shrine, a cordon of armed soldiers and police was thrown around it for several miles, and pickets stationed on all the approaching roads to turn back the Akali volunteers. The latter refused to obey, and orders were given to fire. At Guru ka Bagh, six miles from the scene of the Amritsar massacre of 1919, more Indian blood has been shed in the defence of fundamental human rights.

Government sides with Property

The Government has openly declared its position. The efforts of the Akalis to take possession of the shrines will be resisted by all the resources of the state. The sacred rights of private property are declared to be in jeopardy, and a deputation of the Mahants to the Government protesting against the action of the Akalis was received sympathetically. A second Bill for the reform of the shrines, introduced in the last session of the Punjab Council, was rejected by the vested Sikh interests. It is proposed by the Government to introduce a third one, effectuating a compromise between the Mahants and property-holders on one side, and the militant peasantry on the other.

Meanwhile, the situation is described as "critical." Battles are being fought, not alone at Guru ka Bagh, but in other parts of the Punjab, where the Akali bands have repeated their attempts to oust the Mahants and put themselves in possession of the temple lands. Such lawless actions form stepping stones on the road to an open agrarian revolution, and the Government sees the danger ahead.

DEMOCRACY IN THE U.S.A.

Extracts from a Speech by C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, Workers Party of U.S.A.

ONE morning during the latter part of August the newspapers all over the country informed their readers of a raid upon an alleged Communist Convention at Bridgeman, Michigan. The story of this raid told of the capture of the members of a secret, underground organization which was conspiring against the United States Government.

"A few days later these same newspapers published a picture of seventeen of the men arrested at Bridgeman. This picture showed them surrounded by typewriters, mimeographs, and printed matter. There were no cannons or guns or bombs—but still they were accused of trying to overthrow the United States Government—with typewriters and mimeographs.

"We have been taught to believe that in the United States the constitution underlying the Government of this country guarantees to all the people the right of freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assembly. We are taught this in our schools, it is preached to us in the pulpits, and our newspapers and periodicals foster this belief.

"Let us go into, for a moment, the relationship of this so-called secret conspiratorial organization which held its Convention at Bridgeman, Mich., to those fundamental rights supposed to be guaranteed by our constitution.

"The Communist Party of America was organised in 1919 at a Convention held in the City of Chicago. There was nothing secret about this Convention. There was nothing underground about the organization it created. The Communists had nothing to hide in regard to their principles and their purpose. They proclaimed these principles. They proceeded on the assumption that the constitutional provision in regard to the freedom of speech, freedom of Press and freedom of assemblage applied to Communists as well as other people.

"What was the result?

"In 1919 a wave of revolutionary ferment was sweeping over all of the European countries and had also made itself felt in the United States. In Russia there had been the revolution and in Germany and all of Central Europe revolutionary struggles were going on. The people of Europe were trying to realise that better world which they had been promised would be the outcome of the world war.

"The same struggle manifested itself in the United States. The steel workers, who for decades had suffered under the oppression and exploitation of the steel trusts, were trying to win for themselves part of that Democracy and better life which had

been so glowingly pictured during the war period.

"They wanted to be free men; not industrial slaves working twelve hours a day, seven days a week, as they had been working in the past. They organised and went out on strike.

"The Miners' Union, too, was engaged in a struggle for more of what they produced through their labour power. A half million miners were out on strike in 1919 as they have again been out on strike in 1922.

"The Communists' purpose is to give leadership to the struggles of the Workers. It is the task of the members of the Communist Party to place themselves in the forefront of the struggles. It is their duty to keep up the morale and fighting spirit of the workers struggling for better things for themselves.

"The Communists tried to fulfil this task in 1919. They gave what service they could to the striking steel workers and the striking miners, with the result that all the power of the United States Government was directed against their organization in an effort to destroy it.

"On January 1st, 1920 there were four thousand members of the Communist Party in the prisons of the United States held under indictments providing long prison sentences, and for deportation.

"That was the answer which the Communists received to their acting upon the assumption that even Communists had the right of free speech, free press and freedom of assemblage in the United States.

"Four thousand men and women arrested in many cases without warrant or any other authority of law, held in filthy jails to be railroaded to imprisonment for long years, or deported from the United States while wives and children remained behind.

"Is it to be wondered at that under these circumstances the Communist Party has since taken some measures to protect itself against a "Democracy" which treated it thus? If the Communist Party is an underground organisation it is not because the Communists have some secret purpose which they dare not proclaim in the open. The Communists desire nothing more than to publicly proclaim their ideas and their principles. But the answer of the Government of the United States to such public proclamation of those principles—not to any overt act of force or violence, but the mere public statement of the principles of Communism—has been to put scores of Communists in prison and to deport hundreds of others.

"The conditions under which the raids of this year against the Communist Party

were made are parallel to those of 1919. Again we were in the midst of a great industrial struggle. Again there were a half million railroad shopmen fighting for better things for themselves.

"These strikes looked as if they were going to be won by the workers. It looked as if the open shop and wage slashing campaign of the last two years would be stopped by the resistance of these million workers on strike.

