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Review of the Month

One Year Old

THE Communist Party of Great Britain is now twelve months old. No other political organisation in the country has been so much discussed during the past year. Every newspaper in the land finds it necessary to devote some part of its space to the doings of the Communists. No speaker, in dealing with a social or political subject, ever leaves the platform without making a reference to the propaganda work of the Reds. To us it makes not the slightest difference that the Press and the orators of the orthodox political parties use their marvellous instruments of publicity to attack our policy and tactics. It is the fact that they are compelled, out of sheer terror, to spend so much of their energy in denouncing us that demonstrates the real measure of our influence. They understand that the power of Communism in Britain is something much greater than the membership of the Communist Party. They realise that the potential strength of the Communist Party rests in its tactics of stimulating every discontented element in society towards revolution. Until the Communist Party was formed there were two socialist groups in this country. There were several organisations, but there were only *two* policies. On the one hand

there was the reformist and opportunist element, which exploited social upheavals for personal aggrandisement or for parliamentary careers ; to this element real socialist progress consisted in the number of seats in the House of Commons it could capture. On the other hand, there was the small band of unbending revolutionary doctrinaires, which was so hide-bound by a series of theoretical and abstract formulas, that it was impossible for it to act during any serious crisis. Thus the capitalist class had no reason to fear either the opportunist-reformers or the theoretical revolutionaries.

The reason why the Communists are so savagely criticised by the propertied interests, and the various public organs of capitalism, is because they use their theoretical knowledge, not to propound a series of bombastic and high-sounding abstract precepts, but to understand the full ramification of the concrete problems immediately pressing heavily upon the workers. Instead of standing upon the top of the mountain of Theory, the Communists descend into the valley of Reality and mingle with the masses. The Communists keep in the closest contact with the masses, and strengthen them in all their struggles. Every Communist, no matter where he is, is a radiating centre of revolutionary energy. And when a social crisis comes along, the whole party membership becomes a disciplined battalion ; it operates in every sphere of social activity, and concentrates all its attention upon undermining capitalism, by deepening the hatred of the masses against the present social system. It is this policy that capitalism fears, hence the frenzied attacks upon the Communist Party in every reactionary journal in the country.

Labour Party Responsibility

AS an illustration of the two fatuous policies of the socialist parties, above referred to, take the case of unemployment. The ultra-Left doctrinaires, when faced with a hungry mob, want to postpone action until the *future*—until the social revolution. The practical-minded statesmen of the extreme Right are equally hopeless when confronted with the starving unemployed. Take for example Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald's speech at the unemployed conference, held in the Memorial Hall, London, a few weeks ago. Was this social reformer able to outline an immediate policy of action, to be put into operation by the hungry masses? Certainly not. But he taunted the starving wretches for their political ignorance in 1918.

The Labour Party views every aspect of the social problem from the standpoint of transmuting working-class grievances into parliamentary votes. It is endeavouring to exploit the unemployed workers by attempting to show that the present crisis, with its starvation and misery, is due to the Lloyd George government. It is brazenly proclaiming that the Labour Party policy would have averted such a calamity, if only the masses had voted for its candidates at the last General Election. It is very important that this claim should be exposed, and that increased-production Clynes, indemnity MacDonald, Black Friday Thomas, and anti-Soviet Snowden, should be forced to realise that *they* are as much

responsible for the prevailing misery of the hungry unemployed as any reactionary upholder of the present government. In another part of the *Review*, in the article on "Unemployment and the Responsibility of the Labour Party," it is clearly demonstrated that the Labour statesmen have sided with the imperialists on every important issue directly responsible for the chaos and misery of the working-class to-day. These gentlemen have flouted every drastic proposal of a revolutionary nature aimed at capitalism and the propertied interests. A close study of the cross-examination in the recent anti-Communist libel action showed that one of the most distinguished members of the Labour Party was much more concerned in defeating the Communists than at fighting the capitalist class.

As time passes it will be amply proven that the function of the Labour Party, in British politics, is to protect the propertied interests from the revolutionary assaults of the hungry masses led by the Communist Party.

Short-sighted Labourism

MANY well-meaning people are amazed that the leaders of the parliamentary Labour party should be showing so little interest in the present precarious position of the trade union movement. It is a perfectly simple matter to understand why little or no concern is being evinced, regarding the fate of the industrial organisations by these tame aspiring statesmen. Those who are closely acquainted with the innermost thoughts of the Labour politicians know that they were not at all depressed at the crushing defeats suffered by the masses, on the industrial field, during the past twelve months. Some of these politicians welcomed the industrial debacle which, they hoped, would teach the workers the futility of "direct action," and make them look towards parliament as the proper place for settling disputes between Capital and Labour. Many of the leaders imagined that the industrial defeats would set up a reaction in favour of parliamentary action. Those who hold this view, and many of them do, are as superficial as they are shortsighted. The approaching bankruptcy of the trade unions is going to mean financial disaster for the Labour Party. The reason why this has been overlooked by so many of them is because the party is over-run with middle-class careerists who do not understand, and who do not even sympathise with, the industrial activity of the masses. Very speedily these Labour politicians will realise that the industrial strength or weakness of Labourism manifests itself politically.

There are many of the trade union leaders, who perform most gracefully and tamely in the House of Commons, who do not seem to be worrying overmuch at the coming crash of the unions. The lessons taught by the industrial upheavals during 1921 made them understand that, as trade union leaders during a mass industrial struggle, they might find themselves, as J. H. Thomas did before Black Friday, leading a movement in which success for the masses meant plunging the country into a revolutionary crisis. When the industrial conflict passes beyond the negotiating stage, when it

means an open attack upon capitalism, when it demands deeds of an heroic nature, when it involves self-sacrifice in the fight—then the whole bunch of present-day trade union leaders prefer to desert the industrial field of *action*, and retire to the parliamentary chamber, where fighting means tame *talking*.

A series of factors have contributed towards making the Labour Party a parliamentary force. One of these was the large influx of members into the Trade Union Movement during 1919 and 1920. The industrial defeats of 1921, the cowardly attitude of the labour leaders regarding Black Friday, have not driven the workers towards labour politics; on the contrary, thousands of them are leaving the trade unions, and are becoming disgusted, apathetic, and cynical.

Had the Communist Party been larger, more efficient, and mature, things would have gone much differently than they did in 1921.

A Year of Servility

I921 was the servile year, and history will record it as such. Not only did the moderate Labour movement, on the political and industrial fields, carry out magnificent acts of black treachery, but we find that even one of the labour publishing firms gave an unsurpassed performance in the disgusting and slavish art vulgarly known as "belly dancing." We refer, of course, to the National Labour Press, which is one of the many side shows run by the leaders of the I.L.P. in their interests, and over which the rank and file have no control.

Last year, when the Communist Party was being bitterly attacked by the Government, the National Labour Press, in order to curry favour with the police, and without any warning, suddenly refused to publish the *Communist*. This attack, by devoted and righteous upholders of the rights of a "free press," was all the more sinister inasmuch as the paper was actually stopped after it had been set up, and even after printing had commenced. Following upon this the National Labour Press rushed forward with an undertaking that it would never print any Communist literature, and gratefully signed disgraceful and abject terms such as no self-respecting capitalist firm would have accepted.

Many rank and file members of the I.L.P. resented the attitude of the National Labour Press. Many of them tried to find some little consolation in the fact that, after all, it was the N.L.P. that published the *Communist* when that fearless organ made its terrific onslaught upon the "Black Friday" traitors. Even this consoling feeling has been filched from these members by the following note which appeared in the *Labour Leader* (December 8th, 1921). The *Labour Leader*, in commenting upon the libel case, says:—

After the writ for libel had been issued, and previous to the date being fixed for hearing of the case, the directors arranged for a statement to be submitted to Mr. J. H. Thomas's solicitors. The statement was as follows:—

Dear Sirs,—With reference to the proceedings for libel brought by your client, the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas, M.P., against the National Labour Press, Limited, and others in respect of certain issues of the "Communist," we desire to make it perfectly clear that our clients, the National Labour Press, Limited, freely admit that they printed the issues complained of, and supplied them to their customers for distribution. Such action on their part, of course, amounted to "publication" in the legal sense of the word, but they were not publishers of the paper in the ordinary sense, and not a single director or other responsible person connected with the company had any desire to libel Mr. Thomas, or was aware that anything which might be considered to be of a defamatory character was being printed about him.

Immediately upon attention being called to the nature of the publications complained of in these actions, the persons actually responsible came forward and assumed responsibility, and, without doing anything to prejudice the other defendants in whatever course they think fit to take, our clients, the National Labour Press, Limited, are now, and always have been, prepared to say in the most public manner possible that they do not themselves make any allegation against the plaintiff; they do not justify the libels complained of, and they tender to the plaintiff the fullest and most sincere apology for having been the means of printing and circulating any statements of the kind.

This has been the attitude of our clients all along, and on the advice of our counsel, Mr. Kingsbury, we are writing this letter, not for the purpose of offering a belated and grudging retraction, but in order that their position may be made clear in a form which can be read in court or communicated to the Press.—Yours faithfully,

SCOTT DUCKERS & COMPANY.

Messrs. Pattinson and Brewer,
30, Great James Street,
Bedford Row, W.C.1.

The final squeal of the *Labour Leader* is significant. After sending such a letter it reports that "the action was ultimately brought into court, and Mr. Thomas awarded £2,000 damages and costs."

A very good test to judge between the respective qualities of the *Labour Leader* and *Communist* as working class papers is to read their comments on the Thomas libel action. The former emitted the above servile squeak, whereas the latter was as brilliantly and as devilishly provoking as usual.

The Free Press and Free Oxford

EVERY other day supplies some new fact to illustrate the hollowness of the democratic pretensions of the modern social system. One day we read that the Town Council of Birmingham refuses to permit the Communist Party to use the Town Hall. The excuse put forward is that the C.P. is so small. It is interesting to note that the largest labour demonstration held in Birmingham for years was organised by the Communist Party in the Town Hall. Two Labour councillors, let us put on record for their credit, spoke in favour of the Communists having a meeting in the Town Hall; when the votes were taken several Labour members voted *against* the much-vaunted right of free speech.

At Oxford, which imports nice young men and exports prigs, the University authorities have not only made an onslaught on free speech, but they have expelled the editors of the *Young Oxford*, a University journal run by students. This high-handed piece of

democratic despotism, which viciously illustrates the "impartial" attitude of the educational powers in a university, proves what our worthy contemporary, *The Plebs*, has been saying for years.

Facts such as these, and they occur with automatic regularity every other day, demonstrate the Communist criticism of modern democracy. "Why," said a distinguished Labour parliamentarian to an able young workman who had joined the Communist Party, "why do you believe in Communism?" "Because," said the new recruit, "the Communists have all the experiences of history and the actions of the present to prove their case."

The Present Strength of the Communist International

THE following list was prepared by M. Rákosi, one of the secretaries of the E.C. of the Communist International. The list is not complete; some parties and many figures having been overlooked:—

	Country.	Party members.	Daily papers.	Periodicals.
1	U.S.A.	10,000	7	31
2	Austria	18,000	1	3
3	Great Britain	10,000	—	3
4	Argentina	5,000	1	1
5	Australia	1,500	—	2
6	Armenia	5,000	—	1
7	Azerbedjan*	16,000	—	—
8	Bulgaria	40,000	1	11
9	Belgium	1,100	—	1
10	Buchara, People's Rep.	6,000	—	2
11	Hungary*†	—	—	1
12	Greece	2,000	1	3
13	Germany	360,000	33	9
14	Holland	4,000	1	2
15	Georgia, Soc. Soviet Rep.	11,000	4	5
16	Gorsk,* " "	10,000	—	—
17	Denmark	1,200	1	1
18	Daghestan, Soc. Soviet Rep.	7,000	—	—
19	Far Eastern Republic	7,095	6	—
20	Egypt	1,500	—	—
21	Italy	70,000	3	12
22	Spain	10,000	—	6
23	Iceland	3,000	1	—
24	Canada	1,000	—	1
25	China*	—	—	—
26	Korea*†	—	—	—
27	Luxembourg	600	—	1
28	Yava	4,000	—	1
29	Latvia*†	—	—	—
30	Mexico	1,200	—	3
31	Norway	97,000	14	22
32	Poland*†	—	—	—
33	Persia	2,000	—	1
34	Palestine	500	—	—
35	Portugal	400	—	1
36	Roumania	40,000	3	6
37	Russia S.F.S.R.*††	550,000	500	69
38	Turkey*†	—	—	2
39	Ukrania, Soc. Soviet Rep.	61,000	45	2

	<i>Country.</i>	<i>Party members.</i>	<i>Daily papers.</i>	<i>Perio- dicals.</i>
40	Uruguay	1,500 ...	1 ...	—
41	France	130,000 ...	3 ...	20
42	Finland	40,000 ...	3 ...	6
43	Chival, People's Rep.*	1,000 ...	— ...	1
44	Chile*	— ...	— ...	—
45	Sweden	15,000 ...	2 ...	10
46	Switzerland	6,000 ...	3 ...	1
47	Czecho-Slovakia	360,000 ...	7 ...	45
48	Esthonia	3,000 ...	1 ...	—
49	South America (?)	750 ...	— ...	2
50	Yugoslavia*†‡§	85,000 ...	4 ...	3
51	Japan*†	900 ...	— ...	2
52	Communist Youth International...	800,000 ...	— ...	50
	Total ...	2,800,245 ...	646 ...	349

* No precise data.

*† The Party is working illegally.

*†‡ Approximate figure, according to the reports on the purification of the Party.

*†‡§ Before the beginning of the white terror. At present the Party is working illegally.

Have You had Your Card?

Several of the most energetic branches have had their **COMMUNIST REVIEW** advertisement cards sent to them. But some branches have not ordered a card. Why? We do not know. These cards are beautifully designed and artistically coloured. There are several uses for them.

Get the **COMMUNIST** newsagent to display one in his shop. He will do this if you place an order for six **COMMUNIST REVIEWS** every month.

Take a card to every Communist meeting and place it in a prominent position. Be careful, of course, to take some **REVIEWS** with you. Get the speaker, or the chairman to draw attention to the card and the **REVIEW**. You then catch the audience leaving the hall. Don't be afraid to let them know that you have copies of the **REVIEW** for sale.

Send for a Card To-day

White Guards in America

Truth about the American Legion

A Warning to Parliamentary Democrats

By ARTHUR WARNER

A Super-Government

BY the Constitution of the United States three branches of Government were established; the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. In the last two years a fourth has been set up; the American Legion. Organised ostensibly to continue the friendships that developed in the fighting forces and to advance the legitimate interests of former service men, the Legion has grown away from that into a super-Government. It gives orders to public officers, and is fearfully consulted by them; it is accorded quasi-official standing through the privilege of occupying Government buildings, as in New York City, where it enjoys commodious offices in the Hall of Records, or in Arkansas, where the old State House at Little Rock was turned over to it; it has received from the War Department in advance of publication the so-called "slacker lists," ostensibly to rectify errors, but with possibilities of abuse that can readily be imagined; it has established a censorship of public meetings and by actual or threatened violence suppresses freedom of speech; it is attempting to dictate the instruction in our public schools and pass upon the qualifications of the teachers; although nominally non-political, it has actually sponsored a host of bigoted and repressive laws and policies, impeding the return of the rest of the community to a more normal existence. Elsewhere, we are slowly yet noticeably demobilising our intolerant 100 per centism, deflating our hysterical super-patriotism. Not so the American Legion, which is attempting to perpetuate the war psychology as its contribution to peace.

This is a curious and a dangerous situation, peculiar to America. In Europe the ex-soldiers are found, generally, with the progressive, not to say radical, forces. Our army, of course, had a unique experience. Half of those mobilised did not get to Europe, and only a part of those who did engaged in actual fighting. None knew the prolonged physical hardships or spiritual torment that so many went through in the European armies. Still, our youth is our most progressive and hopeful element, and our former service men are fairly representative of it. How then explain the American Legion? Simply on the ground that it never was—and is now less than ever—representative of our former service men. From its inception in France, the Legion was more or less distrusted by the rank and file because of the dominance of officer and "silk stocking" elements, while the policies that it has stood for in this country have alienated the great proportion of liberal-minded and law-abiding young men who were its potential recruits. After a

short period of mushroom growth, the Legion began to go downhill and has lost probably 25 per cent. from its high-water membership, which was never in proportion to its bombastic claims. Its present enrolment is perhaps around 600,000, about one-eighth of the former service men of the country. Its prestige is due to the influential position of its organisers, by which it has gained much attention from the Press and been proclaimed to the public as the one Simon-pure ex-soldier organisation. It is regarded as the voice of our former fighting forces, when in reality it is only an unrepresentative undertone.

It is time that the public awoke to the facts.

“ To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good-will on earth ”—these are among the objects stated in the constitution of the American Legion, but the way the public has become best acquainted with the organisation is through its manifold violations of all these principles. It is only fair to say that the Legion is often held responsible for acts that are the work of others. In almost any miscellaneous gathering there are likely to be some former service men. They may be only spectators or may not belong to the Legion, but in case of mob action the real instigators are usually desirous of shifting responsibility to other shoulders, and the newspapers are ever ready to say that the happening was the work of Legion men. Unfortunately, there are so many similar cases for which the Legion is responsible that the newspapers and the public are scarcely to be blamed for failure to distinguish. It is also true that the Legion is frequently egged on to lawlessness by yellow newspapers or unscrupulous business interests; but a modicum of persuasion often suffices.

