

THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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TWOPENCE

The Editor welcomes contributions from any member of the Party, or from sympathisers, on any industrial or other subject of interest to the Party. The return of these cannot be guaranteed unless they are accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. They should be sent to 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Lord Beaverbrook The meanness and dirtiness of the campaign carried on by the *Daily Express* is not surprising, but is at least disgusting. This campaign is to prevent relief being sent to the Volga famine regions. Lord Beaverbrook (previously the Max Aitken so well disliked in Canada) is attempting to follow up the successful prevention of any international relief by sealing up the pockets of private charity. Every sort of lie, from the lie that the starving peasants weren't really starving to the lie that the Soviet prevented relief has been exhausted. Comment would be useless (although there is no reason why you should not express your disgust by sending a contribution to the Famine Fund).

And the 'Herald' This noble lord, who has been caught out in perhaps the meanest political stunt for twenty years, has yet another stunt up his sleeve. It is the common talk of Fleet Street that he is awaiting (and no doubt helping) the downfall of the *Daily Herald*. This paper is faced with a difficulty owing to its high price (2d.) limiting circulation and the fear of a heavy loss if it cuts the price to 1d. Beaverbrook anticipates a smash and is ready with complete plans and staff (for he has found certain persons, who shall not be named, to prostitute themselves) for a "Labour" daily to take its place. Not for money ends, but political ends. This is the common Fleet Street rumour and we at least have no reason to doubt it.

That means, that if the *Herald* falls we shall have to depend for our daily news upon a paper run by the owner of the *Daily Express*, a man who has been attempting to prevent relief coming to the starving Russians because they are governed by the Soviet.

Mary Clicks! Victoria Alexandra Alice Mary is "getting wed." She is, in case you forget, the daughter of the gentleman whose portrait we are never without, if we can possibly avoid it—a portrait which looks just as welcome on a "Fisher" or on a "Bradbury." She is to be married to Henry George Charles (alias Viscount) Lascelles. Henry George, etc., soldiers for his living, except so far as he draws on the old man who trades under the name of "Harewood."

If it hadn't been for the war, and for revolutions, young Mary (she is 24) would have been tied up to some one or other of the "reigning houses." Now that the German, Austrian and Russian Imperial establishments are out of business, with their marriageables signing on at the International Labour Exchange, Mary's Pa and Ma had to choose between something royal from Siam and something not royal (but entitled to royalties) at home. Acting on the advice of Comrade Omar,

of the Naishaipur Branch (expressed thus: "Oh! take the cash and let the credit go!") they have decided to draw the colour line.

* * *

Twinkle! The *Star* tells us that it Twinkle! . . . is a "love match." Moreover, our original contemporary was able to inform us not only that the engagement was made public within 72 hours of the young lady's coy acceptance of Henry-George-etc.'s offer of his hand, heart, and reversion to the Earldom of Harewood; but, what is much more thrilling, that the momentous incident "occurred in Sandringham Woods!" Now it is not for us to say what other parents should do. All the same we feel strongly that young girls should not be allowed to ramble about the woods without proper protection. As it was (the *Star* man being near enough at hand to see fair play) no great harm seems to have been done—except to the *Star* man's nerves. Still, you never can tell!

By the way, what a pity the *Star* man left his cinema-camera at home. What a scoop he missed! Charlie Chaplin would have been flattened out.

* * *

Who will pay the War Debt? The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the paper of Hugo Stinnes, is running a stunt for the return of state and municipal undertakings to "private enterprise"; it is stated that the state-owned railways of Germany have caused a deficit of nearly

** We regret to announce that owing to the illness of our contributor there are no "Industrial Notes" this week.

9,000 million marks during the last half-year. "The cause of these deficits," according to Hugo Stinnes' organ, "is to be found in this, that the bureaucracy is not deterred by unproductive expenditure and that it employs unduly large numbers of workers. . . . The whole system must be changed. The German railways do only 75 per cent of the pre-war work. Nevertheless, the number of employees has increased from 750,000 to 1,000,000, largely owing to the introduction of the eight-hour day." Don't we recognise the style—the "bureaucracy," the "unproductive expenditure," and finally the blame on the workers. Ach! as the Germans would say, "balance our budget, yes, by all means," but start at the proper end—the workers eight-hour day, the workers' wages and the workers' standard of life. Truly one might think that these capitalists are believers in the Marxian doctrine that "all economic wealth is produced by the workers." Can one have a more convincing proof that the process of balancing national expenditure by revenue will inevitably result in a still more vigorous exploitation of the workers?

* * *

A Letter We have received the following letter from the Executive of the Communist International:—
TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ENGLAND.

The British Government has recently flooded the entire capitalist press with so-called "revelations" of "original" activities of the Communist International.

Various clumsily forged "documents" signed by non-existing persons are published, full of idiotic statements and intended to prove what a dangerous lot of criminals we are.

Of course, the Communist International has not the mission of doing things pleasant to the British Imperialist Government. Just the reverse. What the Communist International really does or will do will never earn the applause of the British, the German, the French or any other government, but will earn the applause of the working class of the whole world. To be able to give expression to their anger, it is entirely sufficient for the British or any other imperialist government to quote our REAL utterances. Why, then, throw away good money in purchasing idiotic forged documents?

We request our English brother-party at its convenience to inform the British Government that we are ready with pleasure to supply free of charge to the British Government and Parliament all our appeals and even some of our circulars, with the sole condition that these documents be published by our new subscribers.

We do not insist upon reciprocity.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

A copy of this offer has been sent to Lord Curzon, but no reply has been received as yet.

* * *

London Labour The *Evening News* says that there is "considerable misapprehension" about the London Labour Party Conference, which "has not surrendered" to the Communists. That is pleasant to read, and so reassuring. It is also very kind of Alf, Lord Northcliffe, to take all that trouble to put Labour right about its own affairs.

But there was real need for the intervention of his Lordship. At the London Labour Conference the Morrison element had received their biggest defeat. They had actually prepared an insolent report attacking the Poplar coup, which they recognised and hated as genuine Communist tactics. This report was received by the Conference in such a way that they had to withdraw it to prevent worse happening to them. Before they had recovered from this shock, a worse one followed for the Morrison group, when the Conference voted in favour of the admission of the Communists to the Labour Party.

And Herbert Morrison has spent all his time using the London Labour machinery to drive us out! Nobody loves him and he has gone out of the Hackney Town Hall to eat worms.

* * *

Our Congratulation The result of the final ballot for the post of Assistant General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union is:
Glennie, Wm. 50,265
MacLaine, Wm. 45,487

William MacLaine is a member of the Communist Party, and so high a poll in so reactionary a Union is a matter for congratulation.

RUSSIAN FAMINE FUND

THIRD THOUSAND REACHED

Owing to pressure on our space by acknowledgments it has been found impossible to include the usual weekly Famine Notes.

EDITOR.

As we go to Press our Fund totals £3,000 Acknowledgments are being printed as rapidly as possible.

Cheques, Money Orders and Postal Orders, should be crossed thus $\frac{1}{Co.}$ and made payable to J. F. Hodgson, Russian Famine Fund. Treasury Notes should be registered. Address all letters: Russian Famine Fund, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2. Unless otherwise desired, a receipt is sent by post, in addition to the acknowledgement in THE COMMUNIST.

	£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	2024	6	3½
South Manchester C.P. per Mrs. Wingate	1	2	0
G. Ebury	1	0	0
J. R. Wilson	1	0	0
A. H. Hawkins	1	0	0
W. Gee	1	0	0
J. Leckie	1	0	0
F. Willis	1	0	0
F. Vickers	0	10	0
D. D. Kerr	0	14	0
Openshaw C.P.	1	0	0
London W.C. C.P.	4	12	0
Vera Kellgren	3	0	0
F. Newwith per "Freedom"	0	3	0
Col. by Horsham Boro' Band per W. Albery	2	0	0
D. Rogers	0	5	0
W. J. Boswell	0	4	6
Bentley & District Lab. & Soc. Society	2	4	3
C. Ganty	0	5	0
Horace Young	0	10	0
Kitty Watts	0	7	6
Percy Howard	1	0	0
Miss Eastman	0	14	0
Miss Harvey	0	14	0
Kentish Town Relief Committee	18	10	0
Ashton-U-Lyne Joint Fam. Com. 2nd Con.	1	10	0
Two Glasgow Tramwaymen	0	10	0
P. Brindley	0	5	0
Poor Socialist	0	2	6
H. Reasby	0	13	0
H. Tinkler	1	1	0
Mme. L. Scherzan	0	10	0
J. B. Aberdeen	2	0	0
Dumfries C.P.	1	5	0
O'dham C.P.	0	8	9
A. E. Faulkner	0	5	0
Reformers Bookshop Manchester 5th Con.	2	1	0
R. Stewart	1	0	0
T. Clark	1	0	0
J. Gordon	1	0	0
Edgar T. Whitehead	1	0	0
Islington C.P.	2	1	6
A. E. Gilbert	0	5	0
W. Gallacher	1	0	0
Per D. Ramsay	13	0	0
G. Davis & Family	0	5	0
Rotherham Spiritualist Sunday School	0	10	0
Sympathiser per A. A. H.	0	2	6
Daily Herald Reader (G.H.D.)	0	2	6
S. C. Jarrow	0	1	0
R. W. Place	0	5	0
Wimbledon & Dis. Trades and Lab. C'ncil	0	10	0
James H. Roberts	1	0	0
F. Anscott	0	5	0
Rebel, Peebles	0	10	0
G. Pike, Southampton	0	3	0
H. S.	0	4	0
Ernest G. Gibbons	0	2	6
H. D. Rooker	0	5	0
H. Winkler	0	1	6
United Patternmakers Falkirk Branch	2	0	0
Per Subs. Co n. McKinnon Falkirk	0	19	6
A. Worthington	1	0	0
S.W. Ham C.P. Sheet 3263	1	0	6
Pendleton C.P. Sheet 2522	0	18	0
H. Graham Pollard	0	3	6
A. Green and Friend	0	7	0
R. Wykes	0	10	0
Pontnewynydd Juvenile Choir Concert per Pontypool Rus. Fam. Fund Cte.	4	10	0
Fulham No. 10 N.U.G.W.	0	8	6
Southwark C.P.	1	7	2
Hackney C.P.G.B.	7	6	3½
Finsbury Park Collection	0	9	0
Wood Green S.W.C.E. Council	0	7	8
Unemployed Meeting, Whitworth Hall	0	13	0
A. E. Dowse	0	4	0
Miss E. H. Lolley	1	0	0
Thos. A. and May Leyston	0	5	0
"Chaliapin sings" per G. to E. Heath	0	10	0
"2 True Friends" Manchester	0	5	0
Hackney E.T.U. Sheet 2976	0	5	0
A Sympathiser with Russia Com.	0	5	0
Bets, Kircaldy C.P.	0	6	6
Kircaldy C.P.G.B.	1	0	0
Owen M. Ford	1	0	0
Bunts	0	2	0
A. E. Jeffery	0	10	0