"And under these conditions we have new raids upon the Communist Party. For what purpose? In order to terrorise the Labour movement by the atmosphere created by the new "Red" raids. The attack upon the Communist Party in 1922 is part of the general attack upon the Labour movement. The Daughterty injunction and the raids at Bridgeman are part of the same offensive. That organised Labour recognises this is shown in the quick response to this attack in the passage of resolutions by the Chicago Federation of Labour and the Minneapolis Trade and Labour Assembly protesting against and denouncing the arrest of the Communists.

"The defence of the Communists against this new attack of the Government will be a campaign to unite those people in the United States who believe in the principle of freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assemblage. To-day these constitutional guarantees are a hollow mockery as applied to the Labour Movement. The answer of Labour to the attack upon it must be to unite and to make these rights real through an organised campaign in support of these rights.

"The Labour Defence Council in which all elements of the Labour and Liberal movement in the United States are united is the answer to these attacks. The National Executive Committee of the Labour Defence Council is representative of all the elements in the industrial and political movement of the workers. In Chicago the first local group has been organised in which is represented the trade unions, the Farmer-Labour Party, the Trade Union Educational League, the Proletarian Party and the Workers' Party. Similar local groups are being organised in all parts of the country.

"The Labour movement is answering the attack of the Government by uniting its forces for defence of the right of Labour to freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, freedom to strike and peaceably picket and freedom to organise and achieve better things for itself."

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Money and How to Make It

SIR EDWARD MACKAY EDGAR, "the well-known merchant, banker and industrialist, whose large cotton and shipbuilding interests, no less than his close association with affairs in the City of London, make his opinion one to be regarded as authoritative," etc., etc., and *ad lib*, has been getting some tall talk off his chest.

Hearken to this captain of industry, this master of men, this worthy organiser of businesses many and varied, this most eminent example of the artist in company promotion.

"Politically Europe is a nightmare, but commercially it is approaching convalescence. It is buying our yarn, and is placing orders . . . I look, therefore, to Lancashire to lead in the coming trade revival. It will extend to other industries to iron, steel, shipbuilding, coal, wool, and so on—but cotton will be in the van.

And never, in my judgment, was the cotton industry better placed than to-day to seize its opportunities."

That is going "some"! That is what Sir Edward Mackay Edgar was reported as saying on Tuesday. On Wednesday, he and his co-directors, flaunt in front of the investing public a prospectus, wherein they invite the said public to hand over to them £1,218,347 in cash, notes, cheques, or any old thing readily convertible into cash and to take in exchange £1,263,620 of paper, representing that amount of Guaranteed First Debenture Stock, bearing 6 per cent. per year on the toil and effort of the workers at Crosses and Heaton's Associated Mills, Ltd.

Of course, much of this scrip will be shovelled up by the banks, insurance companies and investment trusts, especially the latter. They always have plenty of money on hand, and at present more than they like to think about.

Where do they keep it? Bless your life—in the ledgers, "debtor to Sweatem and Skinem, Henry Dubb as much as he can be induced to part with." The economists call it by the name of "money of account," and it is derived from "people of no account."

Having taken it up—the Cunard Company got £3,000,000 in return for paper in half an hour a few months ago—the big fellows place it with their clients direct or with their brokers and "the man with the muck rake" spreads it, thinly when share prices are low, thickly when he has pushed them very high.

Business is business and there are more liars in cotton—they all live in America, you know—than there are bugs in Blackpool!

But to return to Sir Edward Mackay Edgar.

He owns the *Saturday Review*.

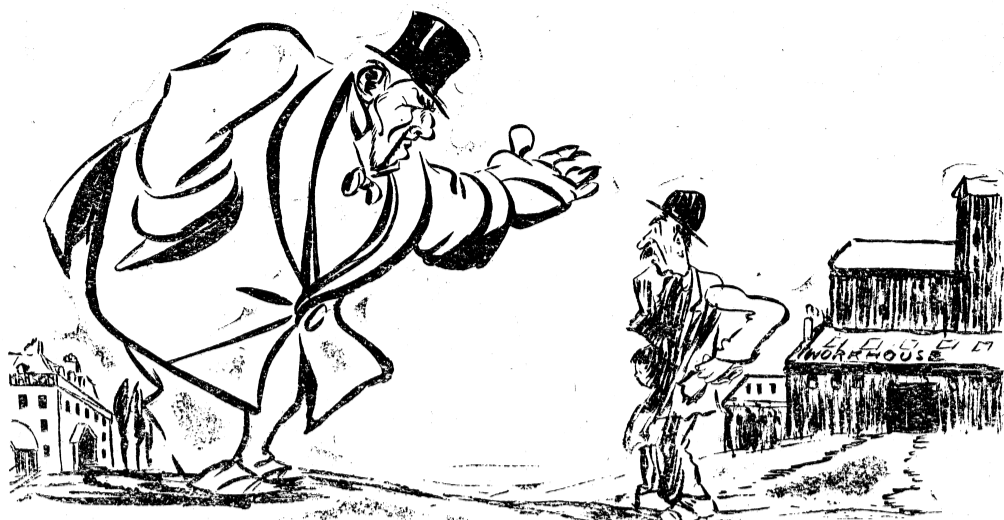
He is the head of Sperling and Co., investment bankers.