Glaring Case of Violence

A GLARING and authenticated case of violence at the hands of Legion men occurred as recently as May 16th last, when Arthur Clark, editor of the *Carpinteria (California) Herald*, was whipped with a rawhide until his body was swollen with bruises because he had written some articles about the Legion that were resented by the local post, of which he was formerly a member. Mr. Clark was waited upon by a committee of six men, who dragged him to the Legion hall and into a prize ring (one of the attractions!) where he was told that he must cease his articles and print a retraction under a two-column head. The alternative was to put on the gloves for a bout with any member of the committee, the loser to receive fifty lashes with a rawhide. Mr. Clark is small and middle-aged, and knowing that he stood no chance with any one of the husky young men of the committee, he folded his arms and answered “ Well, consider me beaten right now.” The ringleader then rained lashes upon him until his body was criss-crossed from shoulders to knees. Five members of the committee were subsequently fined \$100 apiece by a justice of the peace, before whom the leader said that while the treatment meted out to the editor had had the approval of the post members in

advance, official action had not been taken, as that would have required a meeting with five days' notice. In any event, the post accepted responsibility, declaring that the committee "was not instructed in accordance with the principles of the American Legion," and asserting "regret that we, through our representatives, were instrumental in this expression of violence, and that we desire through this resolution to make amends for the act of the said committee."

The case of Frederick Reis, Junr., a young lawyer, is similar because he, too, was a member of the Legion—Robert E. Bentley, Post, No. 50. Mr. Reis was subpoenaed as a witness in connection with a raid on the headquarters of the Communist Labour Party in Cincinnati. His story was damaging to the Legion and, confessedly because of this, members seized him in Dayton, Ohio, threw him from a high bridge into the mud and water of a river, and went away regardless of what fate might overtake him.

This raid in Cincinnati was only one of many that have been perpetrated upon headquarters of Communists and Socialists. The place was wrecked and the literature was thrown into the street and burned. A suit for damages was brought against the post; but although the essential facts were not disputed, the jury returned a verdict in favour of the Legion. The commander of the post was quoted as saying exultantly: "The verdict is a warning to all that the distribution of seditious literature, and seditious meetings, will not be permitted in Cincinnati."

In the autumn of 1919 the offices of *The World*, a Socialist weekly published in Oakland, California, were entered, according to the newspaper's own account, by members of the American Legion, who broke the glass doors, smashed the showcase, and strewed books and papers in the street, setting fire to them.

Meetings Broken Up

ALL over the country in the past two years Socialist meetings have been broken up or prevented, and speakers have been intimidated or run out of town. The speaking tour in the East of Irwin St. John Tucker in the autumn of 1919 was a series of interruptions, attributed by him primarily to the American Legion. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, where a permit to speak was refused, the assistant chief of police said specifically that the action was taken because of a protest by the Legion. In Springfield, Massachusetts, Mr. Tucker omitted his speech at the request of the chief of police. According to an Associated Press dispatch: "The request of Chief Quilty resulted from an ultimatum given the city authorities on Thursday by Springfield Post, American Legion, that it would hold them responsible for any breach of the peace or demonstration which might result from seditious speeches." Later, however, the city officials repented of so meekly knuckling under to the Legion, and invited Mr. Tucker to return and speak. The official American Legion Weekly openly boasted that the organisation in Providence had prevented Victor Berger from speaking there. Interference with Socialist meetings reached

such a stage towards the end of 1919 that in December a letter was sent from the national office in Chicago to Franklin D'Olier, then national commander of the Legion, in which it was said:—

In city after city, delegations from the local Legion post would wait on the mayor and tell him that if the meeting scheduled for that town was not called off there would be bloodshed and murder. . . . In other instances Legion posts have banded themselves together to prevent the organisation of labour unions, such as in the case of the steel workers in Waukegan, Illinois, and the case of Bogalusa, Louisiana, where Legionaries murdered four union men for the crime of wanting to organise a labour union.

Fighting The Communists

LARGELY as a result of that protest, probably, Mr. D'Olier issued an excellent statement soon after in which he warned members of the Legion against taking the law into their own hands or interfering with public officials. The statement was excellent, but as has always been true of fine words from Legion officers, it was accompanied by no adequate disciplinary action against offending posts or individuals. Probably less because of admonition than of flagging interest in Socialist-baiting, there has not been so much direct interference with meetings of the Party lately, but the custom is far from ended. As this article is in preparation, news comes from Minot, North Dakota, that a lecture by Kate Richards O'Hare, to have been given on June 13th, was called off, the local Legion post having passed a resolution that it was ready "to take whatever action is necessary to prevent her appearance to lecture."

American Legion propaganda was undoubtedly largely responsible for inducing a state of public opinion which made possible the refusal to seat lawfully elected Socialist members of the New York Assembly—one of the most flagrant violations of constitutional government that "100 per cent. Americanism" has perpetrated—but it should be said to the credit of the organisation that the National Americanism Commission of the Legion disapproved of it by resolution. Nevertheless, when the ousted assemblymen presented themselves for re-election, the Legion in Bronx County announced its intention to "patrol" their meetings and prevent any "seditious" utterances.

Opposition to the Non-partisan League and the Industrial Workers of the World, in regions where those organisations are prominent, has been carried on by American Legion members even more bitterly and lawlessly than against Communists or Socialists.

The action of the American Legion in Detroit, when "Big Bill" Haywood planned to speak there shortly after his conviction in Chicago, is a notorious instance of interference with public officers. Mayor Couzens said that Haywood had a right to speak and would be permitted to do so as long as he remained within the law. When David G. Jones, adjutant of the Charles A. Larned Post, No. 1, heard this, he replied, according to the Detroit

Journal: "Regardless of what Mayor Couzens says, Haywood will not speak in Detroit. At our regular meeting on Wednesday night a vigilance committee was appointed for the very purpose of preventing any speech by Haywood in Detroit. He will not speak." What happened subsequently is told in a letter dated September 14th, 1920, from James W. Inches, Detroit's chief of police, to Arthur Woods, then chairman of the National Americanism Commission of the Legion.

A meeting to be addressed by W. D. Haywood in the Arena in this city, which holds five or six thousand people very easily, was very freely advertised, and the American Legion became excited over the matter, and held several meetings at which Haywood was quoted as defaming the returned soldiers in bitter language, one remark being that he had referred to them as a "bunch of cooties." Several of the American Legion posts formed a definite plan to storm the Haywood meeting, not to enter into any debate, as you were informed, but to storm the meeting, and a band of music had been hired for that purpose. The cooler and more reliable officers of the Legion, including the commander of the largest post, assured me that there would be over three thousand of the boys in line who would march to the meeting on Sunday afternoon and break it up. They assured me that if the meeting was held there would be bloodshed, and I saw plainly that there would be no way to prevent a clash, so I wired Mr. Haywood at Toledo that, owing to the threatening condition of affairs caused by his remarks concerning returned soldiers, I had prohibited the meeting.

I then, supported by many of the officers of the American Legion, brought about a decision in the Legion to ignore Haywood entirely, and he came here and held his meeting several weeks later.

A dispatch from Lodi, California, to the San Francisco *Examiner*, dated January 28th last, said:—

Called upon the carpet before the American Legion meeting here upon a charge of defacing a picture of President Wilson, which was displayed in the office of their realty firm, Samuel and John Lochenmaier, wealthy residents, have since been ordered to dispose of their property and leave Lodi. The notice was served by Major Garrison, commander of the post.

100 Per Cent Americanism

OF course, the Legion has always been keen in the pursuit of anything branded as "radical" or "bolshevist." Thus the People's Church, of Louisville, Kentucky, was compelled to disband because of "economic pressure" brought by the Jefferson Post, which charged John G. Stilli, the pastor, with anarchistic teachings. The "economic pressure" consisted chiefly of visiting advertisers in the church publication and inducing them to withdraw their support. In New Brunswick, New Jersey, a campaign was made against "extremist" newspapers and magazines by visiting all the dealers and getting them to withdraw the offending publications from sale. One of the Legion's most cruel pieces of interference was directed against the Mennonites of Mississippi,

because of their German speech and pacifist doctrine. The State Convention called upon the prosecuting officers of Mississippi to proceed against the Mennonite settlement, and asked Legion members to take lawful steps to prevent its continuance. What lawful steps it was possible for Legion members to take was not indicated. Nor does the Legion disdain to use the cover of "100 per cent. Americanism" to attack its rivals. In El Paso, Texas, a couple of months ago, the City Council forbade the circulation of a leaflet of the World War Veterans because the attorney for the local Legion post objected to its contents. The leaflet contained the programme of the World War Veterans and an appeal for members.

Agitation in the Legion over "pro-Germans" and pacifists has been less pronounced lately than it once was. During and directly after the war whoever thought first to call his opponent "pro-German" won the argument. This reply is now less convincing as a sole answer to an opinion with which one does not agree, while it is again becoming almost respectable to be a pacifist. It must not be forgotten, however, that American Legion opposition was largely responsible for upsetting the concert tour of an artist of international reputation, Fritz Kreisler, in the winter of 1919-20. The New York County organisation of the Legion attempted to raise its voice in defence of the violinist by inviting him to play at a concert under its auspices, but pressure from other quarters within the Legion led to the abandonment of the project. Objection by the American Legion to the attempt to revive German opera in New York City led to riots, while efforts to aid even German or Austrian children by American charity have been resisted. When the Mayor of Pittsburg gave permission for a "tag day" for such a purpose, the humane Legionaries of the city declared they would not permit collections, threatening even to patrol the streets with rifles, and compelling the Mayor to leave the reviewing stand before they would pass it in the Armistice Day parade.

Protecting Profits

ONE of the most recent and in many ways remarkable anti-German outbreaks of the Legion is that in the motion-picture industry of California. The *Los Angeles Times* of May 8th said:—

"The American Legion at 8.40 o'clock last night won a complete victory in the first open fight in this country on the German-made film issue, when Hollywood Post, after a day of picketing and rioting lasting more than six hours, caused Miller's Theatre to stop its performance of the German-made "Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" and to put on in its place a Los Angeles-made film.

"The playhouse, which had started the picture early in the afternoon for a two weeks' run, capitulated only after it had been picketed for hours by hundreds of men in uniform, and after the disturbance at its entrance had gone to such extremes that two mob rushes had been attempted, rotten eggs had been hurled, and police and provost guard forces had been reinforced until they numbered thirty-five men."

Ten days later the same newspaper announced that at a meeting of the Loyal American Film League it had been decided to send a representative to Chicago, New York, Washington, and other cities in an effort to spread the campaign against German-made motion pictures. According to a reliable correspondent in California "the agitation leading up to this riot (that at the theatre) made no attempt to conceal the simple economic motive. About 90 per cent. of the Hollywood Post of the American Legion are employed in the film industry, or rather unemployed in that industry." A humorous side of the incident is that "The Money Changers," the American film which was substituted for "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," is from a novel of Upton Sinclair!

According to recent information the Legion is responding handsomely to an attempt to use it as a cat's paw to obtain from Congress a prohibitive tariff against German films. The *New York World* comments:—

"They (moving picture patrons) will be curious to know why an American art industry which was supposed to be the foremost in the world has to be safeguarded against foreign competition just like shoes or clothes? Are not American movies the most wonderful ever conceived? If they happen to be the most costly, that disadvantage was presumed to be offset by their superior quality. . . . Motion picture production in this country is suffering from inflation, with all the waste and inefficiency that characterises that condition. . . . Competition from Germany or anywhere else should help instead of hindering its artistic and commercial development."

Against the Legion's long, long trail of lawlessness there have not been lacking protests from official and influential quarters within the organisation, but they have not been backed by disciplinary measures, and commonly have been offset by utterances of a contrary sort from equally important sources. Mention has already been made of Franklin D'Olier's warning against interference with public officers. Unfortunately, almost simultaneously, the American Legion *Weekly* gloated editorially: "Local posts may be said to have established a sharp vigil over the functioning of local government. They are seeing to it that neither sins of omission nor commission are permitted to flourish when it comes to matters of law and order and sound Americanism." In the political campaign last autumn, Hugh W. Robertson made an excellent declaration on behalf of the New York State organisation of the Legion, concluding: "I doubt if there will be a single open manifestation of force by any American Legion post in this State toward any of the Socialist speakers." Capital! But at the same time one finds Wilbur Wright, vice-chairman of the Legion in the Bronx, quoted in the *New York Times* as saying:—

"Last year, the members of the Balsom Post, operating with a small force of men, were able to put a curb on disloyal speakers in this borough. We have five thousand Legion men here, and if the State Assembly outlaws these Socialists, it only necessarily

follows that they shall not impose their rantings on the good people of the Bronx."

Lawlessness and physical interference by Legion members have apparently decreased in the last year, but this represents less a change of heart in the organisation than a tendency in the nation at large away from the violence begotten of the war. The Legion is cutting out the "rough stuff." The methods are changing, but the temper remains; it is expressing itself in demands for laws and policies of repression and suppression.

(From the *American Nation*.)

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Women's Review

THE task of the International Secretariat of Communist Women consists of awakening the working-woman from her age-long passivity, of giving her confidence in herself, of drawing her into the revolutionary movement, and of obtaining her entrance into the Communist International.

The International Secretariat is at present composed of the following comrades: Klara Zetkin, Hertha Sturm (Germany), Lucie Colliard (France), and three Russian secretaries attached to the Executive of the Communist International, comrades Lilina, Kasparowa, and Kollontay. The latter is a member of the Executive as well. One of the secretaries has charge of liaison with the Red Trade-Union International.

At the present time the International Secretariat is devoting itself to two campaigns: Firstly, relief for Russia, and as most important, aid for mothers and children; and secondly, a protest against the aggressive policy of the bourgeois states against Soviet Russia. In August the International Secretariat through its Berlin representatives addressed an appeal to the working-women of the world for the famine-stricken in Russia—an appeal which found an immediate response in several countries. The Women's Section of the Swedish Communist Party has taken over the maintenance of a children's home in the famished provinces. Collections and conferences have taken place in Germany.

Besides the measures demanded by the Executive for relief to the famine-stricken, the International Secretariat has drawn the attention of women in all countries to the necessity of rescuing the children victims of the famine.

The International Secretariat has decided against the sending of starving children from the famished regions to foreign countries for political and economic as well as purely practical reasons. It invites, on the other hand the Women Communist Sections of various countries to assume the care and maintenance of all the children of a province, of a region, or of a children's asylum, according to their resources. When the French or English working-women know that the lives and well-being of all the children in a given locality depend upon their activity, it is not to be doubted that the intensity of their work will be increased ten-fold.

Such acts will have an undeniably beneficial influence upon international solidarity. But in order that they assume tangible shape the foreign sections must send their representatives into Russia and the International Secretariat must establish a permanent connection between those supported and foreign countries. The second measure under consideration in the struggle against the famine is the international relief of *children by children*. The initiative of proletarian children ought to be able to show itself in such acts of solidarity which will strengthen the bonds of international brotherhood in the coming generation. In this respect the simplest gestures of assistance, such as gifts of school notebooks, pencils and slates for the suffering children, are of material as well as moral aid.

The International Secretariat is also occupied with the organisation of Communist Saturdays for the benefit of the famishing. These can be devoted to the salvaging of old clothes in the making of children's clothing, etc. The Secretariat is also devoting its attention to the question of unemployment of women. Its organ is the *Working-Women's International*, published in German at Berlin, started last April. The International Secretariat has sent an organiser into the Far East, and is making preparations for the first conference of the women of the Near East.

In general, we may derive the greatest satisfaction from the progress made by the International Secretariat of Communist Women. It may be said that it has, in one year of activity, succeeded in establishing itself on a solid foundation amongst the feminine proletariat, and that it is to-day able to effectively collaborate in the work of the Communist International.

Women in Soviet Russia

THE short, inglorious Kerensky régime, so rich in phrases, and so poor in deeds, made it clear to the working men that their cause was lost if they did not take it into their own hands. During the short "Blossom-time" of the liberal democracy and the rule of the Mensheviks it dawned upon the women that in spite of all the phrase-mongering concerning equal rights for women, their freedom from economic and political slavery and family servitude, could only be brought about by a working-class which has attained to power. To this end, numerous working-women fought side by side with the proletarians in the October days. At first, however, the large masses of proletarian women did not understand the great upheaval. First and foremost they expected bread and freedom from the new government. However, after the end of the War, as the workers and peasants once more had to protect the acquisitions—land, management, and means of production—which they had wrested from the "lawful" possessors in fierce struggles against the former owners, and as these new wars aggravated matters instead of removing the old misery, there arose a dangerous enemy for the Soviet Power, the army of women.

The unrestricted exploitation of women, the rigorous ban put upon organisations and strikes, the lack of a labour-press, illiteracy, and the spiritual darkness in which the workers were kept by the Czarist régime, the indissolubility of marriage, the subjugation of woman through the family, the complete absence of aid for mothers and children—all these things had set the woman back and made her unable to appreciate the full value of the social upheaval.

With a stroke of the pen the Soviet Government put an end to the century-old, useless, bourgeois-liberal dispute over the superiority or inferiority of women and the granting of equal rights. In the first place it granted equal wages for equal work, and furthermore, it opened to women all government positions, even to the very highest. The workers' and peasants' government, which needed the co-operation of women, realised from the start that, for the proclamation of equal rights for women to be a living reality, all those chains must fall which check woman's freedom of movement

and hinder her from making use of her new rights. Contracting of marriage as well as divorce had to be made easier. For the Russian working-women who under Czarism went from the hands of the father into those of the husband as an object devoid of will, a creature looked down upon, and even mistreated—for her, the decree which made divorce easy meant the opening of her prison, so that for the first time a living ray of light reached her from the outer world. After having been freed from the slavery of capitalism the woman had to be freed also from family duties, from household burdens, the support and bringing-up of children before she could take part unhindered in the social process. The Soviet Government recognised motherhood as a social performance, and took over *the care of the* pregnant mother, and the child. It took over the education, maintenance and training of the growing youth.