A Forest Miner	0	10	0
Four Women Workers	0	14	0
F. W. Town	1	0	0
Working Men's Mission, Bank Quay, Warr.	13	10	0
Cash Received by Sale of Badges:—			
P. Haye 100 badges	1	5	0
Bethnal Green C.P.	1	16	0
Bow C.P.	0	10	0
Crayford C.P.	0	5	6
Warsop C.P.	1	17	6
Boldon Colliery C.P.	1	4	0
Walthamstow C.P.	1	11	6
Ystradgynlais C.P.	0	6	6
Wigan C.P.	1	5	0
Manchester Central C.P.	0	10	9
Erith C.P.	0	5	9
Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen C.P.	1	5	0
Soho C.P.	0	10	0
Basingstoke C.P.	1	6	0
Woodhouse C.P.	1	5	0
Leith C.P.	1	18	6
Tooting C.P.	0	5	6
Pontypool C.P.	1	2	0
Kirkmuirhill C.P.	0	6	6
Woodhouse (Notts) C.P.	0	19	3
Miss C. Fairbairn (Edinburgh)	1	0	0
Leven C.P.	2	0	0
A. Worthington	0	3	0
Rutherglen C.P.	0	5	0
Owen Hughes, Pontypridd	1	5	0
Mansfield C.P.	1	9	3
Kirkcaldy C.P.	0	15	0
Boldon Colliery C.P.	0	4	3
Richmond C.P.	0	7	6
Tredegar C.P.	0	11	0
Hammersmith C.P.	0	6	0
Birtly C.P.	0	8	6
Walthamstow C.P.	0	9	0
Marylebone C.P.	6	5	0
S. Griffiths, Glynneath	0	15	3
Blaina C.P.	0	4	0
Halifax C.P.	0	3	6
Grimsby C.P.	0	10	6
Mid Rhondda C.P.	1	5	0
Chryston C.P.	0	11	0
West Gorton C.P.	0	15	0
Ashington C.P.	1	0	0
Rotherham C.P.	0	14	0
Erith, Belvedere and Bexley Heath	0	10	0
Treherbert C.P.	0	9	6
E. D. Francis	0	3	0
Edmonton C.P.	0	5	0
Falkirk C.P.	0	9	0
A. Worthington	0	6	0
Alan Ramsey	0	5	0
Mrs. M. Lanfear	1	0	0
Walthamstow C.P.	0	9	0
Walthamstow Trades Hall Collection	0	15	10½
Sheet 3221 H. G. (Walthamstow C.P.)	0	12	1½
Ealing C.P.	0	8	0
Mrs. Becker and Family	0	10	6
Advanced Workers of Max Rosen	0	7	6
North London A.E.U. per Martindale	0	5	0
M. Birch	1	0	0
E. W. Cant	1	0	0
Sheet 1451 per H. J.	14	0	0
Clara E. Koney (4/- for 22 weeks)	4	8	0
Workshop Collection per J. Swan	0	4	q
Glynneath C.P.	2	8	0
Mrs. Parker, Sheffield...	1	0	0
H. J. T.	0	2	0
Union Publishing Co., Glasgow	1	0	0
"T." New Malden	1	0	0
Ed. W. Veal	1	0	0
G. E. and B. K.	0	10	0
Miss A. Thorpe	0	3	0
A. T. Stevens	0	10	0
J. Martin	0	2	6
A Nottingham Family	1	10	0
N. Waugh, Gateshead	0	10	0
E. W. Edwards	0	5	0
C. A. Jeffery	0	5	0
Streatham C.P. Sheet 3183	1	0	0
A. N. H.	0	2	6
Central London C.P. (8th Con.)	3	17	0
N.A.F.T.A. Carvens Branch 184	0	6	6
J. Reynolds, Stafford	0	3	c
Sheffield C.P.	5	17	6
Per "Assurance Agents' Chronicle	3	6	6
Brighton C.P. Auction Sale	24	13	0
C. H. Warren	0	10	0
J. C. Pultail (Cath. Crusade)	0	10	6
H. W. Spring	0	2	0
Dorothy, Marianne and René Harwood...	0	3	0
W. Smyth	1	0	0
H. W. Charnock	0	3	6
M. Hichen	0	3	0
Nelson C.P.	0	14	0
West Central C.P.	2	9	0
Wishaw C.P.	0	5	0
Fred. H. Peet	1	0	0
Anonymous	0	3	0
Mrs. T. Margo	0	2	6
J. Morris	0	5	0
Porth Spiritualist Church Collection	0	10	6
W. Trig Knight	0	10	0
Granville Knight	0	2	0
Alma Knight...	0	2	0
D. J. F. P.	1	0	0

Ass. J. S. and Brass Dressers Union of Scotland, Hamilton District	0	10	0
Y.C.L.G.B. (Gorbals School Section)	0	7	0
A. R.	0	5	0
C. J. White, Barry	5	0	0
J. Gerry,	0	2	0
T. Eddolls	0	2	0
A. Marks	0	1	0
S. Tarrants	0	5	0
W. Balk	0	10	0
Portsmouth C.P.	0	10	0
A.E.U., Huddersfield (No. 7.)	1	0	0
J. W. Pratt	0	10	0
"Petrol"	0	10	0
J. B. Bentley	0	5	0
"Famine"	3	15	0
A. Willis	0	10	0
Anonymous	1	0	0
Ruth M. Layton	1	0	0
C. H. G.'s Watch	3	15	0
Edith A. Kerr	0	5	0
Oldham C.P. 7th Sub.	0	6	0
Broadheath A.E.U., No. 2, Blanch	0	10	0
W. Hamer and Friends	0	4	0
"Ergat"	0	5	0
East Liverpool C.P.	1	5	0
Sheet 1,608, per Tom Bicknell, Ferndale C.P.	2	5	9
Sheet 1612, per Tom John, Ferndale C.P.	1	2	6
Milngavie C.P.	2	17	7
G. B. Cayford	0	10	0
Hutchinson Family Self-Denial Week	1	7	0
J. M. Green	0	5	0
J. M. Wood	0	5	0
S. Cotterill	0	5	0
Comrades M. and W. Bell	0	10	0
North West Ham C.P.	0	5	0
Miss Evans	0	9	2
Harry Webb...	1	0	0
H. J. T.	0	2	0
H. W. White	0	10	0
Per John Tierney, Sheet 1133	0	10	0
E. Collett	0	5	0
Leeds Central C.P. Collection	0	14	11
Joseph Northern	0	10	0
Enoch Dodds	0	1	0
Jenny Paul	1	0	0
J. Watson	0	2	6
South Salford C.P. (4th instal.)	1	17	8
" " (5th ")	0	13	0
F. C. Davies...	0	2	6
Chryston C.P., Sheet 1486	3	15	1
R. Wykes	1	10	0
Honley S.S.S.	2	5	8
Mrs. and Mr. Mills per G. Ballam	0	10	0
A. J. Nott	0	10	0
Miss Blanchard	0	6	0
Amy Arthur	1	0	0
N. U. G. W., Portslade Branch	1	0	0
S. K.	1	0	0
"Bunts"	0	2	0
A. E. Jeffery	0	10	0
Sheet 594, St. Helens C.P.	0	5	6
Sheet 592, "	0	7	0
Three Trustees, Huddersfield	10	0	0
G. Davis and Family	0	5	0
Wilfred Bruton	0	2	6
Perth C.P.	1	3	0
J. Walker	0	1	6
A. V. H.	0	2	6
Airdrie C.P. per W. Kerr (654)	0	17	0
Marjory Newbold	2	2	0
Rochdale C.P.	2	13	0
" " Sheet 2549	0	7	0
Gorbals Br. Young Communist League...	2	4	0
A.E.U. Dunfermline 15 D.S.	1	0	0
Griff and Deci, Gorseinon	0	3	6
T. Kaplun, 2nd Don.	0	10	0
H. Gwen	0	10	0
Streatham C.P., Sheet 3182	2	1	6
Nancy J. Duncan	0	15	0
Belle T. Duncan	0	5	0
Nethil C.P., Bow Green Hall Coll.	1	0	0
G. L. Jones	0	10	0
Members of Camb. Univ. Labour Club	2	0	0
A Few Matelots, Woolwich	0	7	0
Stratford No. 3, N.U.R.	2	0	0
Halifax C.P. per Annis Crabtree	1	0	0
Per T. Breakspere	1	12	0
Tom Mann's Meeting at Bargoed per W. W.	1	10	0
Vale of Leven C.P., Sheet 374	3	16	0
" " Collections	4	15	7
Lithuanian Com. Fed., London Section...	1	2	6
Per Annie Chappell, Cardiff;—			
Comrade Farrant...	0	5	0
Mr. W. Thomas	0	2	6
W. Blake (H.M.R.)	0	2	6
O. Blake	0	2	6
Miss G. Davis (H.M.R)	0	2	

THE RED HAND

By T. A. Jackson

WE have heard and shall hear so much about Ulster—its rights, its fears, its loyalty, and its security—that it is necessary to get a right understanding of this the crux of the whole Irish difficulty.

It will be remembered that at the end of 1920 the British Parliament, instigated by Lloyd George, decided to partition Ireland into two areas, upon each of which was imposed a local pseudo-Parliament. In neither area was it accepted with cordiality—in the northern one it was tolerated because in its full working it would give that area a constitutional machinery of domination over all Ireland. To secure this end it was requisite that the Nationalist Irish should accept and work the scheme. This they were not fools enough to attempt. Nor could the Black-and-Tan Terror, martial law, executions and pogroms crush them into compliance. The scheme therefore was still born! and the world was presented with the spectacle of a pseudo-“Ulster” endowed with the “Home Rule” that it had sworn to wade in blood to prevent, and a Nationalist Ireland held under martial duress by an Empire it had sworn to cast off.

Now we learn that the truce is almost at an end and the negotiations will break down—because Ulster will under no circumstances accept the place of part of an Irish “Dominion.” And to prepare the public mind for this break-down of the “peace” negotiations everyday has brought its news of battle, bomb, and bloodshed in the streets of Belfast.

The truth of the whole matter is that there is not, never was, and never will be any such thing as a United Protestant Ulster constrained by its fears to concert measures of self-defence against the ferocious bigotry of the Catholic South. The territory of the Northern Parliament is not Ulster—it is only a part of that province. Three out of the nine counties of Ulster were excluded from the “Northern” Territory, expressly because they were almost unanimously Nationalist and Republican. Of the six counties that were included none is exclusively Protestant and Unionist, and what is more, sect for sect in each of them, the Catholics are the largest denomination. Tyrone and Fermanagh have Catholic-Republican majorities. In two out of three constituencies of Down, in one out of two in Armagh, in Derry city and districts of Belfast the Republicans and Nationalists are in the majority over the Unionists. Tried by the plebiscite test which the Allies in their wisdom applied to Schleswig-Holstein and to Silesia, not one single county nor one single borough—except Belfast, and that only barely—would escape inclusion in a United Irish Republic. Why, then, the trouble? The answer is to be found in the economic and political history of the British Empire during the last century.

It is difficult for the victims of British newspapers to realise, but it is none the less true, that Ulster for long was the germinating centre of all resistance to British rule in Ireland. Not Southern Catholics, but Northern Protestants first raised the standard of a United Irish Republic and until Easter Week, 1916, at the head of every insurrection against British rule was a leader who was a Protestant, an Ulsterman, or both.