He is in the same galley (very low in the water) as Leslie Urquhart.

He is in mining in Mexico and South Africa, in electric power generation in the cotton belt of the Mississippi Valley, in shipbuilding at Govan, Sunderland, Belfast, and Chepstow, in oil in South America, in railways in Cuba, in beer in British Columbia, and in coal—(his "butts and bens" down Watsonville way are a dream)—and in steel—when his mills are running and his workers not standing at the bureau—in Motherwell.

During the big "boom" in cotton, he and his partners "floated" Crosses and Winkworth Consolidated Mills, Ltd. In 1920, the

THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE



The BOSS (after the Election)—Well, you said you wanted houses, ain't this one big enough?

shares—of value 1s. each and within the reach of any thrifty worker—were quoted at 3s. 9½d. each. In the *Financial Times* of Wednesday, 6th September, they were down to 10½d.

In the shipbuilding boom, he and his partners acquired the Northumberland Shipbuilding Company, Ltd., and set out to absorb Workman, Clark and Co., Ltd.—where the Belfast pogroms started soon afterwards, the Fairfield Shipbuilding Co., Wm. Doxford's of Sunderland and the Lanarkshire Steel Company of Motherwell. They issued 20,000,000 shares—bonus shares of 1s. each. Those are now selling at from 3d. to 6d. each. No wonder he is "whistling for the wind." But, big as Sperling and Co. are, there are, almost always, associated with them a firm even bigger and more influential, viz., Kleinwort, Sons, and Co.

The latter are a firm of exchange bankers. They are London agents for Mendelssohn and Co., who are bankers to the German Government's Reichsbank.

They have joined with Krupps in an attempt to trade with Russia. They are the London agents of Zarahoff's bank in Paris.

They are heavily interested in importing raw cotton and in the manufacture of artificial silk from wood pulp.

They do not relish the French attitude towards Russia and towards the Greeks. They do not like the idea of the French bankers who, as financiers to the real silk manufacture, are trying to control the supply and export of wood pulp from the German forests.

They are all in one long chain with many links—the cotton brokers and merchants, the fine cotton spinners, the wood pulp and cellulose makers, the paper and artificial silk manufacturers, the rubber tyre and paint and varnish makers, the gun cotton and dye-stuffs interests. The bankers to one are bankers to the others. They tip their profits into collieries, steelworks, electric plants, shipyards, engineering shops and anything that will "pay."

When trade is good they hold the shares themselves; when it is "too good to last" they divide up the shares into small parts and, business being business and not philanthropy, sell them to the spell-bound investing public.

If trade is bad and getting no better—well, buy shares.

If trade "is quietly, persistently and definitely on the up-grade," you create them out of your own "directive ability" and sell them.

It is just common-sense operating under capitalism. Everyone knows that, under capitalism, you press home your advantage when trade is good—everyone except the advocates of "a ten years' truce in industry."

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

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

MEETINGS

Communist Party Branches

BIRMINGHAM. Sundays, Bull Ring, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.; Barton's Arms, 7 p.m. Wednesdays, Addeley Road, Salfley, 7.30 p.m. Fridays, Small Heath Park, 7.30 p.m. Branch Meetings Thursdays, 8 p.m., Floodgate Street Schools. Intending members apply T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

CENTRAL LONDON. Minerva Cafe, Monday, November 20th, 8 p.m. "The Materialist Conception of History," by Comrade Dickenson.

ISLINGTON. "Communists' View of Election Results," on Sunday, November 19th, at West Islington Library, Lofting Road, Caledonian Road, at 7.45.

MANSFIELD C.P. Branch Stop Watch Result. Watch stopped 11 hr. 22 min. 25 sec.

FREEMASONRY is a Curse to Humanity from the Christ. Ethic. Speaker to any Society free. Rodway, 149, Merton Road, Wimbledon.

THE WIMBLEDON SOCIALIST CHURCH AND SUNDAY SCHOOL will open in December. No Choir. No Bands. No Standing. No Analohys. No Illustrations. No repetitions. Only the words Jesus used. A mighty Christ. A wonderful Saviour.

LENIN & TROTSKY.

Splendid reproductions of Clare Sheriden's famous Busts of Lenin and Trotsky can now be obtained if sufficient orders are forthcoming, at a specially reduced price of:—

Lenin, 6/6. Trotsky, 4/-.

The busts are about nine inches high and are excellent value.

Workers' International Relief Committee, 35, Gray's Inn Road, W.C. 1.

On SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19th, at 7 p.m.

Reading Room, Co-operative Hall, Lakedale Road, Plumstead

Subject . . . "REVOLUTION"

Lecturer: R. BISHOP Musical Programme