Protection of the future mother is provided for in the law which absolutely forbids night or underground-work for women and also limits woman-labour to industries where her health is not endangered. Eight weeks before and eight weeks after a birth a woman need not work. In order that this shall not be felt financially she receives her full pay, and a bonus of 25 per cent., which will afford her the means for full recuperation. During nine months after the child's birth the woman works only six hours a day, in which she has half-an-hour's rest every three hours. At the medical service-stations the pregnant woman, as well as the young and inexperienced mother, receive gratuitous advice as to the feeding of the child. During pregnancy the woman receives higher food rations. She is relieved of the necessity of standing in line to obtain food, street car, and railway tickets. The woman is provided for during labour by means of confinement-institutions and mother and infant homes, of which there was a ridiculously small number in the time of the Czar. *Medical aid and the assistance of the midwife and the delivery of medicaments are gratuitously at the disposal of woman.* The Soviet Government guarantees its aid to all children, without asking questions about the "legitimacy" of the mother or child. Many nurseries are provided where the working mother can leave her child, and thus be enabled to perform her work for the benefit of society without worry as to the fate of her child. Especially in the country, the summer-nurseries have proven to be an excellent means of combating child-mortality, which was very high. The war orphan, the sick children, those who show a physical, moral or spiritual deficiency, find a kind and helpful mainstay in the Soviet Government. There are sanatoriums for consumptive or under-nourished children; the forest schools for children whose health is delicate and undermined; uniform work-schools from which the clerical and labour-hating bourgeois influence has been eradicated; gratuitous school meals. *An ever-growing number of children is sent to the summer vacation-colonies at the expense of the Soviet Government,* where they are lodged in the glorious villas and landed estates of the dispossessed nobles and bourgeoisie. The effect of *this propaganda of the deed* cannot be lost on the great masses of women uninfluenced by politics. This effect is heightened by a number of measures which free the woman from the worry of the household by the systematic establishment of food-stations, and public kitchens

in which children and adults receive cooked food, All these newly-created institutions can endure and be of *the people and for the people* only if the women of the working people will be at their head, will control, manage, and take care of them.

Woman's co-operation in the field of the nourishment of the nation has been of extraordinary value. The people's food-halls and the feeding of children are to a great extent entrusted to the care of women. About five million of the population eat in the food-halls, and in this way relieve the housewife. Many are studying in specially-established courses to be educators of the children of their class, and can already supplant in many positions the teachers of bourgeois origin.

Woman in Soviet Russia is taking a prominent part in the *fight against ignorance and illiteracy*. Through her spirited aid Communists have not only been able to successfully combat the remains of Czarism, but also to attract to this work the great masses of women, and to fill them with enthusiasm for it. The working-women in Soviet Russia have entered the revolutionary tribunals, which sit in judgment upon their enemies. Many women sit in the Soviets. Of particular value is the co-operation of women in the institutions which control all organisations in the economic and political sphere.

Only through this agitation by the deed can the woman fulfil her newly-created duties, not as burdens, but as highly responsible tasks. As the woman is thus freed and unburdened she understands more and more the rôle and significance of the Soviet power for her and her class. The former enemy and opponent of the Soviet power is now becoming an enthusiastic follower, an eager fellow-combatant against the inheritance from slavery, against mismanagement and chaos, against sickness and pestilence, a collaborator in the upbuilding of the new economic order.

Out of equal rights in the Soviet Republic grew also the equal duty for the woman as well as for the working-man to defend the Soviet Power against all enemies, from within and without. The entrance of working-women and peasant-women into the active army not only as nurses, but as active combatants, becomes a necessity to which communist women are the first to submit joyfully. But even large masses of non-party women do not renounce this duty, and they have performed indispensable service for the labour-republic in the defence of Petrograd, as well as in the struggle against the White Guards in the Urals, in Ukraine, in the Don region, on all the fighting fronts. They are not frightened by the hardest duties—they act as runners, dig trenches, serve the machine-guns, and by their own heroic conduct they check the fatigue which shows itself in the army or the desertion which often follows defeats. Many women-fighters have received the "Red Flag"—the highest decoration for bravery and courage. Many have been taken captive, never to return, and great is the number of women who have fallen on the battle-field for the dictatorship of the proletariat with the cry: "Long live the Soviet Republic!" "Long live Communism!"

After four years existence, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet Power are the expression of the unshakable will of millions of working men and women.

The enemy is beaten, but not yet conquered, the international bourgeoisie is lying in ambush for the opportunity to strike down Soviet Russia; in the interior, the workers have to face uninterrupted hardships and hindrances. A while ago it was the Kronstadt uprising engineered by the Mensheviks, and now it is a catastrophe of nature which seriously threatens the acquisitions of the Russian proletariat which it has won in hard combats. Out of the menaced fortress, the only bulwark of the international, there are daily growing new creative forces, a living rampart surrounds it—the liberated mass of working and peasant women. The Russian proletariat is confident that it will soon be strengthened by the international proletariat through its own revolutionary struggle for power as well as its immediate economic assistance.

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Unemployment

The Responsibility of the Labour Party

By WM. PAUL

AT a recent Congress on unemployment, organised by the National Joint Council of the Trade Union Congress, Labour Party, and Parliamentary Labour Party, many points of vital importance were discussed. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the course of his speech, referred to the critical condition of the unemployed, and attempted to show that a part of the responsibility for the present crisis must be shouldered by the rank and file, and *not* by the leaders of the Labour movement. He stated that the workers had not voted intelligently in 1918, and suggested that those trade unionists who had voted for the Coalition ought, in common fairness, to pay the unemployment levies. We have here an attempt made to hold the masses responsible for the criminal blunders of the leaders of the Labour Party, so far as the present desperate plight of the workers is concerned. As it is characteristic of the MacDonald type of Labourism to blame the masses for results which have inevitably arisen through the stupid policy supported by the leaders, it may not be out of place, at this juncture, to examine the history of the official Labour Party and its relation to the present deplorable condition of the proletariat.

I.

During the War

IT is now admitted by all sections in the Labour movement that the basic cause of present unemployment is the modern system of imperialist capitalism. By what means has the Labour Party attempted to oppose the imperialistic onslaughts of the British ruling class? In what manner has it sought to destroy capitalism?

When the war broke out in 1914 the Labour Party pledged itself, *officially*, to do everything in its power to assist the British group of international imperialists who were responsible for the events that made the war inevitable. This assistance, rendered by the Labour Party to the war-mongers, helped to bring into existence the chaos and misery which is rapidly enveloping the whole world. During the war, in consequence of the phenomenal demand for labour, the working class could have wrung many valuable concessions from capitalism. Instead of using these favourable conditions to make a successful onslaught against capital, the Labour leaders actually used their influence and power against every big attempt of the masses to strike or fight for better conditions. In every important strike, during the war, the official Labour movement betrayed the workers. The Munitions Acts, which sought to deprive the wage earners of the right to use their industrial power, were drafted and enforced by the connivance of the Labour Party

and the Trade Union leaders. So conspicuously treacherous was the attitude of the leaders of the *official* Labour movement that every big strike, during the war, was led and organised by *unofficial* workshop groups. And in fighting these unofficial strikes the property owners were able to depend upon the willing and servile assistance of the official Labour leaders. Thus, when Lloyd George visited Glasgow, in a hopelessly futile attempt to brow-beat the shop stewards of the Clyde, he had to rely upon such a Labour champion as Mr. Arthur Henderson, who accompanied him on that memorable occasion. Despite the opposition of the official Labour movement, the unofficial shop stewards' organisation, the most important leaders of which are now active workers in the Communist Party, won many valuable workshop concessions for the artisans—particularly in the engineering industry. In passing, we may observe that every one of these concessions, won by leaders, several of whom were imprisoned and deported, were voluntarily yielded to the employers by the officials of the Amalgamated Engineers' Union. Thus the triumphs of the *unofficial* rank and file movement were betrayed by the cowardice of the *official* Labour movement.

The attitude of the leaders of the Labour Party towards the industrial workers, during the war, made it possible for the employing class to make millions out of munitions. These leaders by opposing strikers enabled the profiteers to exploit the masses upon an unprecedented scale.

The history of the war was one melancholy and monotonous sequence of betrayals of the masses by the official Labour Party. No treachery against the workers was so base but that the jingo Government could find some ambitious and distinguished Labour leader anxious to undertake it. The war policy of the Labour Party and its four years of ceaseless imperialistic propaganda; by stifling *class* issues beneath a mass and welter of jingo and *national* verbiage, created the political outlook of the masses in 1918 that enabled Lloyd George to achieve his wonderful Coalition victory. Despite this evidence, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald now turns round and denounces the political ignorance of the masses in 1918, and seeks to blame *them*, and not his own *colleagues*, for the misery-laden conditions of to-day. We repeat, the Coalition triumph of 1918 was only possible thanks to the war policy and jingo ignorance of the Labour Party.

The pacifist minority in the Labour Party was ineffectual in aiding the workers during the war. It accepted the fatuous and dangerous policy of non-resistance, and virulently opposed any movement based on *force* which sought to struggle against the Government and its imperialists. The most inspiring group of non-resisting idealists who opposed the war were the Quakers, the majority of whom were sincere Cobdenite, middle-class Liberals; many of them joined the I.L.P., and used their wealth and influence so effectively that that organisation tends ever more towards a moderate reform policy based upon a determined opposition to the use of force. This further explains the peculiar and weird mixture of collectivist State control and individualistic Cobdenism to be found in the I.L.P. to-day. The pacifist group

inside the Labour Party was doubly weakened because of its lack of a definite and coherent policy against the war. This faction was led by the irresolute Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, the present Secretary of the Second International, whose attitude towards the war was never clearly defined. For example, he addressed a letter to the Mayor of Leicester—the town which he then represented in Parliament—which was promptly utilised by the jingoes as a recruiting circular to hound young men into the trenches. Mr. MacDonald's attitude since the Armistice has been as vague and as confusing as was his wavering policy during the war. At a time when bankers, merchants, and even capitalist politicians were denouncing reparations and indemnities, it was left to Mr. J. R. MacDonald to propound unsound but extravagantly subtle schemes to show how the Germans could be made to pay for the war. The group of feeble Labour pacifists in the House of Commons was so logical in its policy of non-resistance that it recoiled from embarrassing the Government, and did not vote against the war credits. Contrast this cowardly opportunism with the daring revolutionary and anti-militarist action of Karl Liebknecht, in the German Reichstag, who both opposed the war and the war credits.

Thus, during the war, neither the official Labour Party with its jingoism, nor the MacDonald-Snowden group with its pacifism, gave the workers a lead in any line of action likely to assist them in their struggle against the master class. Between the bellicose imperialism of the one section and the timid, sentimental, quakerism of the other, the masses were so confused that they fell an easy victim to the stampede tactics of the Coalition stunt-election in 1918.

II.

Labour Party, Russia, and Unemployment

IN the memorable days of 1918 the Labour Party had an exceptional opportunity to wipe out all the errors it had committed during the war. Two great messages, from over the seas, were sent to the British masses. One came from the revolutionary workers of Russia, and the other was sent from the cute imperialist sharks of Wall Street in New York. These two messages were personified in Lenin and President Wilson. The former made his appeal in the brusque language of the class struggle; the latter phrased his imperialist ideals in the sentimental, university, rhetoric of middle-class pacificism. The official Labour Party immediately repudiated Bolshevism, and held Lenin and Trotsky up to public scorn; it took little or no interest in the fate of the Soviet Republic beyond denouncing it. While the Russian Communists were being vigorously and stupidly criticised by the imperialist and pacifist groups of the Labour Party these were both united in their enthusiastic acceptance of the honeyed and windy phrases of the capitalist President Wilson. The I.L.P. traducers of Lenin sent a special telegraphic message to Wilson pledging their support. When imperialists, like Churchill, saw that the official Labour movement was violently opposed to the policy of the Russian

Communists, they were emboldened, and even felt encouraged to make a series of armed onslaughts upon the Soviet Republic. These military attacks were reinforced by the blockade of Russia, and by the spending of millions of pounds, all of which were utilised to create chaos in the industrial and administrative machinery of the Soviets. The final outcome of the undeclared war and blockade was a rapid decrease in Britain's export trade, which became one of the most important factors in intensifying the unemployed problem. Had the official Labour movement in this country shown the slightest sympathetic interest in the Soviet Republic; had it made some little gesture of international solidarity in response to the appeals of the revolutionary masses of Russia, the British imperialists would never have dared to have done the diabolical things they did against that country. The opposition of the Labour Party to the Soviet Republic, during the first three years of its existence, was the indirect cause of the British Government's attack upon Russia, and was, therefore, one of the contributory factors that helped to intensify unemployment and misery in this country.

It is a matter of common history that the three great attempts of the working class to assist Russia originated *outside* the official Labour Party. The Councils of Action manifested a spontaneous outburst of the rank and file against the treacherous apathy of the Labour Party in its attitude towards Russia. So revolutionary were its inherent potentialities that the official Labour leaders were compelled to catch hold of it in order to emasculate it. The Councils of Action were a revolutionary portent and had sufficient influence to intimidate the Government. The "Hands off Russia" movement, which has done splendid and heroic work by opposing the British Government's war on the Soviet Government, was brought into existence to do the work which ought to have been done by the *official* Labour Party. During the past year the unemployed have passed hundreds of resolutions demanding a change in the Government's attitude towards Soviet Russia. The result of the joint and cumulative efforts of the Councils of Action, the Hands off Russia Committee, and the unemployed demonstrations, have had some effect upon the Government, which has been forced to modify its Russian policy. The present danger to Russia comes more from France than from Britain. The Soviet Government, of course, by its daring Red Army and by its brilliant strategy, has played no small part in forcing the British Government to alter its tactics. We begin to see a change in the attitude of the imperialist financiers towards the Soviet Government; their long noses smell profits in Russian concessions. Even Liberals, like Asquith, scenting votes in a popular demand for a more generous treatment of Russia, are now thundering their indictments against the Lloyd George Government for its scandalous treatment of the Soviet Republic.

After four long years of relentless and bloody struggle in Russia; after four years of bitter uphill fighting in this country, by unofficial groups, to get fair play for the Soviet Republic; after the Government has been compelled to modify its Russian policy; after the financiers and the Liberal politicians begin to see that

something may be gained by adopting a more tolerant attitude towards Russia; now, at long last, the official Labour Party comes forward and indignantly demands, in its best Pecksniffian-MacDonald manner, that it is high time the Government changed its Russian policy. The Hendersons rush in where the Asquiths dared to tread!

III.

Indemnities, Increased Production, and Unemployment

NO sooner was the war over than the propertied interests realised that somebody would have to pay for it. The first and most popular cry was to make the Germans foot the bill. This in practice means the intensified exploitation of the German masses through the medium of indemnities. There are two important reasons why the international Labour movement should oppose war indemnities. Firstly, a war indemnity is a form of working-class exploitation grafted upon national hatred; it stimulates imperialism and racial rancour, and is, therefore, opposed to the first and most elementary principle of internationalism. Secondly, war indemnities are based upon a series of dangerous and stupid economic fallacies. If Germany were to pay her indemnity in gold, and this is impossible, the sudden influx of so much of that yellow metal into this country would immediately paralyse our standard of prices and send them soaring heavenwards. An increase in prices means a fall in the purchasing power of wages. Germany cannot pay all her indemnity in gold. She must, therefore, pay in goods. This means that millions of pounds worth of coal, ships, locomotives, etc., are sent into this country without any equivalent being paid for them. Every commodity that enters the country, in payment of an indemnity, not only causes unemployment by displacing labour and by glutting the market, but in addition it means the virtual enslavement of the German masses, who are forced down to the coolie level of subsistence. This reacts upon the British workers, who produce goods for the world's market, and who are ultimately driven down to the same standard as their German colleagues. Indemnities ruin the workers in the country that receives them and ruin the wage-slaves in the country that produces them. Indemnities are economically unsound, in theory and in practice, and are only enforced in a vicious spirit of national malice and hatred, or by a group of financial cliques who see in the ruined country a chance to buy up its capital at a low price.

The merest tyro in economics understands all that we have said regarding indemnities. Despite the volumes that were written by economists and by Socialists, long before 1914, about the dangerous futility of indemnities, the Labour Party actually accepted the reactionary and imperialistic indemnity policy of making Germany pay for the war. This, coupled with its attitude towards Soviet Russia, proves *that the Labour Party is as much responsible for the present condition of unemployment as is the Lloyd George Government, which it is at present attacking.* The position of the

Labour Party regarding indemnities shows that even in peace, as during the war, it bases its policy upon the needs of the reactionary jingoes, and not upon the vital needs of the masses. At the same time, it bitterly attacks the Communists who have been trying to show that the indemnity policy can only lead to the impoverishment of the masses both in Germany and in Britain.

The Communists foretold what the enforcement of indemnities would mean to this country and to the working class. Let the present misery of the unemployed demonstrate whether, or not, we spoke correctly? Even now certain groups of imperialists are anxious to scrap the whole policy of indemnities because these are destroying their particular interests.