In the rebellion of 1798 Ulstermen from Belfast, Armagh, and Antrim fought simultaneously with the men of Wexford and Galway for their common ideal of an Irish Republic. And *because* of that, and not in spite of it, the Orange Society was formed to do by stealth and malevolence, by corruption and clamour, by bombast and brutality, all those things which have made the name of “Ulster” (which they usurped) carry the significance that it does.

The Orange Society, formed on the model of freemasonry, was at its formation an illegal “White Guard” conspiracy. Illegal because of laws passed to crush the “Oak-boys” and “Steelboys” of Ulster equally with the “White-boys” of Munster. A conspiracy because at a time when the Society of United Irishmen was in its first form of an open and legal organisation carrying on the work of the Volunteers of '82—Protestants all, these Volunteers!—the reactionary landowners of the North and the wealthier bourgeoisie of Belfast took alarm at the events of the French Revolution, and at the growth of solidarity, regardless of religious distinctions amongst the peasant and proletarian population of Ireland. Just as in Russia of the Tsars and in London during paroxysms of Jingo mania we get an unholy alliance between the reactionary aristocracy and the most degraded sections of the slum proletariat, so in Ulster in the form of the “Orange” Society, the ferments of the French Revolution begot from the fears of “White” counter-revolutionaries and the brutality and cupidity of greedy peasants and urban slum-proletarians a force for the disruption and terrorism of all potential revolutionary forces.

It began in the jealousies of Protestant farmers angry because of the fancied advantages received by the Catholic neighbours at the hands of the Dublin Government. Its

methods (in its formative years as the “Peep o’ Day Boys”) were those midnight raids ostensibly in search of arms, but in reality for provocation and insult, which the Black and Tans have since reduced to a science. When the Catholics thus persecuted banded together as the “Defenders” to protect their lives, their persons, and their holdings from destruction, injury and spoliation, the “Peep o’ Day Boys” became exalted under aristocratic patronage into the “Orange” Society—using a revolutionary reputation as camouflage for purposes of malignant counter-revolution.

The “Defenders” being penalised as a “secret and illegal” Society, and the ferments exacerbated by the policy of Pitt and Castlereagh (using the “Orangemen” as instruments), culminating in the Rising of 1798—the “Orange” Society became a fashionable and loyal thing.

And thus it has remained in the imagination of every dupe of triumphant authority and every foe to the aspirations of the common people. In itself the Orange Society has, in these latter days sunk into a cross between the decadent Freemasonry of the Clyde area—a small gaffer-ridden job-trust—and British Legion—a herding under aristocratic patronage of brawny dupes capable of any work requiring an indifference to pain received or inflicted and a cheerful incapacity to realise the baseness of the ends for which they are used.

The recent history of Ulster points the moral and adorns the tale.

By all the rules of the Parliamentary game Ireland had won “Home Rule” (for what it was worth) in 1912. The Bill had become an Act, it had received the Royal Assent, only time was required for its due materialisation.

There were those, however, who knew better. British Imperialism had been so thoroughly committed to resistance to the Irish demands that a victory for “Home Rule,” worthless though it might be to Irish Nationality—was a defeat for them, and a defeat inflicted by the hands of the “popular” element in the community. The victory of Home Rule would be therefore a victory for the “lower orders” over the “superior” and privileged ones in the Empire. This could not be borne with patience and hence Carson, Smith, Craig, and the rest of Ulster “ramp” which on the one side demoralised British Liberalism and on the other intensified into ripening the revolutionary republicanism of the Nationalist mass of Irishmen. What followed we all know—the Volunteers, both Ulster and Irish, Connolly and Easter Week.

In 1919, despairing of bringing the Irish into submission by any other means, the British authorities commenced their policy of intensive terror.

Ulster’s part in this was prepared, as usual, by a series of mass meetings, and took the form of a pogrom during which the Nationalist quarters were invaded by an armed rabble headed by the stalwarts of Carson’s Volunteers. The pogroms extended—with the approval of Craig and the leading Orange orators—into a wholesale driving forth from the shipyards and workshops of Belfast of every Catholic and every Trade Unionist who manifested solidarity with them. I could fill a page with details of the horrors which accompanied this outburst—homes burnt, children shot on their home doorsteps, bombs flung into houses, churches and street crowds. When at length the I.R.A. appeared in arms to defend their comrades and compatriots, the “Orange” Black Hundreds retired and the military appeared for the first time.

This was at the end of July, 1920. A month later similar outbreaks occurred and the endeavour to expel Catholic workers from their jobs and homes was reduced to a system. Workers everywhere in “Orange” Ulster were called upon to sign a declaration of allegiance to George V., and of repudiation of Sinn Fein—the penalty of refusal being assault, discharge, expulsion, and an attack upon their homes.

Called upon to “restore order,” the responsible authorities enrolled the “Carsonite” Volunteers as special constables and the merry game went on.

In September, October, and again in November, the same thing; then a lull until March, 1921, when another pogrom commenced to be resumed early in April.

The elections for the Northern Parliament in May were prefaced by a week of pogroms and accompanied by scenes of barbarous violence.

After the poll an Ulster Leader (Col. Chichester), in his address to the electors remarked that “too many Sinn Fein votes had been polled.” He added that “they had got to wipe out Sinn Fein from the six counties.”

From then until now Belfast and its vicinity has been an almost constant turmoil. Thousands of workers have been driven from their work and their homes. Dozens of homes have been burnt; many lives lost. Only when in self-defence the Republican Irish take arms in self-defence do British newspapers pay attention to the conflict.

[Continued on Page 9.]

ALL BORLASE!

ALL is well with the Special Branch. Exit Basil from Scotland Yard, Byrning with indignation. Enter (O.P. side) Borlase. (*Cheering heard off*). Borlase who? No, it isn't one of those brain-softeners. Borlase is his real name. Major-General Sir Borlase Elward Wyndham Childs, K.C.M.G. (sometimes translated, but incorrectly, Knight Commander of the Monkey and the Goat), C.B. (which gives him the right to command a bath when he feels in need of one, whether slipper, hip, or shower, chair, bun, or brick), Legion of Honour, Crown of Belgium, Crown of Italy, and possibly Crown and Anchor also. The brassiest of brass-hats, just the sort of fellow to send the ravenous Reds stepping 'Elward at the double, is Borlase Elward Wyndhamamongst-the-reeds Childs.

That's why, presumably, they've made him head of the Okhrana, the benevolent and modest, if comic and costly, institution which is out to seize the demon of Bolshevism by the throat and nip it in the bud ere its insidious waves plunge their burning brands into the heart of our ancient and glorious Constitution. (Whereupon the Judge remarked sternly that the Court was not a theatre and that if such conduct were repeated, etc., etc.).

Straight from the "War House" comes Borlase, to take up the reins relinquished by Basil; and the sleuths of the political branch, the basilisks of yesterday are trying to look appropriately Childlike, if not exactly bland. I hope Borlase will like them when he sees them. *Somebody's got to*, and it seems to be Borlase's job.

I hope he'll be popular with his employers, though they are, God knows, a pretty mixed lot. As to the Russian Whites, one can't be so sure. He'll probably be sending them round to the tradesmen's entrance before he's been on the job a week, with instructions to the cook not to leave anything lying about. And the Reds? Oh, I think we can promise him their hearty support, if only because the Special Branch is now as much an institution as "Punch" and a damned sight funnier.

What manner of man is Borlase? Well, he looks like one of those "dashing cavalry officers" the novelists dither about—particularly the German novelists—but he isn't really. He's a bugler. Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, to be exact. (The theory that he went into the infantry



"BORLASE"

A portrait by Espoir

because his name was Childs, is not, I think, worthy of credence. It would be just as logical to assume that, because of his second name, he ought really to join the "Sappers". I'm sure he is a nice man. He was Director of Personal Service at the War Office during the recent

By Moby Dick

tournament, and I'm sure that every bright lad who got an extension of leave out of him thought he was a nice man. As for those who didn't—well, what the soldier said is most certainly not evidence in their case, and even if it were it would be unprintable.

I hope, too, that he is a kind man. They tell me that, amongst his intimate friends, he answers to the name of "Fido," which suggests that his bark may be worse than his bite. But I would like to emphasise those words, "intimate friends." It would scarcely be politic for, say, a Communist speaker, on being haled into the Presence for the first time, to accost the gentle Borlase with a hearty slap on the back and a joyous shout of "How the devil are you, Fido, old bean?" followed by a little peace-offering in the shape of one of Mr. Spratt's excellent biscuits. He might, I don't say that Borlase would, mind you, but it is conceivable that he might, receive your advances a trifle coldly. He might even refuse to know you; might fix you with a glassy stare and order you to be shown into the street. Then where would you be? Nothing left for you to do but to take your way sadly homeward, a prey to unavailing regrets. No, it is clearly a case for tact. Borlase is not anybody's "Fido," not by a jugful.

Well, here's wishing Borlase all he wishes himself; though not, perhaps, all he wishes us. He's entitled to some sympathy, at all events. Think of what Basil had to put up with, how his perfectly dinky reports of lots and lots of Bolshevik plots, his plans to tie the Reds into knots, were received with contumely in the end by his ungrateful employers. "That's all Basil!" they would remark wearily and dump the thrilling document into the waste-paper basket without a pang. But your strong man can afford to ignore rebuffs of that sort, and "Fido" is a strong man. At least, I hope so. Otherwise he may get a bit peeved when he hears that *his* reports on our present discontents have been turned down with the slighting remark "That's all Borlase!"

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC

IN Ireland we have the strange anomaly of the agricultural workers, usually the most conservative of the working class, being the most revolutionary. They have been made to feel the brunt of the economic war more than the town workers, and have not been so much divorced from the instruments of production as have other workers. Certainly their lot is the hardest, never having received a living wage, even on a fodder basis, and in all cases made to suffer when profits grow small, but never to gain when profits grow large.

To-day there is a fight on in nearly every parish in the country, and the fight shows every appearance of growing more intense. In numbers of cases they have submitted their dispute with their employers to arbitration, and in practically every case the employers have come off best. And even then, the employers, not satisfied with their half pound of flesh, forget their agreements, disregard the awards and set about taking their full pound. Profits are not now so large as during the booming days of the war, and although the labourers did not share in the good days, they are being made to bear the brunt of the bad days. These patriotic employers, because they cannot make so big a profit now from the labour of their kind slaves, are ceasing to till the soil, even though by their act they may be endangering the life of the nation at a future date, and hundreds upon hundreds of the agricultural workers are being sent away to swell the ranks of the hungry unemployed.

* * *

We have in Ireland to-day, sufficient land to produce food for our population, but up to the present it has not been so used, but only to raise cattle and food for cattle. The landowners will either force

the Department of Agriculture (Irish) to rectify this state of things or they will do the more satisfactory thing, and set about rectifying it themselves. Take, for example, the incident at Bulgadden.