Thus, at a time when bankers, merchants, and even capitalist statesmen are repudiating indemnities, these impositions upon the German workers are still defended by men like Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. H. Bottomley. At a time when the Liberal Party tables a motion in the House of Commons to the effect:—

“ That this House is of opinion that the indemnity payments fixed for Germany under the Treaty of Peace and subsequent agreements are injurious to the trade of the world and, in particular, adversely affect this country; and expresses its opinion that the time has come for a revision of the whole position, with the reservation that all possible assistance should be given by Germany towards the rebuilding and reconstruction of the devastated areas in France.”

At such a time the reactionary attitude of the Labour Party actually compelled one of its own journals, the *Glasgow Forward* (November 5th, 1921), to blurt out: “ If the Labour Party does not hurry up it will miss the 'bus!” Now that the most intelligent Liberals and Conservatives are opposed to the old cry of making Germany pay; now that the misguided workers themselves are angrily demanding that an end be put to the payment of indemnities, there is every possibility that even the Labour Party may come out and say that it, too, is opposed to indemnities. Now that such a reactionary as Mr. Asquith has repudiated indemnities, and refers to them as a form of “ midsummer madness ”; it is perfectly safe for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to come boldly forward and denounce the cruel exactions wrung from Germany and to read the workers another severe lesson for *their* political and economic ignorance, by excluding him from Parliament in 1918.

Although the imperialists announced their intention to make Germany pay for the war, they did not relax their efforts in attempting, also, to make the working class of Britain pay. When the war came to an end the capitalist class used all its powers of publicity to stimulate an enthusiastic national campaign on behalf of increased production. Under capitalism goods are not produced for *use* but for *profit*. Before a profit can be realised the goods must be sold in the world's market. When large quantities of boots cannot be sold this does not mean that everyone has a pair of boots; it merely indicates that the boot market is glutted, and that boots cannot be sold. Boots, like every commodity in the present

social system, are made for the market. When it is glutted by an over-production of boots the workers who made these are thrown out of work, and may soon find themselves without a pair of boots—because they produced too many! This is but one of the many hundreds of contradictions inherent in capitalism. As goods are produced for a profit it follows that the more wealth Labour creates the more profit there is for the boss. But it is also true that the faster the workers produce wealth the faster they glut the markets, and the faster are they thrown upon the scrap heap to starve. Under capitalism the cry of the employer is for increased production. When, therefore, the imperialists demanded that the workers should produce more it was the duty of the organised working-class movement, in anticipation of an industrial crisis and a severe spell of unemployment, to have resisted this demand. Everyone knows what happened. The leaders of the Labour Party who had backed up the imperialists during the war, and who had helped, by their advocacy of indemnities, to enslave the German masses and cause unemployment at home, came forward once again as the tools of the master class, and actually used their influence on behalf of increased production. On this occasion the jingo Labourists were reinforced by the assistance of the Cobdenite pacifists; Mr. Philip Snowden being one of the most eloquent advocates in beseeching the industrial artisans to work harder for the glory and profit of their masters. When these leaders were in the midst of this campaign for increased production, which under capitalism means increased profits and decreased relative wages, the reaction of the policy, supported by the Labour Party, regarding Soviet Russia, and the war indemnities, began to make itself felt by a sudden shrinkage in trade which heralded the beginning of the most tragic spell of unemployment ever experienced in the history of the British working class. When the masses were thrown out of the factories into the street, and when millions were workless and starving, the hollow mockery of the Labour leaders' plea for increased production became so apparent that even they were forced, out of sheer shame, to disband their reactionary campaign.

We are now able to understand the part played by the Labour Party so far as the present unemployed crisis is concerned. At no time since 1914 has it made any attempt either to destroy capitalism, which is the basic cause of unemployment, or to take up any bold course that would have lightened the intolerable burden of misery which the masses are now bearing. It enthusiastically backed up imperialistic capitalism in 1914; it supported the outrageous and economically unsound indemnity policy of the jingoes; it failed to comprehend the full significance of the Soviet revolution, and lacked courage when Churchill was spending millions trying to dismember Russia; it conducted an "increased production" at a time when every sane person saw an industrial crisis looming up on the horizon. No amount of quibbling, no acrobatic displays of nimble platform somersaulting, can redeem the Labour Party from the above series of gross betrayals which, by a cumulative process, have resulted in the present industrial chaos which has hurled millions of workers into the hell of sheer despair. It is nothing

but an insult to the misery of the masses to tell them that the fault is *theirs*, because they did not vote for the Labour Party in 1918. We have shown, in our brief outline, that the official Labour Party adopted a policy which was not only anti-revolutionary, but which never materially differed from that of Lloyd George. The Tories never had greater jingoes in its ranks than were certain distinguished members of the Labour Party. The indemnity champions of the Coalition never had such a subtle indemnity expert as Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, nor had the employers a more eloquent exponent upon increased production than Mr. Philip Snowden. The Cabinet itself does not contain a member more embittered against the Communists, either in Russia or at home, than the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas, M.P., P.C., etc. Nothing that the Labour Party has done, as a parliamentary opposition group, has shown that even if it had been in power would its policy have averted the crisis which has now enmeshed the country, and which has brought in its train such social misery and anguish.

Even now, when millions are walking the streets, the attitude of the Labour Party has been one of cowardice and characteristic ineptitude. Its timidity and apathy regarding the unemployed has been so apparent that in all the large industrial centres the workless masses have been compelled to throw up their own committees, outside of the Labour Party, organised and led, in most cases, by rank-and-file Communists. Just as in 1914-18, when a supreme international test was forced upon the official Labour movement, it broke down, and left the class struggle to be carried on by unofficial committees; so to-day, when faced with another crisis, directly affecting the unemployed masses, it once again leaves the brunt of the struggle to be faced by a special organisation which has to conduct the fight against the capitalist class, and which also tries to instil some courage into the Labour Party. The history of the events of the past few years has demonstrated that during periods of intense crisis the leadership of the masses passes out of the control of the official Labour Party; the future shall also verify that in the measure that the Labour Party becomes powerful, even to the point of assuming governmental control, so the greater will be its inevitable collapse when confronted with a critical social crisis that demands self-sacrificing courage and a revolutionary vision.

A Labour Party worthy of its name would have opposed capitalism in every one of its desperate and bloody imperialist adventures. It would have used every difficulty of the propertied interests to have battled for concessions for the workers. It would have indignantly repudiated the hypocritical pretensions of the emotional and rhetorical President Wilson. It would have supported Lenin in his effort to consolidate the revolutionary power of the Russian masses; this would instantly have checked the murderous campaign led by Churchill, against the Soviet Republic, and would have enabled Russia to concentrate all her powers upon internal reconstruction instead of draining off her best energies into a series of defensive wars. Had the Labour Party done this Russia would have been speedily recognised as a *de facto* Government, and trade with her would now have been in full swing. A Labour

Party worthy of the name would have enforced its international policy by opposing the Versailles Treaty, by vigorously repudiating indemnities, and by compelling the British imperialists to exert a restraining influence upon France and her mad marauding exploits. It would have put into operation, through the trade unions, such a system of workshop control as would have averted the extreme bitterness of the present industrial slump. It would have utilised the keen fighting spirit of the masses during 1919 and 1920—who flocked to the banner of the trade unions in those years—to have struggled against capitalism; this would have made a serious inroad into the unions' funds, but the money would have been spent in *fighting*, and the material well-being, the morale and revolutionary outlook of the masses would have been better than it is to-day. By refusing to struggle; by meekly adopting a non-revolutionary policy, by actually endorsing the reactionary plans of the imperialists and the enemies of the workers, the Thomases, Hendersons and Clynes, have *not* saved the sacred funds of their trade unions. Indeed, they have been forced to dissipate a 9/11th part of these to maintain unemployed members who are the direct victims of an industrial crisis which has been inhumanly intensified and aggravated as a consequence of the *very tactics*, political and industrial, of these Labour statesmen!

Thus we protest against the statement of Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, that the unemployed are in their present hungry plight because of *their* political ignorance in 1918. Political ignorance forsooth! What will the rapidly awakening masses think of the amazing ignorance of a Labour "internationalist," like Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, whose economic stupidity was such that he brazenly advocated indemnities; or of a Mr. Snowden with his reactionary plea for increased production; or of a Privy Councillor like the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas and his idiotic gibberings against Soviet Russia? Who are these gentlemen that they dare throw stones at the politically ignorant masses? True it is, no doubt, that the present industrial crisis has been unduly aggravated due to political ignorance. And, as our brief sketch has demonstrated, that political ignorance may be traced, and can be found in abundance, in the Labour Party!

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The Present and Future Prospects of the South Wales Miners

By JOHN THOMAS

(Miners' Agent in the Anthracite District, S. Wales).

Foreword

[Few people realise how great was the disaster that overwhelmed the miners—and indeed the whole working-class—after the tragic betrayal of Black Friday. In the following special article, by Comrade John Thomas, one of the best informed leaders in the South Wales coalfield, the whole situation, with its problems and tactics, is frankly discussed and analysed. We hope to publish further articles, dealing with the future policy of the miners in their life and death struggle with capitalism, by Comrade John Thomas and other writers. We also intend to discuss, critically, the problems confronting other workers in other industries.—Editor of "COMMUNIST."]

I.

Treachery of the Government

WHATEVER risks there are involved in applying natural concepts to social phenomena, one would not be erring greatly in describing the South Wales miners as suffering at present as the result of the "backwash" of the recent lock-out. So to understand or explain this "backwash" (or perhaps to vary the metaphor, this "aftermath") of the lock-out, it will be essential to recapitulate the main incidents of the lock-out. The antecedents and causes of the lock-out have been dealt with fully by the writer in his brochure on "The Miners' Conflict with the Mineowners," so that all that need be dealt with here are the main incidents of the lock-out itself, commencing on April 1st, 1919, and continuing till July 4th. During this period of ninety-one days the South Wales miners stood out loyally with their fellow-members of the M.F.G.B. against the owners, who were backed by the Government. The miners stood firmly for their five original demands of:—

1. A National Wages Board.
2. A National Pool of proceeds.
3. A new 1921 standard wage with flat floating increases.
4. A fixing of a standard of profit at 10 per cent. of wages.
5. A fixing of surplus profits in the ratio of 10 per cent. surplus to be given to profits and 90 per cent. to miners, as increase of wages.

During the course of the lock-out the Government made no bones about whose side it was going to take. The calling up of the army reserves and the provision of a Special Defence Force under the Emergency Powers Act, showed clearly that the Government's first thought was for "sacred property." So also was the Government's concern for pumping the water out of the pits, an indication of their siding with the owners, even if blackleg labour or naval men were used for this purpose.

Then, again, the Government and the ruling classes showed their "impartiality" in this supposed struggle between the miners and

the owners by arresting and imprisoning in South Wales several prominent Communists, like Bob Stewart (of Caerphilly fame), who dared come out openly to champion the cause of the miners. Rhondda Valley, the most congested and populous area in the South Wales Coalfield, was the scene of many demonstrations, headed by jazz-bands, to demand the withdrawal of these "safety men" (the Government's fancy name for blacklegs!) from the pits. These demonstrations led to conflict with the police, who arrested prominent leaders like Cook, Dolling, Horner, and Davies. These men were later sent to the Assizes and sentenced to imprisonment, along with some rank and filers from the Neath Valley, where similar demonstrations took place. The sentences given by Justice Roche at the Swansea Assizes were considered vindictive and quite uncalled for, especially as the sentences were promulgated after the lock-out terminated.

All the prisoners have now been released, as the sentences varied from one to three months, with or without hard labour.

The remarkable thing about these sentences is the tame way they have been accepted by the rank and file. Certainly there have been verbal protests and resolutions have been passed by individual lodges, but they have all been "pious" resolutions. There has been no concerted action either by lodges in the Rhondda or in the Neath Valley to protest against the iniquity of the sentences or the incarceration of leaders and other individuals, who were known to be innocent of the charges made against them by the police.

An explanation of this tameness and placidity of the miners will be forthcoming later.

Apart from its military and police activities described above in the name of law and order, the Government also showed its leaning towards the owners, as against the miners, in its "offers" at settlement on:—

- (a) April 28th.
- (b) May 28th, and
- (c) July 1st.

Without quoting these offers in detail, let us point out how the Government, in reality, takes its stand with the owners, as against the miners, though seemingly Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of the Government, poses as an impartial intermediary.

First.—The Government agree that there must be a substantial "cut" in wages or, as they later term it, "a gradual scaling down of wages"—to avoid the bump in such a drastic drop in wages. Here comes the wonderful sugar-coated pill of a ten million subsidy, later called a subvention, to camouflage the drastic "cut" in wages. (See table below.)

Secondly.—The Government refuse a National Wages Board in the sense demanded by the M.F.G.B. The Government finally agree to a ghost of a National Board based on the old District Wages Board, which is the negation of the National Wages Board demanded by the miners.

Thirdly.—The Government throw overboard once and for all the idea of granting a Pool of Profits nationally. That was a political issue, like nationalisation of the mines, to be decided in

a political election of the country! The pooling of profits during the war was a regrettable war necessity, and so was the principle of increases of wages by flat rates. So these must cease forthwith—so says the Government—and the owners. So to increase production of coal the Government stood firm (with the owners), against:—

- (a) The National Pool of profits, and
- (b) Flat rate increases in wages.

Fourthly.—The Government refused to take the figures of the miners to regulate profits and surplus profits. The Government said they could not accept 10 per cent. as the figure for profits (standard) nor 10 per cent. for surplus profits. Hence showing a decided predilection for the figures actually accepted by the owners in the Agreement, viz., 17 per cent. . . . a decided increase on 10 per cent.—almost doubling the owners' profits.

Now, while the Government (with the obvious approval of the owners) are making the above offers, what are the miners doing? And here we must be careful in making clear the distinctions we ought to make, between the miners as a rank-and-file body and the miners as represented (or rather *mis*-represented often) by their official leaders and permanent officers.

The first "offer" of the Government, dated April 28th, is so obviously the owners' that the National Conference of M.F.G.B. representatives had no hesitation in turning it down, practically unanimously. Such also was the fate of the second "offer" of May 28th, turned down by District Conferences of the M.F.G.B.

Then, as a further test of the soundness of the rank and file, this second offer is re-dished before the miners with the threat of withdrawing the ten million subsidy, if the offer is not accepted before June 18th. The ballot of June 15th turned down by a greater majority than the two-thirds obstacle stupidly and "unconstitutionally" imposed by the Acting-President, Herbert Smith.

The rank and file in this ballot clearly told Mr. D. Lloyd George to keep his ten million bribe.

II.

Treachery of the Leaders

NOW watch events, and it is here comes the parting of the ways, at least in action, between the miners and their paid official leaders. It is here, those of us who followed closely the leading articles of *The Communist*, with its brilliant cartoons, during the lock-out, can now see the prophetic instinct of the editor and the Party. The suspicions aroused by the actions of certain non-mining leaders in the incidents surrounding the now notorious "Black Friday" of April 15th were revived and doubly confirmed by the climb down of the miners' leaders themselves, on the second "Black Friday" of June 24th, prior to their proceeding to Chequers for a "conflab" with the Prime Minister. All this surrender in the fight, and some of us in the coalfield had been psychologically prepared for it by the doleful and dolorous speech of Mr. Frank Hodges at the Labour Party Conference, where he talked of "the inevitability of the M.F.G.B. having to bow and bend."

If anyone has any doubt of the treachery of the miners' leaders—especially Mr. Herbert Smith and Mr. Frank Hodges—let them peruse the Press reports of the addresses delivered by the Acting-President and the official report read out by Mr. Frank Hodges. Both of them, in so many words, confessed that their heart and spirit was not in the struggle during the lock-out.

Just fancy, the supposed chief leader in the miners' lock-out, in his presidential address at the Llandudno Conference, after 91 days' wonder of a fight, having the audacity, or rather the impudence, to say: "We might be accused of being undemocratic, even of being *autoöcratic*, in terminating the stoppage as we did, but it is infinitely preferable to do an undemocratic thing than to allow *empty high-sounding formulæ* to intensify the horror and misery of the people's life"! What a nasty knock for those principles which were enunciated prior to and during the lock-out—viz., the National Wages Board and the National Pool!

Then note the confession that marks the super-hypocrisy of this faint-hearted leader. "We have nothing to retract, nothing to withdraw. If we have a regret it is that we did not take the step earlier. We are convinced that we freed ourselves from *hypocritical formulæ* just in the nick of time."

No formulæ or principles can be "hypocritical," but leaders who have spent months in advocating such formulæ or principles, are certainly "hypocrites" to back out of a fight, taken up in support of these formulæ.

The mystery to most of us who review the situation now, is not that the lock-out lasted so long, but how the lock-out did not collapse earlier than it did, with such faint-hearted, weak-kneed leadership, as that shown by the miners' leaders after the first Black Friday, and confirmed or confessed to in the vindictive "I told you so" speeches at the Llandudno Annual Conference in August, 1921.

Much more could be written if one were only dealing here with the causes of the collapse of the lock-out, but as one is only dealing, incidentally, with these as a preliminary to the aftermath of the lock-out, one must now hasten on, to deal with the Coalfield Agreement that closed the lock-out.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR THE COAL INDUSTRY.

I.

TERMS OF SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE, DATED 1ST JULY, 1921.

1.—A National Board shall be constituted forthwith, consisting in equal numbers of persons chosen by the Mining Association of Great Britain and persons chosen by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

There shall also be established District Boards, consisting in equal numbers of persons representing owners and workmen in each district.

The National and District Boards shall draw up their own rules of procedure, which shall include a provision for the appointment of an Independent Chairman for each Board.

2.—The wages payable in each district shall be expressed in the form of a percentage upon the basis rates prevailing in the district, and shall be periodically adjusted in accordance with the proceeds of the industry as ascertained in such district.

3.—The amount of the percentage to be paid in each district during any period shall be determined by the proceeds of the industry in that district during a previous period, as ascertained by returns to be made by

the owners, checked by joint test audit of the owners' books carried out by independent accountants appointed by each side.

4.—The sum to be applied in each district to the payment of wages above the standard wages as hereinafter defined shall be a sum equal to 83 per cent. of the surplus of such proceeds remaining after deduction therefrom of the amounts of the following items during the period of ascertainment—

- (a) the cost of the standard wages;
- (b) the costs of production other than wages;
- (c) standard profits equivalent to 17 per cent. of the cost of the standard wages,

and the share of the surplus applicable to wages shall be expressed as a percentage upon the basis rates prevailing in the district.

Provided that if in any period the ascertained proceeds, after deduction of costs other than wages and the cost of the standard wages, prove to have been insufficient to meet the standard profits, the deficiency shall be carried forward as a first charge to be met out of any surplus, ascertained as above, in subsequent periods.

5.—If the rates of wages thus determined in any district do not provide a subsistence wage to low-paid day-wage workers, such additions in the form of allowances per shift worked shall be made for that period to the daily wages of these workers as, in the opinion of the District Board, or, in the event of failure to agree by the parties, in the opinion of the Independent Chairman, may be necessary for the purpose. Such allowances shall be treated as items of cost in the district ascertainment.

6.—For the purpose of these periodical adjustments the units shall be the districts set out in the Schedule hereto, and shall only be varied by the decision of the District Board or Boards concerned, provided that no variation shall take place prior to the 1st February, 1922, in the grouping of any district unless it is mutually agreed by the representatives of both sides in the district or districts concerned.

7.—The standard wages shall be the district basis rates existing on the 31st March, 1921, plus the district percentages, payable in July, 1914 (or the equivalents in any district in which there has been a subsequent merging into new standards), plus, in the case of pieceworkers, the percentage additions which were made consequent upon the reduction of hours from 8 to 7.

8.—In no district shall wages be paid at lower rates than standard wages plus 20 per cent. thereof.

9.—The National Board shall forthwith consider what items of cost are to be included for the purposes of paragraph 4 (b) above, and in the event of agreement not being arrived at by the 31st July, the matter shall be referred to the Independent Chairman for decision.

10.—The wages payable by the owners up to the 31st August inclusive shall be based upon the ascertained results of the month of March, and the wages payable during September shall be based upon the ascertained results of the month of July. The periods of ascertainment thereafter shall be decided by the National Board.

11.—During the "temporary period" as hereinafter defined the following special arrangements shall apply in modification of the general scheme set out above:—

(a) In calculating the proceeds for March the deduction to be made in respect of costs other than wages shall be the average of such costs during January, February, and March.

(b) In any district in which reductions in wages continue to be made after the first ascertainment, no part of the surplus proceeds shall be assigned to profits if and in so far as this would have the effect of reducing the wages below the level in the preceding month.

When in any district there is a break in the continuity of reductions in wages upon the periodical ascertainment at that point and thereafter the general scheme shall apply fully in regard to owners' surplus profits.

(c) The proviso to paragraph 4 regarding the carrying forward of deficiencies in standard profits shall not apply, but any net losses shall be so carried forward.

(d) The Government will give a grant not exceeding £10,000,000 in subvention of wages.

(e) This subvention shall be available for making such increases to the wages otherwise payable in any district as may be necessary to

prevent the reductions below the March rates of wages being greater than the following amounts :—

During July, 2s. a shift for persons of 16 years of age and upwards, and 1s. a shift for persons under 16.

During August, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 3d. respectively.

During September, 3s. and 1s. 6d. respectively.

provided that the balance of the subvention is sufficient for this purpose.

(f) In any district in which in any month the proceeds available for wages, calculated in accordance with the terms of this settlement, are sufficient to admit of a rate of wages equal to or higher than the rate payable under the maximum reduction for that month, the wages payable by the owners shall be calculated not in terms of basis plus percentage, but on the same basis as during March, less flat rate reductions uniform throughout the district for persons of 16 years of age and upwards and persons under 16 years of age respectively.

(g) In any district in which the wages calculated in accordance with the terms of this settlement are less than the wages payable under the maximum reductions aforesaid, the difference shall be met by the owners in that district during September to the extent of the aggregate net profits realised by them on the district ascertainment for July, and during October to the extent of the aggregate net profits realised by them on the district ascertainment for July and August.

(h) The expression "temporary period" means the period from the date of the resumption of work to the 30th September, 1921.

12.—The period of duration of this agreement shall be from the date of resumption of work until the 30th September, 1922, and thereafter until terminated by three months' notice on either side.

13.—It is agreed as a principle that every man shall be entitled to return to his place when that place is available for him, and that men temporarily occupying places during the stoppage shall give way to men working in those places before the stoppage.

It is agreed that on the other hand there shall be no victimisation of men who have been keeping the collieries open, not in the sense that they are to remain at the jobs they filled during the stoppage, but that they shall not be prevented from going back to their own jobs or from working subsequently at the colliery.

SCHEDULE REFERRED TO.

Scotland.

Northumberland.

Durham.

South Wales and Monmouth.

Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Cannock Chase, and Warwickshire.

Lancashire, North Staffordshire, and Cheshire.

North Wales.

South Staffordshire and Salop.

Cumberland.

Bristol.

Forest of Dean.

Somerset.

Kent.

One is tempted to comment theoretically on the above Agreement, but one must refrain, and let the events in the South Wales coalfield since July 1st be the commentary on the so-called Agreement. An ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory, so say the wisacres!

Let us first analyse the economic effect of the Agreement on wages.

The post-lock-out wages during the temporary and permanent period from July till November 30th, 1921:—

A.—For Daywagemen in Collieries in South Wales and Mon.
(excluding Pembrokeshire).

GRADE.	1915 Standard Rate	TEMPORARY PERIOD. <i>Daily Wage for 3 months. Showing Reduction per Shift.</i>			PERMANENT PERIOD. <i>Standard Wage plus %</i>	
		July 2/0	Aug. 2/6	Sep. 3/0	79.03% Oct.	28.95% Nov.
Colliers, Timbermen—Pieceworkers	6/10½	15/10.2	15/4.2	14/10.2	12/3.69	8/10.38
Colliers, Timbermen—Daywagemen	6/6	15/1.8	14/7.8	14/1.8	11/7.64	8/4.58
Coalcuttermen	6/4½	14/11.2	14/5.2	13/11.2	11/4.95	8/2.64
Masons and Pitmen, Tonnage Hauliers	6/3	14/8.87	14/2.87	13/8.87	11/2.27	8/0.71
Rippers, Hard Bottom Cutters	6/0	14/4.19	13/10.19	13/4.19	10/8.90	7/8.84
Day Hauliers over 18	5/10½	14/1.86	13/7.86	13/1.86	10/6.21	7/6.90
Rope Splicers, Timber Drawers, Airwaymen, Leading Hitchers, Underground Winding Enginemen	5/9	13/11½	13/5½	12/11½	10/3.53	7/4.97
Underground Leading Banksmen, Ropechangers, Night Hauliers, Riders over 18... ..	5/7½	13/9.18	13/3.18	12/9.18	10/0.84	7/3
Soft Bottomcutters, Roadmen	5/4½	13/4.51	12/10.51	12/4.51	9/7.47	6/11.17
Ordinary Hitchers, Sheafmen, Rollermen, Pulleymen, Jig Hitchers	5/3	13/2.17	12/8.17	12/2.17	9/4.78	6/9.23
Underground Electricians, Cogcutters	5/1½	12/11.8	12/5.8	11/11.8	9/2.10	6/7.30
Colliers' Helpers, Assistant Timbermen and Rippers, Ofters, Labourers, Underground Hauling Engineers, Electric, Steam and Compressed Air Main and Sub- sidiary Haulage Pumpsmen, Fitters, Shacklers, Sprag- men, Watermen, Assistant Underground Banksmen, Pipemen, Slummers, Wallers, Trammers	5/0	12/9½	12/3½	11/9½	8/11.41	6/5.37
BOYS.						
Boy under 14½ years of age	2/0	5/4.4	5/1.4	4/10.4	3/6.96	2/6.94
Boys over 14½ under 15 years of age	2/3	5/9	5/6	5/3	4/0.33	2/10.81
" 15 " 16 "	2/7½	6/4	6/1	5/10	4/8.39	3/4.61
" 16 " 17 "	3/0	8/8	8/2	7/8	5/4.45	3/10.41
" 17 " 18 "	3/4½	9/3	8/9	8/3	6/0.50	4/4.22
" 18 " 19 "	3/9	10/10	10/4	9/10	6/8.56	4/10
" 19 " 20 "	4/1½	11/5	10/11	10/5	7/4.61	5/3.83
" 20 " 21 "	4/6	12/0	11/6	11/0	8/0.67	5/9.63

B.—For Pembrokeshire Miners.

Because of the Special District Minimum Rates fixed by Lord St. Alwyn in Part II. of the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Act of 1912, the following will be the wages for Pembrokeshire during the temporary period.

Mines East of the River Cleddau

GRADE.	TEMPORARY PERIOD.					PERMANENT PERIOD.	
	<i>Daily Wage for 3 months.</i>					<i>Standard Wage plus %</i>	
	<i>Showing Reduction per Shift.</i>					79.03%	28.95%
	1915	July	August	September	October	November	
	Standard	1/- under 16	1/3 under 16	1/6 under 16			
	Rate.	2/- over 16	2/6 over 16	3/- over 16			
Coal Hewers	4/6	12/0 .14	11/6 .14	11/0 .14	8/0 .68	5/9 .63	
Underground Enginemen, Banksmen, Hitchers	3/10½	11/0 .46	10/6 .46	10/0 .46	6/11 .25	4/11 .96	
Roadmen, Repairers, Riders, Hauliers, Beam-men	3/9	10/10 .12	10/4 .12	9/10 .12	6/8 .25	4/10 .03	
Trammers—16 to 18 years of age	3/3	9/0 .77	8/6 .77	8/0 .77	5/9 .82	4/2 .29	
Trammers—18 years and over	3/3	10/0 .77	9/6 .77	9/0 .77	5/9 .82	4/2 .29	
Boys under 15 years of age	1/6	4/7 .04	4/4 .04	4/1 .04	2/8 .23	1/11 .21	

Mines West of the River Cleddau (pending the legal decision re 50% on standard)

Cutters, Repairers	3/0	9/8 .09	9/2 .09	8/8 .09	5/4 .45	3/10 .42
Assistant Cutters, Repairers, Hitchers	2/9	9/3 .42	8/9 .42	8/3 .42	4/11 .18	3/6 .55
Trammers, Beam-men, Unskilled Labourers	2/6	8/10 .74	8/4 .74	7/10 .74	4/5 .71	3/2 .69
Boys under 20 years of age	2/0	8/1 .39	7/7 .39	7/1 .39	3/6 .96	2/6 .95
" 18 "	1/6	6/4 .04	5/10 .04	5/4 .04	2/8 .23	1/11 .21
" 16 "	1/0	3/9 .69	3/6 .69	3/3 .69	1/9 .48	1/3 .48

When the miners entered the permanent period commencing October 1st, there were about seven million pounds of the original ten million pounds subsidy used up to ease the gradual scaling down in wages.

The Miners' Federation have made an application to the Government for the balance of the subsidy to be used up by the coal industry to ease the further drastic cuts anticipated during the remainder of the permanent period.

The first reply of the Government through the Premier, in October, was that despite the drastic cuts in the miners' wages since the termination of the temporary period, the balance of the subsidy cannot be given to the miners to ease the drastic cuts in wages. This was the reply in October. Now that a further drop in wages has occurred, in November, the M.F.G.B. has made another appeal to the Premier for this unexpended balance of the subsidy. Again the appeal was turned down.

While the above appeals were in progress, Mr. Frank Hodges and Major D. Watts Morgan have been kite-flying their eight to ten million credit schemes to the coal industry from the Treasury with a view to reviving Ole King Coal with orders for cheap coal to the home industries, at 30s. per ton, and abroad at a price to compete with France and America. These two schemes deserve to be doubly-damned if only for the fact that they have never been submitted for consideration to the rank and file, nor even to the Executive of the M.F.G.B. These schemes, even though the result of mighty brain waves, have to be carefully scotched, where their authors have only one end in view—"the reconstruction and revivifying of collapsing Capitalism."

Since July 1st, there have been many meetings of the National Wages Board, with varying decisions given by the independent (?) chairman, Sir W. Plender, but all this palaver in London has simply left the miner in South Wales to struggle with the wages shown on pages 212 and 213. These wages in November had dropped down to a stage equivalent to just 20 per cent. above 1914 wages, at a time when, according to the very conservative estimate of the Board of Trade figures, the cost of living to-day is at least 110 per cent. above 1914 figures.

The wages are simply ridiculous and impossible! Coal cannot be cut by South Wales miners with an ounce of rebelliousness in their bones at this low wage. Something must happen! The miners may refuse to work for such pittance (see especially Pembrokeshire wages, page 213). The owners may, then, yield up part, if not the whole, of their 17 per cent. surplus profit or 17 per cent. standard profit, in order to induce the miners to produce coal at all. The Government may even be driven to establish a National Pool, whereby pits or districts that can pay well over the wages laid down by the National Agreement shall be forced to contribute some of their profits to assist poorer districts. We may even see the Government forced to adopt Nationalisation of mines. Failing all this, we may even see the miners at last revolting and demanding complete control of the mines by the workers—now employed, under-employed, and unemployed.

One thing we can be sure of, with 50,000 miners totally unemployed and starving in the South Wales coalfield to-day, anything might happen. Even a worm will turn! This brings us now to a consideration of the problems the South Wales miners are faced with, as a result of the Lock-out Wages Agreement.

III.

The Aftermath of the Lockout and Pernicious Agreement.

(a) Victimisation of Prominent Trade Unionists.

THE last clause of the Agreement bearing the "unlucky" number 13 (see page 211) guarantees that "every man shall be entitled to return to his place when that place is available for him." The owners in South Wales, in many instances, have flagrantly broken this clause, by deliberately arranging to see that "that place is *not* available for him" when that "him" refers to a prominent trade unionist rebel, like Davics, of Mardy, who was incarcerated with Cook in prison. This the owners even accomplish at the cost of subterfuge and of stopping whole districts or sections of the pit. Then when these cases are brought before the Joint Disputes Committee of the Conciliation Board, the owners add insult to injury by calmly declaring that by stopping so-and-so (who is known as a rebel trade unionist, and be-dubbed an agitator) they are not acting in defiance of clause 13, but simply stopping the section of the pit, on the score of economy, or due to altered plans.

The whip hand and tyrannical attitude of the owners comes out plainly and openly in the dictatorial way one of the coalfield magnates, Mr. D. R. Llewellyn, forbade the Tower Colliery miners to re-employ their Minimum Wage Agent, Mr. Gwilym Richards, at the weigh-house, where he was also checkweigher. Mr. D. R. Llewellyn has given the ultimatum to the Tower Colliery miners that the minute they take back Gwilym Richards, that minute he also closes down the colliery. . . . And all this bit of Tsar-like tyranny by the great D. R. over G. R. because the latter has said in public during the lock-out that "D. R.'s wife is no better than any collier's wife"!

Although Gwilym Richards is an Executive Member of the S.W.M.F., no action has been taken to reinstate this local miners' leader—except the humiliating and hitherto unfruitful steps of negotiating and interviewing the high and mighty proprietor.

So far Gwilym Richards is not reinstated, and is a member of the unemployed ranks, though his fellow workers, who elected him to the position, have resumed work this last seventeen weeks.

The S.W.M.F. funds having been depleted by the lock-out, no victimised person, even in such rebel districts as the Rhondda, is in receipt of any victimisation pay to support him or his family. Such is the plight of the once victorious S.W.M.F.

(b) *Unemployment.*—This unemployment problem is a new feature in the coalfield of South Wales, where regular employment has been the chief feature for years, and particularly during the years of war. True, there have been periods of idleness in the South Wales coalfield, but unemployment has never, till now, been chronic. The unemployment in the South Wales coalfield was more a question of under-employment or partial employment in which all shared. But the unemployment *now* experienced in the coalfield is one that hits about 50,000, who are totally unemployed, while the remaining 150,000 are under-employed or partially employed for two or three days a week on an average. So this unemployment is a new phenomenon in the South Wales coalfield. Coming now, on top of the drastic wage cuts, it is a sore and urgent problem that the employed miner *must* solve for the unemployed miner, or soon the latter will be used by the owners as a tool to further reduce the wages standards and to abolish some hard-won and established customs.

We will not here seek to explain the causes of this unemployment, except to refer the reader to the treatment of this aspect of the question in its relation to the Versailles Peace Treaty Indemnity Clauses in the booklet referred to above—"The Miners' Conflict with the Mineowners," and the very enlightening article in *The Communist* * of October 15th by Comrade J. T. Walton Newbold, where he traces the unemployment to the conversion of our navy battleships and merchant ships to oil fuel consumers instead of coal. This analysis of the machinations of coal magnates and financiers and their juggling with the international coal market, Comrade Newbold pursues also most instructively and sensationally in the *Communist Review* for November.

What we will attempt here is merely to analyse the problem of unemployment as it faces and challenges the employed miners of the S.W.M.F. at present.