In Bulgadden a demand was served by the agricultural labourers for a £4 Harvest Bonus. This the farmers refused. Then arbitration was suggested by the Dail Ministry of Labour. The labourers agreed to the suggestion, but their patience was overstrained by the dilatoriness of the farmers in deciding whether they would agree or not. Therefore they struck. And, as usual in a well organised agricultural district, when work is struck on a farm or farms in the district the strikers set about holding up the farmers in every way possible. The first result of this holding up was the refusal of the creamery workers in the district to accept milk from the tainted farms. All the milk was sent home. The farmers approached Cleeves Creamery to accept their milk, but all the workers employed by Cleeves are organised in the same Union as the agricultural workers, and the firm knew what they might expect if they accepted, therefore they refused the milk.

The farmers were then approached by the Ministry of Labour representatives in the area and asked to submit the dispute to arbitration. The farmers declined outside interference, and the workers decided, on hearing this, that they would have to make the farmers change their tune. Some of them set about dismantling the milk separators in the farmers' houses, and as a result of this four strikers were arrested by the Irish Republican Police. The strikers protested against this spiriting away of their comrades and demanded their release or else they would call a general strike. The arrested men were not released, and all the workers in the

Notes from Ireland

district struck work on Saturday. Three hundred of them struck work, closed all the establishments in the district and marched through the town in procession headed by the red flag. On Tuesday the strike ended, the men were released and everything satisfactory as far as the I.R.P. interference in Labour disputes in that area, but the strike for the Bonus is still on.

* * *

The Dublin District Committee of delegates from the different sections of the Transport Union is attempting to strike out on a new line. Instead of being the spokesmen of their different job interests they are trying to shape out a policy for the workers which will bring them further on the road to the Workers' Republic. That they have realised the necessity for such action is more than a step in the right direction, and we hope they will continue although it gives promise of being more than ordinary rocky uphill work.

Last week they discussed a "Future Policy." The future policy that was discussed was to-morrow's work, not the work of the day after to-morrow. The question of unemployment loomed large and overshadowed all the discussion. The speaker of the evening said the question must be grappled with determinedly, and if the "Authorities" (as we call the Republican Government here) do not do so, Labour must do so, and must be compelled to give a lead. Perhaps Tadhg Barry's last message to his comrades in the working class movement has borne fruit already and there will be less "unthinking fear of embarrassing the Government" from now on when questions of working class interest have to be dealt with.

[We have had to hold over a notice of the death of H. M. Hyndman.]

OUR MINING POLICY By R. W. Postgate

AN address to the rank and file of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has now been agreed upon by the Executive of the C.P. and will shortly be available in pamphlet form at the price of 1d. For technical reasons it has proved impossible to print it in full in the columns of THE COMMUNIST. It is very important in view of the present circumstances. The Miners' Federation is, at the moment, suffering from a rapid, almost a consumptive decline. Its rank and file are deserting it. It is no longer the ordinary rot that sets in after a defeat. The usual stampede of weak-kneed and weak-minded members who never really desired to be in the union at all, has been overpassed. Members of long standing and enthusiastic rebels are both alike beginning to refuse contributions. Separate unions are being formed. The fantastic "Scottish National Trade Union Association," formed under the employers' patronage, has been followed by the new Stoneyburn colliery union, formed by Left wing elements. At the same time enginemens and others are breaking away into craft unions. Discouragement, bankruptcy, chaos. Such is the present position in the mining fields. What should be the policy of the Left wing elements? What is the policy of the Communist Party? Smash the M.F.G.B.? Rebuild it? Form a new local union?

The manifesto of the E.C. contains the answers, in general terms, to these questions. In this article I am proposing to summarise these answers, and to draw out certain of their particular implications.

It is first agreed that craft unionism is not to be tolerated. The efforts of the

Left wing elements in the coalfields should be turned to exterminating the various craft unions of enginemens, surfacemen, and all the rest. Our objective is one industrial union—a British *National Miners Union*, as has been consistently urged in the columns of this paper and particularly in its Industrial Notes. The attitude of the Communists must therefore be to drive the craftsmen back to the general mass of their fellow-workers.

Does this mean back to the M.F.G.B.? If so, are we committed to a general support of the M.F.G.B.?

Yes.

The Executive of the Communist Party answers in the negative the questions "Is the Federation dying?" "Are we to assist in killing it?" Let it be observed that this policy *does not exclude* the setting up of new local organisations where the county associations, or lesser bodies, have fallen into ruins, or where it is for other reasons expedient to break away. Whether it is best to form a new union or recast the old depends on local conditions. But always and everywhere these new unions should remain within the Federation and provision should be made for their future incorporation within a Miners' National Union, to the establishment of which their policy should be exclusively directed.

Consider the alternative in concrete terms. Let us suppose that in Fife (as has been asserted by some presumably well-informed correspondents) the Left wing elements have it in their power to carry over the whole county into a new Red industrial union. Let them do so, it is all to the good. It is far better

than forming separate discordant unions in every Fifeshire village.

But what is to be the policy of this new union, or reformed old union? Is it to achieve a national union by attempting to spread from county to county and so transform itself into a National Union, ignoring the Federation? This may seem charming enough in theory, but in fact would work out quite differently. It would give the Hodges crowd a new lease of life. It may be quite possible for the Left wing to gain control of the Fife coalfield now. It is quite impossible for them to do anything in Kent or the Forest of Dean. They might perhaps bring South Wales into the new Union; they would certainly meet with a blank refusal in Northumberland. Thus the mining industry will be split from head to foot, through and through, on political lines. In some coalfields would be a "red" union, willing to act but crippled by the hostility and probable blacklegging of the others: in the rest the old gang would reign still, voting every year till eternity a further increase of £150 in Mr. Hodges' salary.

For this reason, and others, we cannot go right out to kill the weakened Federation. Even if it has but 500 or 250 thousand of its one-time 900,000 members, it is yet a considerable body, and one which cannot rightly be described as "dead" or non-existent. We have to tackle the matter at the root—the county associations. We have to use them as a basis from which to turn the M.F.G.B. into a real union, which it has never been. And the first step towards this is the expulsion of all the existing leaders who in any way share responsibility for the recent disaster.

ORGANISERS' NOTES AND ANSWERS

THERE are a great many forms of Communist activity. Nobody in the C.P. has any excuse for not doing anything. Nor need anyone quarrel with his neighbour about the *kind* of work he or she is doing. If there is any quarrelling to be done, let it be on the score of *not doing enough of something*. Every Party of course inevitably attracts the type that is called the hypercritics of the movement. The type that never does anything itself but is great at showing how it might have been! "Grouse" by all means, but do it while you are working. That is the most effective time to "grouse."

Now that the winter is on us and outdoor meetings are often out of the question, while halls simply cannot be procured in some towns for love or money, it should not be forgotten that extra efforts should be put in with the sale of *The Communist*. Many comrades don't appreciate fully the significance of the Party Organ. They think it is written for their special benefit at week-ends. Of course, the majority of our comrades realise that the paper is one of the most important forms of Communist activity. But it is necessary to bring it home to all that at this time of the year a special effort should be made to make up for the loss of outdoor meetings.

How can you do this? Well, here are a few methods. Every member can see that he sells at least six copies every week either amongst his workmates or amongst his friends. Get them to take a quarter's subscription, if possible. That ensures the capital to work on and leaves you free to break fresh ground. Small working groups of two or three comrades can attend picture house or theatre queues and football matches—young party recruits do this form of work best. Again, there should not be an oppositional meeting of any political colour but someone should be on the spot with a bundle of papers. Branches who can afford it should get a little leaflet prepared showing why the readers of the paper in the locality should belong to the Party, and be a subscriber to *The Communist*. Insert this leaflet in some back numbers to begin with, and do a house to house canvass in suitable streets and then follow up with a current number for sale. Don't imagine for a moment the only people who are interested in Communism are Party members or your little branch. I know a town not a hundred miles from an important textile town in Yorkshire where we have about 20 members and 30 dozen of *Communists* are sold in shops.

This is only one instance. In Lancashire there are thirty towns where over forty quire

of papers are sold and we have no groups or branches. In Yorkshire there are twenty towns where the paper is circulated and we have no branch. In Scotland there are sixteen towns where regular orders of *Communists* are sent, but we have no branches. Midlands, Wales, North-East Coast and London area all tell the same tale. In fact, two-thirds of the weekly sale of *The Communist* are disposed of in towns where we have no branches. The moral of this is that there is a demand for *The Communist* outside the Party. That is good. But don't think about some town miles away from you. What about the street you live in? What about your own town or village? Put your heads together, my boys, and get a move on! *The Communist* is far the best revolutionary paper we have ever had in this country. It is the best to-day, and you need not be ashamed to sell it or give it away to anyone. **AND WE WANT TO BEAT OUR RECORD OF 60,000.**

We are receiving a number of enquiries regarding the relations of the Young Communist movement to the Party. For the benefit of those in doubt, the following is the general position. The Youth Movement is a phase of Communist activity and is under the political direction of the Party and the Communist International. All branches are expected to assist in every way the formation of the movement amongst the youth. This movement is a wider movement than the old Socialist Sunday School movement. It embraces all forms of activity such as training and teaching of children; dramatic; sports; and all outdoor games; propaganda in the boy scouts, welfare movement, and among apprentices in the workshops. It is the preparatory school for the adult party. It is **NOT COMPULSORY** for members under 25 years of age to join the youth movement, but dual membership is permissible. While the Y.C.L. is part of the general Communist International work, its organisational independence is recognised, but is under the political supervision of the Party. Organisational contact is secured by reciprocal delegation on the Executive Councils and branches of the Parties. Y.C.L. delegates to branches should have a deliberative voice only on all matters affecting the Youth movement, but every encouragement should be given to young members to develop initiative and acquire that experience which will one day enable them to take their rightful place in the Party leadership.

Leicester Branch report good work by Jack Leckie, who they say has been a tonic to them. We hope the effects of the tonic will be re-

flected in a go-ahead branch in this traditional home of I.L.P.ism. A fine debate is reported between Comrade W. Paul and Bundoock, the local "Pioneer" editor of constitutional labourism.

Stonehouse Branch report good meetings with Comrade Newbold, and determination to "fix" the local labourites. Up to date they report collection of £2 18s. 9d. for Famine Fund by house to house collections. They are perhaps the one branch in Scotland successful in being affiliated to the local Labour Party.

Hammersmith Branch write to say they don't believe in carrying idle passengers, and have found jobs for 98 per cent. of the members in some form of activity. Result is great attention from local press and they hope to do better for the winter.

St. Helens' Branch reports expulsion of J. R. Stead for not playing the game with the branch at the recent municipal election. He seems to feel more at home with the local labourites.

S. H., KIRKCALDY.—Keep up your pecker. The present temper of the workers cannot last. There is a limit to human endurance. Our business is to keep the cool head and the clear eye.

W. F. Watson.

To the several enquiries as to the relations between W. F. Watson and the C.P. we have to say that W. F. Watson is not a member of the Party.

If you read **THE COMMUNIST** and agree with its views and policy, you have no right to remain idle and a mere spectator. You should join the Communist Party and take your share of the work. If you are prepared for real action on behalf of the British Workers, send your name to the National Organiser, 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2, who will put you in touch with your local branch.

SOMEBODY MUST HANG FOR THIS: THE MOPLAH DEATH TRAIN

“A great crime . . . a singular atrocity”—The Horror of the Black Hole—The worse horror of the Moplah Death Train—Eighty miles of Torment—Sixty-four prisoners stifled—The man responsible should be hung

WHEN was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards, and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

“Nothing in history or fiction approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who, even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. . . . At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house.”