As was to be expected from the dislocation caused by the lock-out, a large percentage of miners did not restart with their fellow workmen on July 4th. According to the Umpire's decision under the Unemployment Insurance Act, these men, so affected in the majority of cases, were ruled out of claiming the unemployment benefit, as their unemployment was due to a trade dispute. These decisions did not add to the miners' admiration for the impartiality of the Government in thus penalising the miners, after the lock-out was over. Such adverse decisions only meant that the unemployed miners were driven to seek relief from the Guardians, because the funds of the S.W.M.F. were too depleted to pay out any unemployment benefits. The hard-heartedness and sparse response of the Guardians, with their demands to treat any relief given as mere loans to be later repaid, led to the organisation of several Unemployed Demonstrations, especially in the populous centres of the Rhondda and western valleys. Fortunately for these demonstrations the police were conspicuous by their absence.

*This may be obtained in pamphlet form and is entitled, *The Doom of a Coalfield*, by W. T. Newbold. Price, 1½d. (post free). Communist Party, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.

The numbers of these unemployed miners have kept on increasing since July 4th, so that there are now about one-fourth of the miners totally unemployed, because some big collieries have permanently closed down for lack of orders, as there is no market for the coal they have produced.

Other huge concerns in the Rhondda and Ebbw Vale have given notice to their men, and have only consented to restart the pits if the men consented to increase output or set aside some pre-lock-out customs.

With all this unemployment existing at present, with a likelihood of it growing further, the S.W.M.F. will have to face the problem and decide what is to be the attitude of the employed miners towards this growing evil and danger. If the S.W.M.F. will not tackle it for its unemployed members, they will be driven to solve it for them, and for themselves. The unemployed miners will be driven to organise themselves outside the S.W.M.F., along with other important wage-slaves unemployed in other industries. This will weaken the S.W.M.F. So something must be done at once by the miners' organisation to grapple with this problem with which it is faced.

As immediate steps the cry should be taken up of abolishing overtime from the coalfield till the surplus labour now on the market be absorbed. Then steps should be taken to get a six-hours' a day policy advocated, or even a five days' a week policy, and not the mad capitalist drivell of a back to eight hours a day in the coalfield to increase production and further glut the market with coal. Then as an ultimate policy to be attempted, as soon as its fighting force allows it, the S.W.M.F. should organise the employed and the unemployed miners to demand that the coal industry should carry the burden of its own unemployed, by insisting that the burden of maintaining the unemployed miners be thrown on to the industry and the owners debarred from touching profits till the unemployed were maintained, at full trade union rates, during their enforced idleness. The obvious retort of the employers would be that the scheme would be uneconomic, and that the industry could not stand it. The miners' retort should be that if that were so, then they would not stand the capitalistic running of the coalfield any longer, and steps should be taken to expropriate the coalowners, who are so callous as to scrap tens of thousands of able-bodied, willing to work miners, at the first little rebuff they, as owners, get in the international coal market. Let the coalowners be told to clear out from the coal industry if they cannot maintain, yea, at full trade union rates, the unemployed that maintained them and their huge profits during the years of war.

The cry must be, "Down with the incompetent capitalist coal-owners and all power and control to the Miners' Lodges." And there's the rub! Before this can be an accomplished fact there is another problem to be faced by the S.W.M.F.

IV.

Consolidation of the Ranks of the S.W.M.F.

- (i) **Eliminating Non-Unionism ; and**
- (ii) **Abolishing Craft-Unionism.**

THE miners' organisation, in South Wales particularly, has passed through its testing time since the lock-out. Like every other diseased or sick organism, it has been attacked by parasite growths—of non-unionism and craft-unionism. No sooner was the lock-out over than a scurrilous attack began in the capitalist Press—the *Western Mail*—a paper in which the late Viscount Rhondda, coal magnate, was so interested financially—upon the administration of the funds of the S.W.M.F.

By many members of the miners' organisation, who had only taken an indifferent interest in their trade union affairs in the lodge and district, this tirade was believed, and the result was a slackening off in the regularity of subscriptions and dues, and a large number of once-loyal trade unionists, believing this Press stunt about "squandermania" of the S.W.M.F., became non-unionists. At least, they were non-unionists because they were out of compliance. Added to these "pressed" non-unionists were a number of "depressed" loyal trade unionists, who temporarily refused to pay their trade union dues because of the disgust and disappointment they felt after the lock-out fiasco. These, however, have since got over this lock-out nausea, and are once more pegging away to reconstruct the S.W.M.F. on stronger lines. All this disaffection amongst the rank and file of the miners' organisation, encouraged the non-unionist proper to flourish, *i.e.*, the individuals who will not pay their trade union dues, in fair or foul weather, unless compelled to by the larger body of organised miners.

So also did this disaffection lead to a definite disruption or break away from the ranks of the S.W.M.F. of a large number of craftsmen, who resuscitated the ghost of their former craft organisation, which had become defunct when they, as a craft organisation, merged into the S.W.M.F. a few months before the lock-out.

It was a very serious situation for the Executive of the S.W.M.F. to face, and they had to act promptly. The first thing the Executive did was to issue the following manifesto as a counterblast to the Press attacks on the administration of the funds of the miners' organisation.

SOUTH WALES MINERS' FEDERATION.

**A MANIFESTO TO THE SOUTH WALES COLLIERY WORKERS.
FELLOW WORKMEN,**

The present period of depression in trade has necessitated the South Wales Miners' Federation reverting, for the time being, to the monthly contribution of 2s. per member, with an adjustment of benefits, conditions, and practices to what they were prior to August, 1920. The three months' stoppage of work caused by the action of the owners in trying to enforce an unjustifiable reduction in wages in March last, has caused widespread distress, and most families have debts of some kind that will take some time to pay off, and, in addition, a large number of collieries are working

short time, thousands of our members are employed only two or three days a week, and thousands more are out of employment altogether. Under these circumstances the Executive Council feel justified in recommending the reduction in the contributions.

The success of the Miners' Federation in the past should remove all doubt as to its capacity to promote and maintain the interests of its members in the future, but it is very desirable that the members should be reminded of the many improvements of a permanent character that have been secured for them through the efforts of the organisation. While it is impossible to estimate in terms of hard cash the manifold benefits the members have derived from the activities of the Federation during the last ten years, the following will give some indication of the character and magnitude of some of them :—

(1) THE COAL MINES (MINIMUM WAGE) ACT.—When this Act was passed, considerably over 20,000 piece-work colliers were receiving standard wages of less than 4s. 7d. per shift. The Act meant an immediate increase to this class alone of over *half a million pounds per annum*. The standard wages of over 30,000 workmen in other grades were less than 3s. 4d., and over 10,000 were receiving less than 3s. per shift. The establishment of the minimum wage meant an increase in wages of at least *One Million Pounds per annum* for the workmen of South Wales and Monmouthshire. South Wales, more than any other district, was responsible for the policy of the Miners' Federation which led to the passing of this Act, from which benefit was derived by every grade of underground labour without exception.

(2) 1915 AGREEMENT.—By this agreement all standard rates were increased by 50 per cent. A minimum standard of 5s. per shift was secured for all surface as well as underground workmen. The old rates of 3s., 2s. 10d., 2s. 8d., and even 2s. 6d., that were paid to thousands of surface-men, were abolished, and at least 15,000 workmen secured advances in wages of a permanent character by this provision.

(3) BONUS TURN.—Previous to the 1915 Agreement, half the collieries in the coalfield, and the continuous shift men at all collieries were not paid the bonus turn of 6 for 5 afternoon or night shifts. Under this Agreement this substantial boon was *secured to all workmen*, and it further provided, for the first time, that a proportionate part of the bonus turn should be paid when shifts were lost through no fault of the workman.

(4) REDUCTION OF HOURS.—The hours of labour underground have been reduced from 8 to 7, with a provision that the wages of daywork men should not be reduced, and pieceworkers should have 14.2 per cent. added to their earnings to compensate for the reduction in hours. Surfacemen's hours were reduced from 54 to 46½ per week, without any reduction in wages.

(5) PAYMENT FOR OVERTIME.—An Overtime Agreement has been secured which provides that all workmen should be paid time and a half for week-end work. This provision, with the bonus turn, gives thousands of continuous shift men an average of 2 shifts' wages per week more than they formerly received for the same work.

We know of no other organisation in the world that has secured for its members *such substantial improvements* as the Miners' Federation has got for its members during the last ten years, and it is clear from the above statements that no class of colliery workers have received greater benefits than the enginemen, stokers, and other continuous shift men. Apart from improvements in standard rates and general increases in wages, these men are receiving on an average two shifts' wages per week (26s. weekly at present rates) more than they formerly received for the same work; and yet we find that these are the men who are most active in some districts in spreading dissension and disunion among the workmen, and are trying to set up a *parasitic organisation* which, though useless itself, must weaken the fighting capacity of the Federation, which is the only power that can adequately protect the interest of the workmen. What has any other Union in the industry done for the mine worker? Absolutely nothing. It is true that certain organisations have received advances in their own rates, but only at a price of not belonging to the Miners' Federation and of their willingness to work during strikes. It is an undoubted

fact that all general increases in wages and reduction in hours have been secured by the work and power of the Miners' Federation. The other Unions have waited till the fight is over, and then came in to share the spoils of victory to which they had in no way contributed. There are other mongrel organisations that are trying by *fair but false promises* to entice the workmen from their allegiance to the Miners' Federation. We are confident, however, that their good sense will guide the workmen when dealing with the emissaries of *these hybrid Unions*; they have never done anything for the colliery workers, and they never will, and any workman who may be foolish enough to join them will find when he is in difficulties that he has relied on a *broken reed*.

In some quarters the Federation is attacked on the ground of extravagant administration. The following figures will show how baseless these charges are:—During the last ten years (1911-1920), the total amount contributed by members to the Central Fund was £1,073,452 7s. 1d. During the same period not less than £910,415, representing 84.81 per cent. of the amount contributed, have been returned to the members as *strike, lock-out, and out-of-work pay*. The administration expenses, including the expenses of the Conciliation Board, Disputes, Salaries, etc., are only 8.05 per cent., or *less than a penny* out of every shilling received into the fund. There are few, if any, organisations, in commerce or industry, that can show such a favourable record in cost of administration. But suspicion of each other has always been one of the weaknesses of democracy all through the ages; at all times the employer class have found ready tools amongst us to create distrust and dissention, and while we are quarrelling one with the other the employers are busy consolidating their position, and are encroaching on some of our hard-won rights and privileges. The economic conditions of the moment favour the owners, and any workman who supports, at this juncture especially, any movement that is likely to divide our forces, is a *traitor to his class*, and deserves the condemnation of all honest Trade Unionists. The Miners' Federation has just been through one of the greatest conflicts in industrial history, and although we failed to gain the goal we aimed at, we shattered the attack of the employers, and prevented the drastic cut in wages which they proposed in the month of March. But the owners are still active, and the only hope the workers have of maintaining and improving their position is by building up again the strong Federation that has done so much for them in the past. If we face, with steadfastness and courage our present exceptional troubles, they will gradually disappear, and we can then prepare to take a further step forward on the long road towards the complete emancipation of the workers.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Soon after the above the Executive issued the following manifesto to counteract the mal-statements of the "leaders" of the resurrected craft union, who treated their organisation with a special letter signed by Mr. Finlay Gibson, *Secretary of the South Wales and Mon. Coalowners' Association!*

SOUTH WALES MINERS' FEDERATION.

MANIFESTO TO THE WORKERS IN THE MECHANICAL DEPARTMENT AT COLLIERIES.

FELLOW WORKERS,

Owing to the fact that dissension is being caused amongst you as a grade of workmen, and an endeavour made to set up a sectional organisation, we, the undersigned, deem it our duty to very clearly place our views before you upon the matter.

It is being said by some of the propagandists of the new movement that those who held office in the now defunct Enginemen, Stokers and Craftsmen's Association were supporting the setting up of a new organisation for the Mechanical and Surface Workmen.

That statement we most emphatically repudiate, and we dissociate ourselves entirely from a movement which in our opinion will only tend to make the position of the workers worse than it is at present.

Sectional organisation may have been useful in years gone by, but under the present method of dealing with matters affecting the welfare of the workers in the coal mining industry, it is most essential that there should be complete unity amongst all grades of colliery workers in order that they may reap the full benefits of recent legislation.

In the Mining Industry Act, 1920, it is provided that Committees shall be set up for the purpose of dealing with all phases of the Industry.

The said Committees will be comprised of an equal number of Owners and Workmen's Representatives. Therefore, in order to attain adequate representation upon the Committees for the various grades, it is essential that there should be unity amongst the workmen in general.

It stands to reason that the necessary unity cannot be attained by the setting up of sectional organisations.

This new movement was born during a period of great disappointment, and when a wave of reaction passed over the coalfield.

History has taught us to expect a state of demoralisation to exist among the working classes after every great industrial upheaval, but history has also taught us that this state is only temporary.

There are at the present moment five Agents in the Miners' Federation whose services are at the disposal of those engaged in the Mechanical Department, and we sincerely trust that Enginemmen, Stokers and Craftsmen will realise that their best interest will be better maintained by remaining within the Federation than by attaching themselves to any sectional movement.

(Signed)

W. DAVIES.
J. W. GRANT.
W. HOPKINS.
D. B. JONES.
W. WOOSNAM.

CARDIFF, Sept. 23rd, 1921.

V.

New Tasks and Hard Work

THE issuing of these two manifestoes and the carrying on of a campaign against non-unionism and craft-unionism has not been effective, so the Executive of the S.W.M.F. has now been driven to the only resource it has, to force the non-unionists and craft unionists into its ranks. The Executive have ordered a coalfield "show-card," which has been very effective in some localities, where the unemployed members of the lodge were effectively used to see the "show-card" arrangements through.

The Executive will undoubtedly have to follow up this preliminary with decisive action, tendering notice to bring the whole coalfield to a stop, till the delinquents have returned to the S.W.M.F. This step seems inevitable now that the coalowners of South Wales have refused to renew the non-union agreement that was operative during the war.

Disaffection is not confined to those who have broken away as non-unionists or craft-unionists. There is great discontent and disaffection amongst the "loyalists" of the Left Wing in the S.W.M.F. They feel it very galling to have to set their hands to the plough, after such a sell-out by the leaders, at the termination of fourteen weeks' solidarity of the rank and file during the lock-out. Several lodges in South Wales sent in resolutions demanding

the immediate resignation of the officials of the M.F.G.B. The remarks of the President, and the report of Mr. Frank Hodges, at the Annual Conference at Llandudno, quoted earlier in this article, did not make things easier for these rank and filers in the lodges to bear the defeat sustained after the lock-out.

Several resolutions have been tabled by various lodges to reform and reorganise the S.W.M.F. and the M.F.G.B., with a view to having greater control over Miners' Agents and officials, especially to secure that miners' representatives do not depart from the mandate given by conference of delegates or by ballot. To this end unofficial reform groups have been active in the Rhondda, Swansea and Amman Valleys.

We have dealt sufficiently with the internal problems of the S.W.M.F. now, and we can pass on to deal with

VI.

The S.W.M.F. in its Relation to other Industrial Bodies and International Labour

THE S.W.M.F., despite the disappointment of the last lock-out, will not sever its connection from the M.F.G.B., realising that there may be need for mass action, with the greater body, in the near future, to tackle some of the problems mentioned above.

The Triple Alliance is anathema to all members of the rank and file of the S.W.M.F. The fiasco of "Black Friday" will not easily be eradicated from their minds. Despite Gerald Gould's whitewash for the personnel of the Triple Alliance, in his recent pamphlet "The Lesson of Black Friday," the majority of members in the Triple Alliance, in the miners' lodges hold the leaders of the Triple Alliance, in the persons of J. H. Thomas, Cramp, Bevin, and Bob Williams, responsible for the farce enacted on that treacherous Friday. They "funked" and failed to give the lead to their organisations at the critical moment. It is true there was some fault in the "structure" of the Triple Alliance, but had the Triple Alliance leaders been in earnest about concerted action, to resist the attack on disorganised Labour by well-organised Capital, they could have brought pressure to bear on the ever-ready rank and file, to change constitutions and remedy defects of machinery. No! The miners will have it that "men" failed as well as "machinery" in the Triple Alliance.

The feeling amongst miners, as far as the rank and file is concerned, is to leave the Triple Alliance to die. . . . It is possibly true to say it is dead already, for ruinous obituary notices have appeared in the capitalist Press that "the Triple Alliance Spirit has passed over to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress."

The S.W.M.F. has really got indifferent to the activities of this newly constituted General Council that has been so dormant, while the huge wage cuts have been proceeding in each industry successively, after the defeat of the miners.

In so far as the S.W.M.F. is conscious of any concerted action with outside bodies at all, it is interesting to note that at the first

Annual South Wales Conference after the lock-out, a resolution was carried to affiliate with the Third International. Of course, as was to be expected, the opposition was led off by the Yellow, Parliamentary-Second-Internationalist, Vernon Hartshorn; but the Reds were one too many for him in debate, and the resolution was carried. Since then, the M.P. from Maesteg has made it his special business to castigate the Communists and the Reds at all his meetings up and down the coalfield.

Our task now will be to convince the M.F.G.B. that affiliation to the Second International is useless and hopeless, and that our only hope to overthrow capitalism here in Great Britain, and thus put an end to unemployment, low wages, and victimisation, is to line up with the class-conscious proletariat of the world in the Third International, with its headquarters in Moscow.

If the miners don't do this, then all their actions in the future will be centred round reforms instead of focussing their minds and activities on revolutionary aims, to put an end to the capitalist exploitation of coal and colliers.