Macaulay, Essay on “Lord Clive.”

WE were all, when young, made to shudder at the fate of those who suffered in the Black Hole of Calcutta. And truly, even now, after frequent re-readings, Macaulay's vivid narrative (given above) brings the inevitable nausea, The agony is so elemental, so easily visualised that the horror is stark and abiding.

The purpose of the narrative in Macaulay's hands, was to condone somewhat the “tremendous retribution which followed,” and he found justification in “these things which, after a lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror.”

More than eighty years have elapsed since Macaulay wrote: more than one hundred and sixty since the events he described. During the interval the power and might of the British Empire has grown to an extent which would have exhausted even Macaulay's power of rhetorical presentation. In India particularly the imperial power has extended and ramified until the widest reaches and the most intimate recesses of Indian life are affected by its sway.

Its apologists are in the habit of arguing in its defence that “we English” have such a “genius for government” that this Imperial rule, though it be alien to the three hundred and more millions of Indian people over whom it is extended, is so mild, wise, tolerant and efficient, that it comes as a boon and an ennobling influence to a conglomeration of peoples who, if left to themselves would suffer untold misery and privation. The British rule, we are told, may be alien to the whole body of Indian peoples; but so would be the rule of any one of those people over the rest, and the attainment of that alternative would involve all the horrors of chaos, carnage, famine and ferocity such as we associate with the names of Akbar Khan, Surajah Dowlah, or Nana Sahib. For proof we are

referred to the Black Hole of Calcutta and the massacre of Cawnpore. The Indians, runs the Imperialist legend, cannot rule themselves—therefore *we* must, in the interests of humanity, rule them.

The worth of this precious bit of special pleading was never more than infinitesimal. It becomes a maddening insult to the intelligence of every decent human being who reads such a news item as this from the *Manchester Guardian*:—

The following was issued by the India Office yesterday (22nd November, 1921):—

A message has reached the India Office of a deplorable occurrence in Madras Presidency in which 64 Moplah prisoners lost their lives. On November 19 100 convicted prisoners were entrained at Tirur, the British railway base for troops engaged in the Malabar fighting, for conveyance to Bellary Gaol.

When Podanur (about 80 miles from Tirur) was reached soon after midnight 56 were found to be dead. After receiving medical aid, the survivors were taken to Coimbatore. Eight more prisoners have since died there.

The prisoners were in a closed luggage van or vans (this is not yet clear), and apparently were suffocated. Points remaining to be explained are why the prisoners were not carried in ordinary compartments, and why signs of distress were not detected earlier.

The Government of Madras state that an investigation is being held, and a full report will be issued as soon as possible.

The Moplahs are known to us only from newspaper reports of their recent “insurrection.” How far their “revolt” exceeded a mere “riot” we are not allowed to know. Certainly they had raised no corps of volunteers, armed and equipped with magazine rifles and machine guns. None of their leaders were Privy Councillors; and none threatened to hand their territory over to any Kaiser (whether of Germany, the Sandwich Islands, or the Malabar Coast). They were an obscure and pastoral people who had grown angry at some real or fancied injustice. If they had firearms at all they were few in number and obsolete in pattern—old Tower muskets left over from the days of “John Company”; possibly even flint-locks.

At most their “insurrection” was a provoked outburst of feeling less dangerous to life and limb than many a jingo assault upon a Peace Meeting or the Armistice Celebration at Charing Cross. But even if it had been otherwise—if they had fought pitched battles and inflicted countless wounds and many deaths they would still (in the hands of men of dignity, decency and self-control) have been entitled to a treatment consistent with those qualities. Instead—!

A hundred men are to be conveyed by rail. They must travel for hours. Even in a climate such as this of Britain it would be torture to compel anyone to travel for such a distance, standing, with no possibility of rest, no provision for physical necessity, no water, and no food.

Even in this climate. In India, and *Southern India* at that, the bare thought becomes a degradation.

Read again Macaulay's description. Note the dimensions of the Black Hole—twenty feet by twenty. Note that he says that that space in that climate would have been “too close and narrow” even for “a single European malefactor.” Note that when the one hundred and forty-six English prisoners of Surajah Dowlah were ordered to enter this space they “laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion.” Note all that and then note:—

“The van used to convey the Moplah convicts was a luggage van made of wood, divided into three partitions. The length of the van was 26 feet and its breadth 8 feet.”

Morning Post, 25/11/21

Reduce it to cold arithmetic. For 146 English there were provided 400 square feet—a little less than 2.74 square feet per person. This constituted a “singular atrocity”—a “great crime.” One hundred Moplahs—possibly more—were packed into a luggage van whose total floor space, making no allowance for partitions, was 208 square feet—less than 2.08 square feet per person. No figures are given of the *height* of the Black Hole—we do know that the Moplahs were crammed into a closed luggage van. The season of the year was different, but the Moplahs were nearer the Equator. Viewed as dispassionately as is humanly possible, cold arithmetic alone shows the modern atrocity to exceed the earlier.

There may be—one hopes not, but there may be—those who would find an excuse in the fact that the one set of victims were English, and the others just “niggers.” If such there be, let them learn from the results that the plea will serve them little.

We take this news telegram from the *Morning Post* of November 25th:—

MADRAS, Nov. 22.

The Special Correspondent of the *Madras Mail* telegraphs from Tirur that the official inquiry shows that the Moplah prisoner victims of the Podanur disaster, almost certainly died of suffocation. The van in which they were confined recently came up from Madras, and neither contained, nor had contained, any petrol or poisonous articles. On previous occasions a van of a different pattern had been used to convey prisoners. The vehicle used on the occasion of the accident had ventilating panels covered with perforated metal, but it was found that these had been recently painted, so causing obstructions to the air passages. A horrible struggle seems to have occurred in the van, many bodies being severely bitten, probably as the men fought for a place where the air came through the chinks of the doors.

Read in conjunction with Macaulay's classic outburst, this extract is only too illuminating. Every circumstance save one reappears. We have not yet heard that the poor Moplah victims offered bribes to their gaolers, nor that they were told that nothing could be done till a Nabob had finished his sleep.

Their gaolers would seem to have been out of sight and hearing—possibly sleeping in cars constructed with a careful consideration for the need, in that climate, for air and breathing space.

But what difference did this make to the tortured and maddened Moplahs? Not from fear of a brutal Nabob, from sheer indifference and callous stupidity, they were left to their fate by those who were appointed a guard over them.

There was to have been inquiry as to why their cries for aid were not heard sooner. We shall be told, probably, that the roar and rattle of the train rendered their guards as incapable of hearing their screams of agony, as Surajah Dowlah from drunkenness was oblivious to the agony of his victims.

We shall be told all sorts of things. An attempt—a poor, mean-spirited attempt—was made to attribute the deaths to some fumes from some commodity—petrol or chemicals—which had been carried in the van previous to its cargo of human beings.

The *Morning Post*, to its credit be it said, refuses to be a party to this outrageous evasion. It records the fact bluntly. It regrets it; but—then it leaves it. It is an accident, it seems to say, a regrettable accident; but, after all, the victims were only “niggers,” and rebel-convicts at that. And so the aristocratic old *Post* turns back to its normal work of *blethering* about the “betrayal of Ulster” and the abominations of Bolshevism.

This may be all right for the *Morning Post*, it may even be all right for the *Times*, the *Mail*, and the

rest of the bourgeois press who are a thousand times more concerned about keeping the proletariat in besotted adulation of things as they are than in clearing their own honour and conscience from the stain of complicity in an infamy. It is not and cannot be good enough for us.

It is not, and cannot be, good enough for any man of any class who has any remnant of common decency and common humanity.

The Empire is no thing of our creation. It exists neither by our leave nor for our advantage. Its rulers would, we know, have little compunction about suppressing us, if they found it convenient, as ruthlessly as they suppressed the Moplah rising. They do not rule by our choice, nor with our will. They rule, and know they rule, in flat defiance of both. It would be easy for us, and quite justifiable, were we to say that we have neither part, nor complicity, nor responsibility for acts such as this atrocious Black Hole of the Moplahs.

Easy, but in no way sufficient or manly.

By any and every one of the Moplah survivors, by any and every kinsman of the sixty-four victims of this abominable brutality, we (being English) will be confounded into one category with the active agents of British rule, whose immediate orders precipitated the crime. Everything and everybody answering to the name of English will be tainted with this murder until fitting penance and reparation shall have been performed. And if reparation comes not voluntarily, then we can be sure of an enforced retribution. The fact that we of the working-class have been too weak or too little united to displace these agents and the ruling system which they serve is a defence which acquits us of the crime only to convict us of a desolating incompetence.

We will, if we are men, submit in patience to neither alternative. We shall be satisfied neither with a white-washing report nor with elaborate official evasions uttered by bored under-secretaries in reply to languid queries in the House. Much as we detest the canons and standards of the established law, and much as we wish to replace them by others more to our liking, we shall be content in this instance if our rulers act strictly by the standards they themselves have set up for our observance. For them, and by those standards, the taking of life is a crime to be expiated—unless madness or extreme provocation can be pleaded—only by the death of the guilty party.

Here are sixty-four corpses.