This "red" activity of the S.W.M.F. could be manifested, politically, by a closer working between the Communist Party and the lodges, districts, and Executive.

The energies, funds, and co-operation now given to political organisation under the aegis of the hopelessly reformist Labour Party, should be transferred to a closer co-operation with the Communist Party. The defeat of so many candidates of the Labour Party colour in the recent elections locally may do a great deal to help to this end. The enthusiastic support at propaganda meetings, if not actually recorded in the vote given to Bob Stewart at Caerphilly, augurs well for the future of Communism as a political and an industrial faith amongst the miners.

The good work done by the Labour College, through the students that return to the lodges after their residence in London, will effect much to create that revolutionary atmosphere that will prevent the S.W.M.F. from being content with the reformism so dear to Herbert Smith, as evidenced by his Llandudno speech from the chair. Several districts in the S.W.M.F. are nurturing classes under the Labour College, led by returned students. I don't know of a single W.E.A. class run by miners in the S.W.M.F. under the auspices of the lodge or district. There are scores of such classes under the Plebs League. More power to the Plebs and its penetrating propaganda.

One hesitates to dogmatise as to the future. So many things may happen. Will this Lock-out Agreement last till December, 1922? Coalowners and colliers are dissatisfied with it. If it is broken, what will replace it? Will there be greater trustification in the coalfield, as shown now by the extensions of the tentacles of the P.D., and the Guest, Keen & Nettlefold group to G.C.G.? Will this greater trustification lead to the further crushing of miners till they do something more than squeal? Will the miners crush craft unionism and eliminate non-unionism, so as to rebuild

better and stronger an Industrial Union, consolidated to meet and overthrow the whole structure of capitalism in the coalfield? Will the miners revive their demand for the National Pool of Profits, or for Nationalisation? Will the miners refuse to go back even for these two war-cries, and go straight for expropriation of the capitalist coalowner, and demand complete miners' control of the mines? Surely the miners can never make a bigger mess of the coalfield and the international coal market than these big mighty magnates and men of brains and initiative have done.

All these questions I leave unanswered for Time and the S.W.M.F. rank and file to answer, after they have meditated over their defeats, as mere experiences, which they can use as stepping-stones to higher things.

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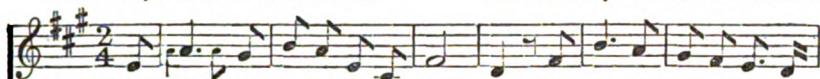
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SONGS of the REVOLUTION

The International

From the French of EUGÈNE POTTIER.
Translated by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL.

Air by DEGEYTER.
Harmonised by MURIEL DAVENPORT.



1. A - rise! ye wretch-ed of all re - gions! A - rise! all bound in hun-ger's
2. We ask no aid from Gods or Cœ - sars, From ha - loed sa - viour or from
3. With fumes of bat-tle we've been drunk - en, A - gainst our broth-ers we've made
4. March on-ward, O arm-y of the toil - ers, Of all who work for dai - ly



1. chain!
 2. king;
 3. war,
 4. bread!
- Now rea - son stirs the work-ers' le - gions, For lo, the
'Tis we, 'tis we, the world's pro-du - cers, Who to our
In mu - tual slaugh-ter for our ty - rants.—'Down arms!' will
We'll give short shrift to the de - spoil - ers; Let them



1. end draws on a - main!
 2. own selves help must bring.
 3. take the sol - dier far!
 4. reign in the realm of the dead!
- A - way with wreck-age of past
To free the spi - rit from its
Per - chance they're stub-born, these man -
On our flesh have there ev - er been



1. na - tions! En - slav - ed crowd, rise at the call | The
 2. pri - son, To make the thief his gains dis - gorge, With
 3. eat - ers? Would make us still for he - roes pass? We'll
 4. feed - ing Birds of prey since the dawn-ing of days; Should these

1. world shall change from its found - a - tions; We that are no - thing shall be all.
 2. might - y strokes we'll strike the ir - on Just tak - en glow - ing from our forge.
 3. find a good use for our bul - lets A - gainst th'op - pres - sors of our class!
 4. van - ish, the sun, all un - heed - ing, In reck - less splen - dour still will blaze.

CHORUS. *ff*

The call to arms has sound - ed! Close ranks the

foe to face! The Work - ers' In - ter - na - tion -

al Shall be the hu - man race! The *fff*



call to arms has sound - ed! Close ranks the



foe to face! The Work - ers' In - ter -



na - tion - al Shall be the hu - man race!



Communism & Christianity

By MARK STARR

IT is interesting to look back a few years and remember the storm of protest aroused by Blatchford's determinist books in Socialist circles, or to read the flood of pamphlets written with an eye on electors to prove that English Socialism was not the godless Continental sort, but was in perfect accord with all that was good in religion. (The revival of Phillip Snowden's "*The Christ That is To Be*" shows that this tendency is not yet dead.) But what have events proven? To-day, while there is no open animosity between them, and while Labour and its social idealism becomes more and more important, the Church declines. Its attempt to remain above the battle in social conflicts provokes only ridicule or compassion, and the recent whole-hearted support given by organised religion to the prosecution of war has brought it into contempt in the eyes of many of its most sincere adherents. Thinking men could not believe in something slavishly bound to rival national war chariots. A hundred and one varieties of strange sects, believing the orthodox bodies to have gone astray, have broken and are breaking away. As we walk through the wonderful old cathedrals, or see the numerous churches and chapels of Britain, the conviction comes that while the shell remains, the kernel of life is rotting fast. Religious bodies by their own momentum, and as centres of social life, will exist for many years to come, but their importance in society is fast diminishing; ethical societies and so-called Free Churches do not fill their place.

It is in the country villages, in the joy of the first dawn of Socialism or Labour politics where this change is most noticeable. Nonconformity there never descended to following, blindly and obediently, a particular politician as the fashionable town chapels seemed to do when a Nonconformist became a Prime Minister. Inside the little chapel the Radical opinion massed itself in opposition to the squire and parson. Many a bitter story could be told of the persecution and sacrifice which that opposition entailed. Men like Joseph Arch, and those who have since endeavoured to organise the agricultural workers, could tell us much about this. However, to-day, while it is remarkable how many Socialist and Communist speakers and writers first learnt to talk and study as Sunday school teachers and "local preachers," the thinking workers, even in the villages, are now finding other channels for self expression. They tend to become better Socialists and Trade Unionists, and less active chapel members. Some of them, largely on account of sentimental association, or through lack of time to understand fully the nature of religion, still retain their old connection. They read fresh meanings into the old symbols. But such persons are tabooed by the official ministers because of their dangerous mixing of politics with religion, and gradually they will become frozen out, or themselves engrossed in other work. The Brotherhood Movement made an attempt to close the gap, but it has failed. The active spirits in the modern Labour movement, unlike many of the Chartist and

early Trade Unionist leaders, do not get their inspiration from the church and chapel; they come no longer from the "P.S.A." Hence there is no longer any need to defend Socialism against the charge of destroying religion, and we can proceed to explain why the gap is widening and why irreligion grows so rapidly.

The man who calls himself a Christian Socialist will be by this time most anxious to explain that Christianity is something separate from Churchianity. But in order to discuss religion it will be necessary to make a definition which will cover not one religion such as Christianity, but all religions. There have been many attempts to do this. Peschel founded religion on the principles of causality, *i.e.*, the need of the world for some starting force. Max Muller said it was the perception of the Infinite. To Kant, religion was not a matter for the intellect but a sanction for duty, and, in passing, it can be noticed that if this definition be accepted, the Russian Communist Saturdays are religious displays of a new and splendid type. Matthew Arnold described religion as morality touched by emotion, ethics heightened and lit up by intense feeling.

Religion as treated here will be taken as *an attempt by man to relate himself emotionally, and later intellectually, to the ALL outside him*. It is intertwined with imaginative idealism, with morality as man seeks to sanction or enforce a new code of relations with his fellows, and with philosophy as he endeavours to make his beliefs reasonable. All the definitions given above represent considerable retrenchments from earlier positions. What modern religion has gained in breadth it has lost in depth. Dietzgen in this connection says (p. 116, *Philosophical Essays*): "The more the idea of God recedes into the past, the more palpable it is; in olden times man knew everything about his God; the more modern the form of religion has become, the more confused and hazy are our religious ideas. The truth is that the historic development of religion tends to its gradual dissolution."

The modern vagueness and lessening of the pretensions of religion are the result of the progress of science, itself very largely the product of industrial development. In an evolutionary age the growth and development of religion itself was very soon explained, and it was no wonder that instinctively the clergy had attacked Darwin. It was found that the primitive mind passed through Fetichism, Animism, on to Polytheism and to Theism. The dreams and ghosts of those early times are intimately bound up with the first attempts to explain the universe, and chiefly that part of it by which the savage obtained food. Now these tales and explanations are dismissed as myths by organised religion itself. As science has advanced, so the religious sphere of the Unknowable has receded. As men understand the origin of things, and as they control their own lives, to that extent belief in supernatural and creative processes dwindles. What is left is an idealism, a sense of mystery which is finally explained when the human mind itself and its operation is understood. And here we are much indebted to the help of the writer whose name is given above.

In the Labour movement there are three attitudes towards religion. The first is favourable, and perhaps best typified by a man like the great-hearted George Lansbury; such men stand in direct line of descent from Frederick Dennison Maurice and Charles Kingsley. Many of them may still retain their membership of a religious body, others are unattached. To them Socialism is a practical expression of their Christianity. They dwell upon the Communistic elements of religion which have always reappeared in times of social changes—the early Christian communism of consumption, the appeal of John Ball to primeval equality, the inspiration of Thomas Munzer and the German peasants, and the arguments of our own “Diggers” led by Winstanley in the middle of the turbulent 17th century. They used the denunciations against the rich oppressor so easily to be found in the Bible. But the attractive personality and eloquence of the “Socialist parsons” do not for long retain an alliance between the Church and Labour. The official Labour candidate may use the old familiar phrases to get the church and chapel vote, but it is often only lip service born of expediency. The mystic reconciliation by a few exceptional religious believers of the claims of Labour with religious belief makes no successful appeal to the modern worker. In fact, in many cases it serves as the beginning of the undermining of the old supports. For the practical realities of the struggle very soon break down all the old notions and complete the break-away.

Then in the Labour movement is to be found the avowed atheist, bitterly opposed to religion. Men who insist that as a necessary prelude to the tackling of any social problems, man must be unafraid, undisturbed, and completely freed from all superstitions and beliefs in the supernatural. Some of these comrades are suffering from a severe reaction against religion painfully imposed on them in their youth. Sometimes they are filled to bursting with newly acquired knowledge concerning the origin of religion and “the thin sour wine of a crude and absolute logic”; by ridicule and abuse of cherished beliefs they would cause needless pain. Religion to them is not a personal matter, but an incubus demanding removal before any good can come. On the Continent there are definite proletarian free thinking associations.

Neither of these groups can be said to represent fully the general attitude of Labour, which is one of apathy. Moreover, this is now being supplemented by the conscious relegation of religion to an unimportant place. This is mostly being accomplished by the Social Science study classes, whose influence is one of the greatest undercurrents in the Labour movement at the present moment. Using the guiding thread of the materialistic conception of history, instead of wanting the Labour movement to adopt the ideas of Christianity the students in these groups see how those very ideals came into being. They do not attack the idea of religion to simply replace it by another idea such as “free thought,” or displace supernatural guidance for the Rationalist’s “slow unfolding of the human mind,” or Mr. Wells’ “free intelligence of mankind.” Some of them knowing far more about religion itself

than its professed believers explain its development rather than abuse and attack it, and for the most are contemptuously tolerant.

It the Labour movement is irreligious, then capitalism is to blame. The rentier may elevate his physical necessity for the receipt of his dividend slip into a moral necessity for a God behind the mystery who will also at the same time be useful for contenting the troublesome "common people." But there is no such mystery about the receipt of wages. In so far as religion supports capitalism it must receive the attack which Labour is compelled to make. As the Labour movement matures it recognises that it can depend only upon itself, and consciously or unconsciously abandons belief in any mysterious unknown power; it no longer will accept an opiate. Experience in Labour organisations but completes the education of the workshop, where no scope for the mysterious is allowed. The end of religion comes fully when social relations are completely understood, and when we rob the mind process of all mystery, and see clearly how our thoughts are made. Man makes God in his own image and by his own mind. His mind has the power to generalise all things into the ONE, the Universe, and there need be no mystery and idolatry any longer.

Perhaps the word religion, despite its bad old associations, will survive to mean idealism. However, that idealism will be seen to be not an innate idea—a spark of the divine left in fallen man—but something arising definitely out of certain social conditions, coming up instead of coming down. Work is the new redeemer of humanity, and the world is seen to have been resting, not on Atlas, but on the man with the hoe. This new idealism will be based on knowledge; sentiment grounded on science. New sanctions of duty, new criterions of morality can already be seen in class consciousness and class welfare. If religion proceeds to its dissolution it means the final liberation of the human mind. The sense of solidarity and the demands of altruism are as old as the herd group. Man sacrifices himself and his petty notions of individual immortality for the immortality of the human race. Clear eyed he stands, endlessly handing on the torch to those who are coming after.

It is the duty of every Communist to see that a Communist Review is in the local library

Review of the World Political Situation

By KARL RADEK

THE development of world politics, since the conclusion of the great war, is in such an extraordinary state of flux, that any attempt to present a comprehensive picture of it is bound to be extremely difficult. It is essential, however, to have such a comprehensive picture of the world political situation as a basis for the investigation of decisive questions. It will be well, therefore, to deal with those questions which are fundamental in the present development, to show their connectedness, and then to deal with the various groups of contending forces and tendencies. However debatable the first attempts at describing the world political situation may be—and it may often assume paradoxical forms—however much the further investigation of this question may alter in character, such an investigation is necessary. We undertake this investigation, in order that in future numbers of the *Communist International* other comrades, well informed on this subject, may take up the discussion of the tendencies in world politics.

I.

The Problem

WE must first commence, by determining the *direction of the development and the condition of world economy. The period of Imperialism was the period of Protection*, that Protection which has changed its former functions. It no longer serves the purpose of protecting home industry, but of perfecting it for the world market, to undercutting foreign industry and capturing the markets of the undeveloped colonies. When the tariff cages of the individual countries had become too small for capitalism, it strove to expand them by means of establishing various Protective spheres. *The efforts to abolish Free Trade in England and to unite the English colonies with their mother country*, into a single Tariff Union, the conflicting efforts *to incorporate Canada* into the United States of America, and the establishment of a Central European Tariff Union, with an outlet in the south-east, this movement which assumed great proportions during the war—all these were great historical currents and instruments of Imperialism and the war.

Well, what are the decisive economic currents? What mottoes have been given it by the war? Towards the end of the war it appeared that the great trial of strength between the opposing and mutually exclusive tendencies of the capitalist Powers, would lead to a cessation of the struggle and to a world capitalist understanding. In so far as the idea of the League of Nations was more than mere bluff, the fundamental idea underlying it was an international

capitalist trust to dominate the world. This idea collapsed with the catastrophic defeat of German Imperialism. Not that German Imperialism was the bearer of this idea ; on the contrary, its idea of a Central Europe was nothing else than, as Nauman would say, an "economic trench." If Germany had been victorious, the movement for the establishment of an International Trust would naturally not have come to the fore as it did among the victorious Allies. Germany would have thought of its own plunder.

The condition for the success of the tendency toward a world league of capital was an inconclusive war, a war without victory, a war in which the participants would be deprived of the hope of plunder, and in which the capitalist powers would be compelled to come to an understanding in order to forestall the world economic catastrophe which would come as a consequence of the war. *The victorious Entente Powers buried the idea of an international capitalist trust.* They allowed the name of the League of Nations to remain, but limited it to the victorious and neutral Powers, and deprived it of all real economic content. Capitalists combine in trusts when they fail to conquer each other. The bankruptcy of a firm does not lead to the formation of a trust, but to the buying out of that firm. The Allies believed that they could stabilise their position by the plunder of Germany or by the removal of German competition.

Thus the post-war period is the *period of competition*. The place of Germany and England as *chief competitors* is now taken by *England and America*. At the same time, a question arose: How is it possible to throw a man out into the street with his portmanteau, with only his bare shirt and pants, and still convert him into one's best customer? This is not only the problem that affects Germany, Austria and Turkey, but also Russia. While the competition between the capitalist countries led to a new wave of *Protection*, the unsolved problem referred to above has led to the world economic crisis, wherein the capitalist world finds itself since the middle of last year.

The position is as follows: *The whole of the industrial forces of Europe have been thrown back*, as a consequence of which their power of expansion has been extremely weakened. Nothing is so characteristic as the contention within the ranks of the English imperialists as to whether the British Empire can permit itself the luxury of fulfilling the old dream of British imperialism, which constituted one of the most important causes of the last war, namely, to unite Egypt with India through Arabia and Mesopotamia. The United States of America and Japan, on the other hand, have come out of the war economically mightier. Strengthened American industry is confronted by the enormous difficulty of finding markets. This applies equally to agricultural products as to the products of industry. This problem, in so far as it applies to the export of the products of agriculture, the export of corn and cotton, may be solved by giving long credits to Central and South-European capitalists. By this means they would be helping the American farmer. At the same time, however, difficulties for American industry would be created by enabling Germany to become

a competitor on the industrial market. The question of export to agricultural countries, East Asia and Russia, becomes for the United States a matter of increasing importance. For *Japan*, the question of expansion is reaching a decisive stage. Without coal, without iron, without a sufficiency of the necessaries of life, with an annual increase of population of from six to eight hundred thousand, it presents a *repetition of the case of Germany*, but without the ability, that Germany undoubtedly had, of cutting a path for itself in the world by means of its highly developed technique. This is the general picture of the world economic problem which is to be solved by means of world politics.