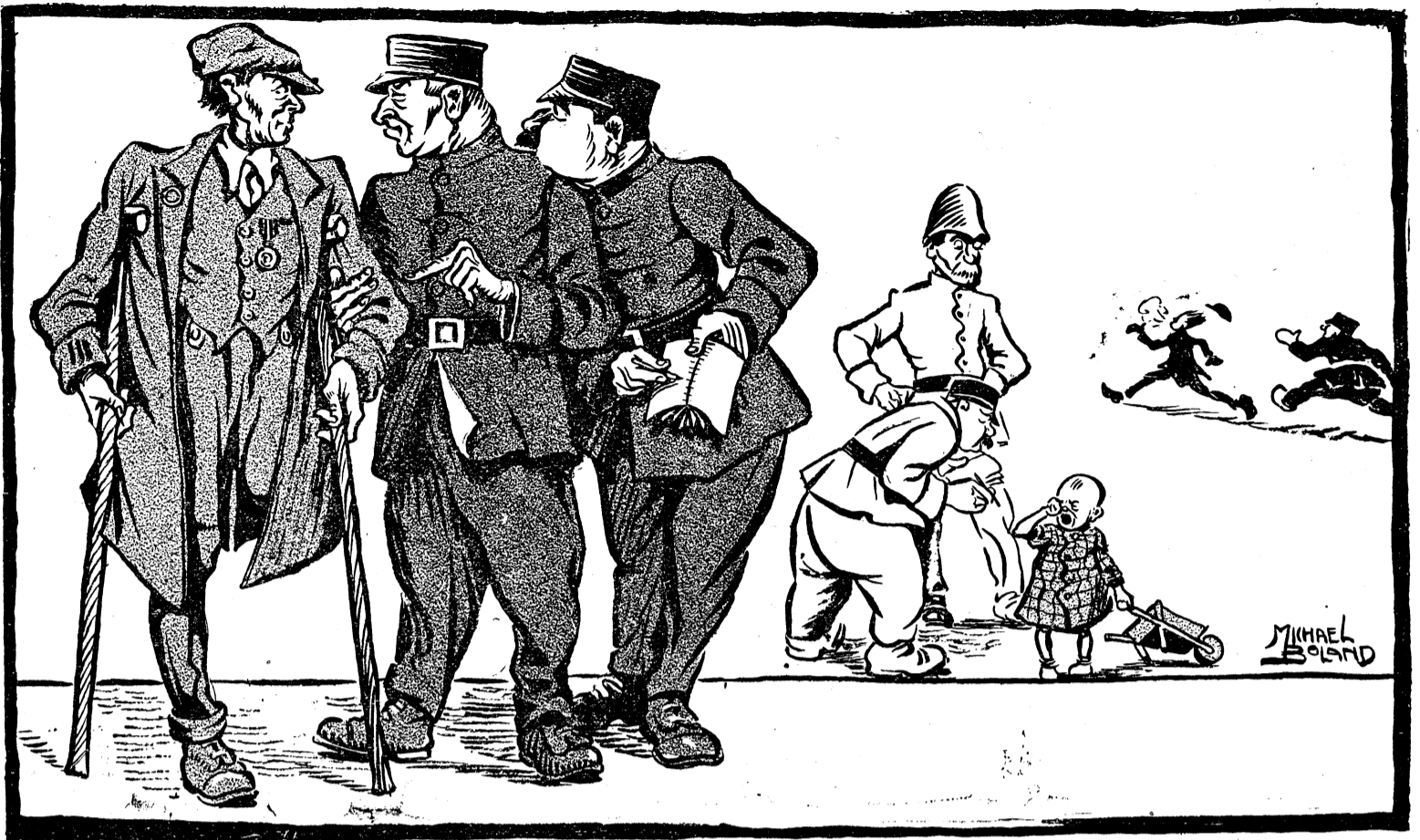
Sixty-four men were as surely murdered, and murdered in cold blood, as any men that ever died by pistol, knife, bludgeon or poison.

Whoever it was that ordered those hundred Moplahs into that luggage van to go that journey was as surely guilty of murder—and more meanly and abominably guilty—than if he had stricken them down by his own hand. His agents were accessories before and after the fact, but he, whoever he may be, is the Murderer-in-Chief.

No matter who he is, this ghastly, this monstrous crime, should be expiated in the only way it can be. The man must be hanged.

The least we of the working-class can do is to see that somebody swings for it.

The most we can do is to make any repetition impossible. This is one of the fruits—the inevitable fruits—of Imperialism!



"We don't care whether you did fight to keep the streets free. We're here to collect the tax and you may be damn thankful you've only one leg to pay for!"

[Sir ———, speaking at a farewell lunch given by the Automobile Association, said that the way motorists were exclusively taxed for the upkeep of the roads was monstrous. The private motor user would not tolerate it. The pedestrian should pay, and he anticipated that soon every pedestrian who used a road would pay his tax]

BOOK REVIEW

One Step Back—Two Steps Forward
By PREDK. WILLIS

The new Policies of Soviet Russia. By N. Lenin, N. Bukharin and S. J. Rutgers. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price 1 dollar net.

THE argument advanced in two of the three articles contained in this book has already been made fairly familiar to British readers through the medium of the party press and publications, and also in the columns of the capitalist press. The latter, of course, takes a huge delight in proclaiming the new orientation of Russian policy as an admission of the defeat of Bolshevism and the impossibility of Communism. Its smug, self-satisfied, "we told you so" attitude is quite prettily done, although one detects an undercurrent of fear that the Russians have more up their sleeves than the capitalist scribes care to contemplate with equanimity. In short, the suspicion is growing among them that the Bolshevik wild man is a very capable fellow indeed, and all the more terrible because of his inveterate habit of looking facts in the face, and squaring his conduct in accordance with them.

In 1917 capitalism broke down at its weakest point in Europe—i.e., in Russia. That was the first result of the great war. Having broken down it was the clear duty of those Russians who were more than Socialists in name only, of all, that is to say, who wished sincerely to abolish capitalist society, to take advantage of the situation and hold the fort at all costs in the name of the workers of the world. That the Bolsheviks realised this, and acted accordingly, is a tribute both to their fearlessness and to their clear-sightedness. History will do them justice in both respects.

But the fact that it was capitalism's weakest point, although it undoubtedly made revolution easier to accomplish at the moment, created untold difficulties after the consummation of the revolution. For the historic mission of capitalism is to bring to the service of production all the great resources of science, organisation, and technique, and these, of necessity, were lacking in Russia.

Pre-revolutionary Russia, immense though its potentialities were, was a capitalist state only in embryo. Scientific organisation of industry existed only in a few isolated centres; the rest of Russia was a land of peasants, semi-proletarians, and small proprietors. The task before our comrades, having established the dictatorship of the workers, was to build up, slowly and painfully, under a new regime, with new ideals and a new outlook, the organisation that exists elsewhere under the rule of the capitalists. Lenin puts the case in a nutshell:—

"History.....has proceeded in such a peculiar fashion that, in 1918, it gave birth to two separated halves of Socialism, like two chickens born within the same shell of international imperialism. Germany and Russia in 1918 embodied in themselves, on the one hand the most obviously materially realised economic, industrial and social conditions, and on the other hand, the political conditions for Socialism."

There are critics of the Left who blend voices with those of the Right in denunciation of the new Soviet policy. In the one case it is hailed as a confession of failure; in the other it is condemned as a betrayal of the revolution. In truth, both sets of critics are incurably Utopian in outlook, and therefore futile. Communism to the one is a ready-made system of society that can be set up, doll's house fashion, complete in all its details, immediately; and to the other it is the same system impossible of realisation. Opposed in all other respects they may be, but Utopians they are both, and Utopians they will remain.

Comrade Rutgers in his contribution to the book sounds a healthy note of warning against the narrow domination of the old intellectuals, and insists upon the necessity of spreading knowledge broadcast in order to combat the arrogance of the mere technicians. The section devoted to "new methods of proletarian education" is particularly stimulating and should be read by educationalists of all schools of thought.

The book is clearly printed, as is usual with all the Charles H. Kerr publications. The loose cover bears the striking portrait study of Lenin specially drawn by Comrade J.F.H. for THE COMMUNIST, and printed therein a short time ago. An acknowledgment of the source would have been appreciated on this side.

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THE RED CHRIST

BY

THE RED VICAR

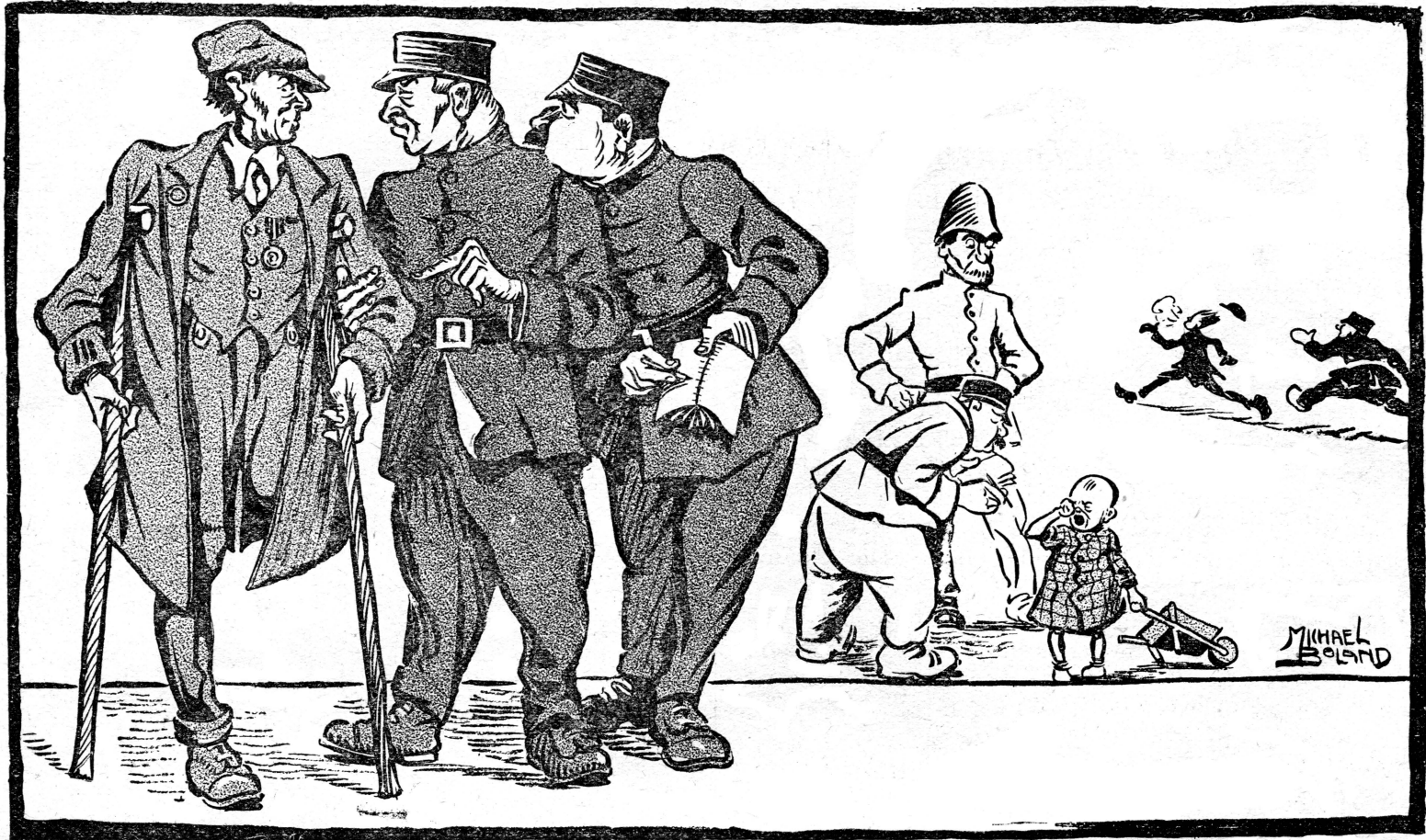
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“ We don’t care whether you did fight to keep the streets free. We’re here to collect the tax and you may be damn thankful you’ve only one leg to pay for!”



“ We don’t care whether you did fight to keep the streets free. We’re here to collect the tax and you may be damn thankful you’ve only one leg to pay for.”

THE UNEMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE

By A. SQUAIR

THE Conference of Unemployed Organisations in Manchester last week will rank as one of the most important in the history of the working class movement. Its significance lies not so much in the decisions arrived at which were important, but the fact that for the first time in the history of the working class movement unemployed men and women met in conference to discuss schemes for the building up of an organisation to force the authorities to solve the problem of unemployment. It marks a new step in the development of the movement. The unemployed have been shaken out of their torpor, tired of promises, refusing any longer to be treated as objects of charity. They have formed their own organisations and learning the lesson of solidarity, they are gaining knowledge and self-respect in the building up of a mass organisation with the intention of thus bringing an end to the system which causes poverty and misery. The full significance of this can be fully understood, and as a result of the decisions of the Manchester Conference

a militant mass organisation comes into existence which will force the Trade Unionists into line for the final revolutionary struggle.

The National Organisation of Unemployed was formed at a small conference held in London early this year. A N.A.C. was appointed with officials and Divisional organisers. During the summer the organisation languished, but the growth of unemployment, the activity of the Government, and the apathy of the Labour Party spurred the organisation to life again at the end of the summer. When some of the London organisations succeeded in obtaining an increased scale of relief from the Guardians a spontaneous growth took place throughout the country. Committees sprang up and asked for affiliation to the National body. A huge organisation had grown up and it was imperative that a National Conference be called, to formulate the policy and devise a scheme for an effective organisation. The N.A.C. fixed time and place, and drew up an agenda. A circular was sent to all unemployed committees by the National Secretary, emphasising the importance of the Conference, and urging all committees to send two delegates. The instructions were to get to Manchester, to beg, borrow or — the money, but to get there at all costs. If only single fare could be raised, get there and trust to luck to get back again.

The response was surprising. During the week-end right up to the morning of the Conference delegates poured into Manchester from all parts of the country, from Scotland, Wales, East Coast, London, and South of London. London arrived 14 strong at 5.30 Monday morning, having travelled all night from St. Pancras, where they were accompanied by a torch light procession composed of unemployed, policemen, and detectives. They paraded the streets of Manchester in the grey hours of the morning in search of refreshment, and serenaded the sleeping inhabitants and the few policemen with the singing of the Red Flag and the "International."

The Conference in the Town Hall

Some delay and irritation was caused by the change of venue to the Openshaw Town Hall. By 12 o'clock all the delegates were assembled. A close scrutiny was made of all delegates' credentials, and only accredited delegates representing mass organisations were admitted. The Press was excluded with the exception of the "Daily Herald." When the Chairman took his seat there were 140 delegates present, representing 90 committees situated in all parts of the country, a fact which was made evident by the variety of accents, Caledonian, Galic and Cockney which could be distinguished. They were a very business-like assembly, with a few exceptions all belonging to the Left Wing of the Labour Movement, and the majority to the Communist Party. All had something to say, and all wanted to say it, and it made the Chairman's job a very difficult one. The conference was no platform-run show, no big guns having all the say, and leaving the delegates merely as a voting machine. Propaganda speeches were not tolerated, delegates shouting down any attempt to indulge in orations. The general level of intelligence was certainly as high as in Trade Union or Labour Party Conference.

It was fairly evident that the leadership of the unemployed movement was in the hands of men and women who realised the potentialities of the unemployed. Men and women who had been active in the fight in the workshops had been the first to be thrown out.

Comrade Holt, of London, was elected Chairman. In his opening remarks he struck the note that was dominant throughout the country. "Capitalism is the cause of unemployment—the abolition of Capitalism is the only way out." The Standing Orders Committee was then elected, and after these unfortunate individuals had retired to sort out the pile of resolutions the Conference settled down to hear reports. The Secretary stated that over 140 committees were affiliated. The organisation was a powerful body. During the last few days the organisation had been instrumental in forcing from the Government a scheme of relief. The report was adopted, after discussion, during which a

Welsh delegate caused considerable amusement by stating that "in South Wales the scale secured was such that the unemployed committee were seriously contemplating taking a collection for the employed." Then followed the reports of the five Divisional Organisers, all of whom were listened to with great interest.

"Out of Work"

On Tuesday the Secretary opened the discussion on the paper "Out of Work," and outlined its early troubles of the paper. It had now been put on a paying basis with a circulation of 60,000 for a fortnightly issue. The influence of the paper was such that it had now received the attention of the authorities, and the Publisher and Printer had been summoned to appear at Bow Street to answer the charge of having printed an article in the 19th issue entitled "To the Coppers," which it was alleged was likely to cause disaffection in the Police Force. Considerable discussion took place on the paper, and much constructive criticism was offered with a view to increasing the circulation.

The evening session on Policy and Tactics was the most interesting session of the Conference. The discussion lasted for over three hours on various points of policy, and finally the following resolutions were passed:—

1. That all committees be recommended to apply for affiliation to the local Trades Councils.
2. That the N.A.C. seek representation at the Trade Union Congress.
3. That a Conference of Trade Unions in all localities be called to discuss with the local unemployed committee the question of unemployment.
4. That all committees seek representation at relief committees.
5. That local committees take steps to prevent the working of overtime of those receiving trade union rates in their local workshops by every method possible, going to the extent of closing the factories if necessary.

The following resolution on political policy was carried:—

That in view of the impending general election the National Labour Party be approached and support promised their candidates on the following terms:—

- (a) Support of the National unemployed demands.
- (b) Until the unemployed demands have been met and full maintenance provided no interest shall be paid on national debts unless to parties holding less than £100 in value.
- (c) So that industry may be restored to normal conditions, trade relationships with Russia shall immediately be resumed and all indemnities imposed by the Versailles Treaty be cancelled.

The discussion on these resolutions showed that the delegates realised the need for forcing the rank and file of the Trade Unions into the fight against reductions of standard of maintenance, and that the unemployed were prepared to assist them in this struggle for refusing to blackleg.

The delegates further realised that the fight once on would become a revolutionary struggle, and would lead the mass organisations of employed and unemployed workers to the final overthrow of Capitalism.

Wednesday morning was devoted to the situation of the unemployed organisations. This finished the business of the meeting and we concluded by singing the "Red Flag" and the "International."

[THE RED HAND:—continued from Page 3.]

In everywhere in Ireland except "Orange" Ulster, the coming of the truce has meant a cessation of strife. There where British authority is supreme (and not the Irish Republic) horror follows horror and slaughter, slaughter.

The latest is the now famous secret circular, issued by a Divisional Commissioner of the R.I.C. to his subordinates, instructing them to enrol volunteers for a "Loyalist defence corps"—such volunteers to be selected for their suitability to act as "battalion commanders" in their areas, and to be given a "free hand" in organising a military corps capable of acting in an "emergency."

Dublin Castle and Downing Street alike repudiate this circular. Craig, Premier of the Northern Government, to which control of the R.I.C. in Ulster has been hurriedly transferred, has ordered it to be "withdrawn." Still, as the circular itself avows itself prompted by reports of the "growth of unauthorised defence corps" this withdrawal will delude nobody.

The whole truth can be put in a nutshell. "Ulster" is a tool wielded by British Imperialism which will never surrender to a proletarian movement or one of proletarian potentiality so long as it possesses the power to resist by force and arms.

THE MOPLAH DEATH TRAIN

SHADE OF SURAJAH
DOWLAH (to the officer
commanding Death Train)
"Sahib, you are a great
king, and a greater ruler
than ever I was. But I
am surprised that you
make no use of modern
scientific methods of in-
flicting pain! I thought
of this sort of thing my-
self! Is this worthy of
your greatness?"

Drawn for The Communist
By ESPOIR



THE WAGES OF OFFICIALS

By "SUTIN"

MANY a time and oft have the members of the rank and file of many Unions asked the question. "Why, oh, why have not the wages of our Officials been reduced or placed on the now familiar sliding scale?" This question has now been answered by the brave spirits of the E.T.U.

But let me tell you the story from the beginning. After Black Friday the Bosses decided that the time had arrived to swat those Unions. We (as you must be painfully aware) are going through this period of swatting at the present moment. All Unions are suffering financially through unemployment. Many of the statesmen-like officials have gravely noted this development and "acted accordingly" in their negotiations on proposed reductions in their members' wages (but not in regard to their own). "I am all in favour of fighting with all my might when the time is opportune, but look at the position of the funds?" How often have we not heard this statement from the official platforms?

Now be it noted that the Officials of the London District Committee of the E.T.U. took this position to heart—I hope to shake hands with them when next I am down on a conference—they decided along with the office staff to voluntarily reduce their salaries by 20 per cent until things got better in the Union. I do not know, but I strongly suspect that this was the reason that the Head Office received a good number of resolutions demanding that the General Secretary and the Organisers should be reduced in salary, whereat, these Officials have decided to come down heavily on the rank and file. They have decided, with the approval of the E.C., to issue a circular. This circular should now be in the hands of the branch secretaries and will prove interesting reading to the members. For the benefit of the readers of THE COMMUNIST I give the circular shorn for reasons of space of unnecessary trimmings:—

ELECTRICAL TRADES UNION.

12A, WITHY GROVE,
MANCHESTER.

21st October, 1921.

FELLOW MEMBERS,

(1) Certain branches have suggested that the wages of the officials should be reduced. The grounds on which the suggestions are based appear to be:—

(a) That as the members have suffered reductions, the officials should be treated similarly.

(b) That administration costs would be lowered considerably.

(2) With regard to the first reason, our members protested in the strongest possible manner against any reductions in their wages; told the employers the reductions were grossly unfair and unwarranted, and would be resisted to the utmost of their capacity. They were accepted not because they were just, but solely because the economic position made effective resistance impossible.

If it is right to resist attempts to reduce their own wages, it cannot be either logical or right for members to attempt to lower their officials' wages.

(3) The wages of the National Officials have not been increased since January 1920, although since then advances varying from 6s. 9d. to 19s. 7d. per week, were received by our members. Surely the wages which were fixed as far back as the beginning of 1920 by a ballot showing a four to one majority cannot now be regarded as excessive.

(4) A Trade Union has no right to expect first-class service unless it is prepared to pay for it. We have made enquiries from twenty-one Unions as to wages paid.

(5) The average wages paid by these organisations are: General Secretary, £12 11s. 11d. Assistant General Secretary, £9 11s. 3½d. National Organisers, £9 1s. 0d. The wages paid by the Electrical Trades Union are: General Secretary, £9 13s. 0d. Asst. General Secretaries and National Organisers, £7 13s. 0d.

Your Officials are, therefore, already receiving pounds per week lower than the average rate paid, and rather than showing

grounds for a reduction, the figures show strong grounds for an increase.

(6) Unions such as the Electrical Power Engineers' Association, the Enginemen and Electrical Workers, catering for electrical workers, are paying their officials very much more than you are paying your officials. We feel it as bad enough to be paid less than the officials of these Unions, but it is entirely unreasonable to expect us to accept reductions which will make our rates still lower. We object most strongly to the present disparity being still further increased. Surely the *Electrical Trades Union is not to become a worse employer than the other Unions.*

(7) There still remains the second reason, namely, "That the reductions would lower the administration costs considerably." This sounds dangerously like the very argument the employers have been advancing: "Reduce wages," they say, "and we can sell more cheaply." Similarly, certain of our members say, "Reduce the Officials' wages and so reduce administration costs." But we have been contesting the employers' argument by pointing out that badly paid labour is usually found to be dear in the long run. *It is strange to hear members now trying to disprove the very argument they themselves use against the employers.*

(8) Wages reductions in the main sections of the Union show an average of approximately 9s. per week. If the officials' wages were reduced by this amount, the saving in the administrative costs would be approximately ¼d. per member per year. Even if it was applied on a percentage basis, the reduction would effect a saving of only five-sixths of a penny per year. In other words, each member is now paying one-sixtieth of a penny per week in order to keep the officials' wages at their present value.

(9) Costs for officials' wages are proportionately lower to-day than in 1914, despite the miserably low wages then paid, and that the number of officials has increased. In 1914, the total cost was 1s. 5½d. per member per year. To-day it is 10d. This means that the whole salaries of the present general officials are costing the members less than one-fifth of a penny per week.

(10) Finally, the general officials object most decidedly to any reduction, as they consider their services are well worth the salaries now being paid. Originally the wages of Trade Union officials were a disgrace, and this was one of the prime reasons why officials, after being trained to the work, migrated to Employers' Associations, and other positions where their services were more highly appreciated. Because of the varied nature of our organisation, your officials must necessarily have a closer and more general understanding of our own and other trades, than most other Union officials.

We expect you to set an example to the employers by proclaiming emphatically against lowering our standard of living.

Signed, Yours fraternally,

J. ROWAN, *General Secretary.*

R. PRAIN, *Asst. General Secretary.*

W. M. CITRINE, *Asst. General Secretary.*

J. KINNIBURGH, *National Organiser.*

T. STEWART, *National Organiser.*

The document is interesting as revealing the point of view from which Officials regard their position in the Union. They talk of it as a "job" and refer to the members as their employers. No mention is made of principles; they are only concerned with the principals.

Comment is hardly necessary of a circular of this type—it speaks for itself. I feel sure, however, that the Higher Officials of the E.T.U. would like me to point out that their statement in Clause 4 to the effect that "a Trade Union has no right to expect first-class service unless it is prepared to pay for it" does not go well beside their statement in Clause 5 that they are "receiving pounds per week less than the average rate paid." In the opening note Mr. Rowan asks for resolutions "arising therefrom"—I hope he gets them!

TO COMMUNISTS IN KENNINGTON DISTRICT.—A Meeting will be held in the South London Socialist Club, on Thursday, Dec. 1st inst. at 8 p.m., to consider the formation of a New Branch of the C.P.G.B. in Kennington and District. All interested are invited.

Communist Party of Great Britain

Publication Department

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

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By TOM MANN

Impressions gained during Tom Mann's visit as British delegate to the Red Trade Union International at Moscow, July of this year.

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CORRESPONDENCE

R.T.U.I. Recruiting Week

26/11/21.

DEAR COMRADES,—We have just received a message that the E.C. of the Red International of Labour Unions has decided that an International Red week shall be held from December 1st to December 8th. The object of this campaign is to win over as many Unions and branches of Unions as possible to the Red International of Labour Unions. It is suggested that where possible mass demonstrations be held to get publicity for our principles. If large meetings cannot be arranged, then efforts should be made to get our Speakers into as many branch meetings as we can. A systematic distribution of literature should be carried out by all Local Committees of the British Bureau, copies of all our publications, including the "Constitution" and the Report of the First Congress of the International should also form a feature of this special recruiting week.

It may be urged that lack of finance will not allow any great activity to be displayed but the comrades can carry on a vast amount of propaganda at very little cost providing the "spirit" and will to do is there. On the Continent a tremendous effort is to be made to popularise the aims and objects of the R.I.L.U., and we in this country must not lag behind in the fight. Never was the ground more favourable for revolutionary propaganda. The present position of the Unions, both nationally and internationally is proof positive of the bankruptcy of the Reformist leadership, a united effort now, and we can swing large numbers of the rank and file to see the necessity of a new outlook and the need for a strong and virile International.

In London 84 meetings have been held inside the Trade Union branches since August 25th, and for the Red Week a series of special meetings are being arranged when we are expecting a large addition to the number of branches that are already affiliated to the London Committee. What London can do, the Comrades everywhere else can do. Then to our task! May Red Week long be remembered as a splendid landmark in the work of winning the Union Movement from Amsterdam and mere reformism, to the revolutionary ideas of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Copies of the Constitution and of the Report of the First Congress can be obtained from 3, Wellington Street, London, W.C. 2, at easy terms.

"Constitution," 1/6 per dozen.

"Russia in 1921," 4/- per dozen.

"Reds in Congress," 2/3 per dozen.

Yours fraternally,

TOM MANN.

Are we Realists?

DEAR COMRADE,—How many in the Party are really Communists? Are there not a few who have not yet dropped the worship of their pre-war historic fetishes?

A *bloc* with the Labour Party at the present juncture of affairs would be sound tactics. The chief motive is to sack the Lloyd George gang in order to help Soviet Russia to tide over her internal crisis, and incidentally to strengthen, consolidate and extend the influence of our Party itself.

The F.B.I. and the high finance connected with it are behind the present Government, which represents, nationally and internationally the view point that war and the preparations for war are the only means of protecting Imperialism from ruin.

The late war has precipitated an industrial revolution and an abnormal crisis in the credit system.

Cycles of industrial depression relieved by hectic periods of revival, are likely to be the state of affairs for some time to come. Consequently the masses will be subjected to the misery of unemployment, and a reduced standard of living. Naturally low wages and increased exploitation of labour in the factory, together with spells of unemployment will induce the workers to seek remedies.

At present the Labour Party is regarded by the majority of Trade Unionists as a refuge from the storms of Imperialism. With the Labour Party in power: Henderson's in Downing Street, all's well in the Labour world. So thinks the majority.

But, after all, the Labour Party is merely the British expression of another section of national and international capitalists which believes, or professes to believe, that the collapse of capitalism may be averted by means of the League of Nations, Union of Democratic Control, Annulment of

War Debts, Sermon on the Mount, Disarmament, etc., etc.

A Communist *bloc* with the Labour Party to get rid of the Coalition villains in the piece aims at clearing the stage to enable the latter group of profiteers (camouflaged as Labour representatives) to come on and do their best to earn the hisses of the pit and gallery. In the third act there will be alarms and excursions leading up to the grand assemblage of the workers in a revolutionary climax.

All this might happen if we realise we are living in an epoch of social revolution, if we realise capitalism could be shortly overthrown were it not that the masses fail to grasp the revolutionary potentialities of the times, if we realise that owing to our present limitations we cannot possibly make progress by the ordinary methods of propaganda, if we realise that the great and immediate task of the Party is to impregnate the minds of the masses with the idea of seizing political power, establishing a Dictatorship, and setting up an Industrial Republic based on Workers' Councils, and finally, if we realise that Comrade Paul's proposal is one of many avenues whereby this ultimate objective may be achieved.

Yours fraternally,

FRED. SILVESTER.

DEAR COMRADE, Communist problems of today must be treated scientifically. It is no use muddling along hoping that the course of years will bring things all right, and so long as time is passing, progress is being made.

The reason of existence for all Communist Parties is that some day, the sooner the better, they shall take up the gage of battle with the forces of Capitalism and in the name of the workers of their country establish a working class dictatorship and working-class control over the forces of production, distribution, and consumption.

From this premise it at once follows that the question of Communist Density is of the very first importance. By Communist Density we mean the proportion of trained Communists to the population.

It is not enough that Capitalism is collapsing and will collapse. It collapsed right enough in what remained of Austria, but when it came to a question of force against force and preparation against preparation, mere changing economic conditions did not result in the expected change of political superstructure.

To say we are a "new" party, and a "young" party is also to beg the question to cover our own inefficiency. Judged by this notion the Russian Communist Party carried through their revolution almost as a "not yet born" party, which is absurd. Revolutionary parties have existed in Britain as long as in Russia. Marxism has been taught in Britain as long as in Russia, and a mere change of name adopted by the revolutionaries neither makes for any excuse of newness or of youngness.

The real question is one of revolutionary effectiveness, and the prime essential is one of Communist Density.

"Get deeper into the masses!" "Lead the Masses!"—by all means, but this cannot be done unless the organisational machinery of the Communists is big enough and broad enough in proportion to the volume of the masses to be led.

So far as can be gathered, the Bolsheviks had 10,000 trained adherents in Petrograd at the time of their revolution. Ten thousand trained Communists in a million people. A density of 1/100. A high density and a sufficient density.

Taking European densities at the present moment, first and foremost comes the Czecho-Slovakian Party, with 350,000 party members in a population of fourteen million, a density of 1/40. If those party members are trained and welded together as Communists should be, the Czecho-Slovakian revolution is only a question of opportunity as afforded by the international situation.

Secondly comes the Norwegian Party, with 15,000 members in a population of 3,000,000. Density, 1/200. Here, again, the density is a workable one to really permeate and lead the masses.

The German Party with 250,000 party members in 50,000,000 stands at the same density of 1/200.

France and Sweden with 20,000 and 120,000 party members respectively, stand each at a density of 1/300. This is still a respectable density, greatly improved in the case of Sweden by a Communist Youth membership greater than that of the party.

Now we come to Denmark. 2,500 party members in a population of 3,000,000. This

gives a density of 1/1,200. This is manifestly too low a density to get among all workers and lead them in a time of mass action.

And finally we come to our own country, Great Britain, which in a population of 40,000,000 can scarcely have more than a density of one to some thousand or thousands. We are absolutely at the bottom of the list, and to talk of one trained Communist being enough to act as leaven to a thousand of the population is a lunatic proposal. As well try to eat iron away with acid of the strength of 1/1000 parts of water. Any chemist would tell you, you might just as well spit on the iron so far as effective results are concerned.

This, then, follows from the foregoing, that now and for some time forward the main task of the Party is to grow. To make members and to train members. To concentrate attention, not on the high clouds of international situations, but on the material at hand, our membership and our potential membership. *To concentrate on recruiting.*

Instead of coalescing three branches to form one large branch, the operation should go the other way. As soon as a branch attains a membership where "jobs" can no longer be found for new members, split the local branch into two parts, and continue recruiting.

Italy has two thousand locals. We need three thousand. Just like Kitchener made his "cadres" for his new armies, so must we make our "cadres" for our political organisation. Until we are a hundred thousand strong, with a density of 1/400, we are of no practical use at all.

Until we are 200,000 strong with a density of 1/200, the prospect of realising the object of our existence is not a practical proposition.

Too long in this country have the devotees of the very small but terribly pure parties held sway. Twenty years wasted in futility because there was no practical common sense among the seas of dialectics.

The Bolshevik Revolution was won in the training school of Lonjuneaux, near Paris. There Lenin personally trained his own propagandists and permeaters, that in after years achieved his victory. It is in training and preparation that we should now be busy. To pretend that a party cannot double itself and sufficiently train one new member for every existing member every six months, is treachery to the revolution. It can be done, and it must be done. At this rate it would take but two-and-a-half years to get our workable density. If that time the international revolution will be upon us. If we fail then the fault will lie through our jogging along and our caution and conservatism in these quiet days before the battle.

And what has all this to do with political tactics, *blocs* with the Labour Party, and such like amusements of the "realists?" Just this, that now and for a very long time all such questions are of very secondary consideration.

Honest men love the Bolsheviks much more than they do the Communists. Think it out. As a revolutionary organism first and foremost, and a political party last and rearmost, we want an organisation of preparedness—what for?—to vote this way and that way and make speeches? No. To prepare to take over the administration of the processes of production, of distribution, of consumption.

So long as we keep our eyes on the real goal and the way to reach it, and do not get bogged on political flypaper, any old tactic is good enough on the political field, so long as Communists do not enter Parliament. It is not the political tactic, but the recruiting and organising tactic that the realists have need to busy themselves about.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

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