The last resort of world politics is arms, and three years after the cry of "Victory over Militarism," armaments and military power still stand in the centre of all questions. The war has shown how easily armies may spring from the soil. The United States of America and England, who during the war performed the miracle, are relying on their tried art of military improvisation, and while maintaining the skeletons around which to build their land armies, are concentrating their efforts on the construction of fleets. Japan is simultaneously building its fleet and its army. France and the new States of Central Europe are striving to outbid and surpass the pre-war rivalry in armaments. The disarmament of Germany has not lessened Europe's lust for war. It has merely increased the ruthlessness of the armed against the unarmed. For capitalism as a whole arms have remained the *ultima ratio*. Behind all the combinations of world politics there stands the danger of war.

II.

Britain, America and Japan

THE world war ended with the victory of the United States *on a world scale*, with the victory of England in Europe, and a victory of Japan in Eastern Asia. The United States of America are striving to counteract the victory of Japan. England is offering resistance to the economic hegemony of the United States. France, the country to whom victory brought, besides the laurels, the largest number of graves, the greatest number of losses, and the greatest economic destruction, strives to contend against the hegemony of the British Isles. The relations between these countries must be the starting point of our examination of world politics, for, next to Russia, they form the only subject of world politics. All else is their object.

During the war England strove to destroy Germany as an economic power which competed with British Imperialism not only by the cheapness of her commodities, but also by her battleships. This aim was completely achieved. But the war cannot turn back the wheel of history, and the world cannot revert to the position in which England was the only industrial workshop of the world. During the war the transition of the United States to a powerful industrial country was not only possible, but technically and economically, now having the upper hand, has been completely accomplished. The United States have greater metal and coal industries

than England. They have 60 per cent. of the world's petroleum, that is, a superiority in the sphere of liquid coal, which will become not only the chief fuel of industry, but also be the driving force of maritime development. As a consequence of the pre-war obstacles raised by the tariffs to the building of a merchant fleet, the United States entered the world war without one. During the war, a colossal merchant fleet was created under the golden rain of war prices, and the necessity arising from the shortage of shipping. As far as the necessities of life are concerned, the United States are independent of the world. They have the most intensively working proletariat. It is no wonder, therefore, that English capital is watching the growth of the United States with the greatest suspicion and distrust; it knows that the new enemy of England that has arisen. The English capitalist Press, accustomed by long discipline to conceal thoughts, to express which would be dangerous for English policy, simulates love and friendship for America. It even joins with America in celebrating the greatest historical defeat of England, viz., the separation of the United States from Great Britain. Lloyd George declared that friendship with America was the keystone of English policy. Those philistines of English liberalism, the erudite gentlemen of the *Nation* and the *New Statesmen*, declare that the mere possibility of a war between England and America is unthinkable, because the Americans are Anglo-Saxons. At the same time, Winston Churchill and the English Parliament declare that it would be unbearable to think of England as a second-rate sea power, or that it should go to the friendly conversations in Washington without a programme of armaments which could guarantee England against the event of it being impossible to cut friendly grimaces. *English-American competition is a capitalistic fact of post-war world politics.* Naturally competition does not mean immediate war. Fifteen years elapsed between the day when the *Saturday Review* wrote "Germaniam dellam esse," and Scapa Flow. But the danger of a resort to war exists, and the sea armaments prove that the governing classes of both countries understand the situation in this way and no other. The world war has inspired the propertied classes of the world with a great fear. They are conducting an uninterrupted war, but they fear *that* war like the pest. For that reason they will do everything in order to find, by means of economic and political arrangements, a common denominator for their interests. The City desires peace. The United States of America is like a hefty young boor who does not think much, and who, from time to time, impetuously treads upon the corns of his old uncle. However, it is evident that there is nothing bellicose even in their diplomacy, a mixture of commercial common sense and Harvard dilettantism. The question is how and when the clash between Anglo-American interests will arise. Eastern Asia and East Europe will play a leading rôle in this coming conflict.

We shall deal at a later stage with the crux of the East European question and the attitude of the various victorious nations towards Russia. At this juncture, all that is needed is an outline of Japan's rôle.

Although Japan succeeded during the war in reducing its debts, in furthering its industrial development, and in improving its credit, it is nevertheless a poor country. It lacks the necessary elements for the rôle of a first-class economic power. It has adopted the capitalist system too late in the day to play a leading part among the old capitalist world Powers. Japan's relative strength is based on the fact that as the nearest neighbour of the East Asiatic continent, it has succeeded, notwithstanding its very narrow capitalist basis, in becoming a great land and sea power. It took advantage of the Anglo-French conflict in North Africa, of England's South African war and apprehensions concerning the North Sea, and also of America's transition period to imperialism, in order to establish itself firmly in China. It took advantage of the Great War for creating mortgages in China and Siberia. Now it will have to fight for Chinese coal, iron and rice. Having committed the blunder in 1918 of being very belligerent in words and yet not daring enough to draw the sword against America, by siding with Germany, it will have a hard struggle now, under very adverse circumstances, for the maintenance and the improvement of the positions which it gained during the war.

Not only are America's hands free, but it has also the whip-hand over the Allies owing to their indebtedness. It can use the debts of the Allies as a means of making them turn against Japan. The saying that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is a laid-out corpse is mere journalistic bluff. Great Britain will not so easily give up this alliance, in spite of Canada's, Australia's, and South Africa's dislike of it. When Mr. Lloyd George, in his great speech in Parliament, in which he was reporting on the Imperial Conference, quite innocently asked why Great Britain's friendships with Japan should be in the way of friendship with America, this astute statesman was merely saying, in his cunning way, that Great Britain was not at all willing to give away the Japanese card. Mr. Lloyd George is contemplating a "*ménage à trois*" in which his foot will be in greater proximity under the table to the tender little foot of the graceful Geisha than to the thick-booted understandings of Uncle Sam. This game, the meaning of which is that Great Britain is not willing to be deprived of the opportunity of making use of Japan against the U.S.A., just as it made use of it against Russia in 1904, is likely to be the crucial point in Anglo-American relations. It is quite possible that, for the time being, the Foreign Office is not even thinking of such a perilous eventuality, and that it merely wants to use its relations with Japan as a card in the diplomatic game, being satisfied as to its own suitability to break off the game the moment it is taken in earnest. But neither was Germany, together with Austria, at first willing to let it come to an Anglo-German war. Once the gun is loaded, it is difficult to say whether it will go off or not. Twenty years hence a calm historical survey of the events of 1914 will certainly show that the guns went off, so to speak, of themselves.

III.

Britain, America and France

IF Japan can be played off as an English card against the U.S.A., *then France may be used as an American card against England.* The last three years have witnessed *an uninterrupted Anglo-French struggle for European hegemony.* Since the elimination of Russia as an ally of France, the latter is as much at a loose end as Japan, and perhaps even more so. It has failed in its attempt to secure from America and England a guarantee of its war achievements. Great Britain made its guarantee conditional on that of the U.S.A., but the latter refused to be bound by anything. The Senate did not ratify the obligations undertaken by Wilson. The Versailles Peace Treaty rests on French bayonets. France is, therefore, looking for a substitute for Russia, and has decided that Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania should be the substitutes. France sees the greatest peril to its relations with Germany in the possibility of an alliance between Germany and Russia, particularly in the form of an alliance between revolutionary Germany and revolutionary Russia, or even in the form of an alliance between Russian and German restoration. For this reason France is endeavouring to extend the rampart of its vassal States to the Balkans, in order to entirely separate Russia from Germany. But French hegemony in Europe constitutes a great peril for Great Britain, which must have peace, in order to have time to strengthen its position in India and Egypt by a liberal imperialist policy, and to bestow certain political rights on the colonial bourgeoisie. French hegemony constitutes also a great economic peril, as France is obliged, in order to gain political ascendancy, to go even beyond its means in rendering support to its vassals, in return for which support it exacts economic compensations and the control of the industries of the vassal States by French banks.

The policy of the U.S.A. towards Europe is still undefined, and will greatly depend on American plans concerning East Asian expansion. Should it decide on this course, then Germany will become for the U.S.A. a field of world political compensation. In the event of serious disagreements with Great Britain, the U.S.A. will deliver that field to France, in order to secure it as an ally against Great Britain. The British bourgeois Press knows quite well why it is raising a hue and cry against French militarism. It is because the latter is growing more and more of a menace to Great Britain. It can become much more dangerous to Great Britain than Germany has ever been. France is Great Britain's nearest neighbour. What with submarines, aircraft, and long-distance artillery, France, supported by the U.S.A., could not only blockade Great Britain, but could even contemplate invasion. Such are the interrelations of the victorious capitalist States whose task it is to turn the military results of the war to economic account in Central Europe, Middle Asia, and Eastern Europe.

IV.

Britain, France and Germany

THE German problem, on its economic side, is a most complicated one. The Allies have made Germany powerless on land and sea. The German fleet has been destroyed, and the German army has been disarmed. However, after the destruction of the German fleet and the appearance of Franco-English conflicting interests, Great Britain's interest in the final exclusion of Germany as a factor on land has undergone considerable alteration. Great Britain is playing the rôle of arbitrator in the deliberations of the Allies concerning Germany. It is continually admonishing France to a policy of moderation, and is thus gaining in Germany a certain amount of confidence, which under certain circumstances will acquire international political significance. If German industry is not completely destroyed, or if England, at a given moment, provides Germany with arms, it will be possible for Germany to act, in any future eventuality, as England's sword against France, and perhaps also against Russia. However, more of this later on.

Economically the policy of the two Allies who are mostly concerned in this question is hopelessly contradictory. France will not be able to carry out the task which she has set herself with respect to Germany, unless, under protection of her arms, and with the help of her capital, she assists Germany to set up the latter's industries. The English financial expert, Prof. Maynard Keynes, is quite right in his calculations, when he asserts that in a few years' time Germany will be unable to fulfil her obligations. The startling discovery that one cannot sell goods to a ruined person, that this elementary fact should have produced such a sensation, bears evidence of the present mentality of the capitalist world. Certainly the obligations can be fulfilled, but on condition that French iron, plus that stolen from Germany, are in close alliance with German coal. It is only through the creation of a Franco-German economic trust that Germany will be able to produce the amount of goods required for the fulfilment of her obligations towards the Allies. This plan meets with opposition in the military circles of France and in the capitalist circles of Great Britain.

The French military party dreads the restoration of Germany on account of the latter's greater population and superior economic organisation. A Germany capable of fulfilling the economic obligations towards France would be the stronger partner and might, once her power had been re-established, break the bond and turn alone or with another partner against France. The French military party is striving for the dismemberment of Germany with the Rhine as frontier and Bavaria and German-Austria as a catholic State, as pliant instruments in the hands of France. The impossibility of carrying out the ultimatum of May 5th will give an opportunity to the French military party, if circumstances will permit, to supplant the Versailles Treaty by Clemenceau's Peace. Certain leading capitalist groups, with Loucheur as their leader, are opposing this policy. Their German counterpart is the manufacturing

industry headed by Rathenau. But even the least attempt at a rapprochement between the French and German capitalist circles will arouse Great Britain's opposition. Great Britain is not satisfied with stealthy intrigues and with offering tempting baits to German heavy industry, but demands, in a peremptory tone, "information" concerning the independent conversations with Germany. Great Britain's real German policy is in flagrant contrast with the impression which British diplomacy is endeavouring to create by the speeches of its representatives. Lloyd George, who has most plausible arguments ready for every occasion, recently stated that there are two possible methods of dealing with Germany; either one turns a cow into beef steaks or one milks it. However, Great Britain by allowing the French military party on repeated occasions to cut steaks from the loins of the German cow, showed that it did not derive any particular pleasure from the idea that France should also do the milking, unless British diplomacy, in contradistinction to Lloyd George's cow treatment philosophy, was of the opinion that one could turn a cow into steaks and milk it at the same time.

All these contradictions in the policy of the Allies towards Germany, which are driving that country either towards political and economic deterioration or towards a proletarian revolution, are only an expression of the far deeper political contrasts which make the camp of the Allies into a breeding ground for new wars.

V.

Soviet Russia and the Capitalist States

THE Allies' attitude towards Soviet Russia is still more involved. Soviet Russia is not a passive but an active factor in the field of world politics. It occupies this position, thanks to the rejuvenating power of the proletarian revolutionary idea, and thanks to the fists and bayonets of the Red Army and the vastness of its domain. The Allies' relations with Russia are further complicated by the fact that Russia is a European as well as an Asiatic Power. The Allies have never been united in their policy towards Russia. At the time of the blockade and the organisation of the counter-revolutionary armies by the Entente, two distinct undercurrents were already noticeable. France's policy was the overthrow of Soviet Russia, not only because of the 20 milliard francs of the old Czarist and Kerenski debts, which the Whites had undertaken to honour, but because it required a large White Russia as a guarantor of the overthrow of Germany. The fact that the attitude of a White Russia towards Germany was rather problematic, and that a rapprochement between a White Russia and Germany was not at all out of the question, did not prevent the Allies from paying due consideration to Russian interests in Constantinople and in the Pacific. The French politicians thought of neutralising the perils by a general support of the Whites. On the other hand, the knock-out policy with respect to Soviet Russia was much weaker in Great Britain, in spite of the bombastic speeches of Winston Churchill. That the representatives of English commerce were not at all enamoured with this adventurous policy was

plainly discernible in the tone of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News*, and Lord Curzon's appointment as Foreign Secretary during the period of decisive struggles proved that Russia's Asiatic interests were exercising a restraining influence. The British Government pretended to be alarmed at the possible penetration of Russian revolutionary ideas, which are as dangerous as big guns; for has not the British Government hitherto abstained from interfering with the distribution of liberal literature in the East, which is certainly more attractive to the young Indian bourgeoisie than the Communist ideas which aim at their expropriation? As to arms, Messrs. Nicolson and Curzon were of the opinion that they would be more accessible to a White Russia which could depend on Schneider-Creuzot and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. The Indian school of thought at the London Foreign Office, which considers the entire world as a glacial of India, was afraid that a White Russia, once again in the saddle, would ride towards Central Asia. Therefore, Lord Curzon revived the Beaconsfield policy of the weakening of Russia as such. His support of the Whites went so far as the weakening of Soviet Russia, but not to the extent of ensuring the victory of the Whites.

These divergencies of opinion in the camp of the Whites were among the chief reasons of Soviet Russia's victory over the interventionists. After the overthrow of Denekin the Curzon-Lloyd George policy got the upper hand over that of Churchill's. Great Britain has been conducting the negotiations with Soviet Russia for over a year, and this policy of delay is the result of the interventionist influence. Last March Great Britain finally signed the trade agreement, which is tantamount to the *de facto* recognition of Soviet Russia. The motive of this step was plainly shown in Lloyd George's speech of August 16th, in which he outlined, in connection with the Russian famine, a plan which is nothing short of *an attempt to establish British economic monopoly in Russia*. It was clear from the very beginning that Russia, weakened by the imperialist and civil wars, did not for the present possess a sufficiency of raw materials for export, nor sufficient means for its own requirements of manufactured goods. Basing himself on this fact, Lloyd George outlined a plan for establishing credits for British firms exporting goods to Russia in exchange for corn, using their own administrative machinery for these transactions. This plan, if realised, would enable Great Britain to permeate Russia's economic life, which in the absence of either French or American trade agreements, would constitute a British monopoly. The recently published diplomatic correspondence between Great Britain and France concerning the negotiations with Russia, shows that Great Britain is far from energetically opposing the interventionist tendency in France, and that, in fact, it did its utmost to hamper the feeble attempts which are made in France towards a rapprochement with Soviet Russia. At the end of November, 1920, France sent a note to the Entente demanding Russian recognition of the French debt as a preliminary to entering into negotiations with Soviet Russia. At the same time the French Government stated that it was fully aware of Soviet Russia's inability to begin paying off this debt in the near future. The note dealt with the necessity

of examining the conditions which could lead to the re-establishment of Russia's solvency, and did not imply any definite refusal to enter into negotiations with Soviet Russia. In spite of the French Government's reiterated enquiries, the English Government could not for several months find any opportunity of answering the French note. It was only after the signing of the trade agreement with Russia, that the English Government, in reply to the French note, sent a frigid invitation to France to become a party to the agreement, which practically meant the exclusion of France from independent negotiations and an independent rôle in the relations with Russia.

Of course, it would be ridiculous to look on France as a victim of a British policy of exclusion. If the French Government had been honest in its desire to come to an agreement with Soviet Russia, it would have found ways and means to do so independently of Great Britain. We see in France a continuous struggle between the hope that Soviet Russia will be overthrown, and a yet faint recognition that such a hope cannot be realised. This recognition has not yet gained the upper hand, while the Russian famine has given impetus to interventionist plans. It is obvious, however, that Great Britain is not making the least effort to mediate between France and Soviet Russia, and that it wishes, on the contrary, to remain alone with Russia, in order to keep a strong hand over it, and, by supplying it with small loans in dribbles, to maintain it in a state of exhaustion until Great Britain's position in India has been strengthened and the Turkish question has been solved.

The attitude of the U.S.A. towards Soviet Russia is not clear. The Wilsonian policy had already made several attempts at a rapprochement with the object of securing the Russian market for the enormously increased American industry. Such attempts found their expression in Wilson's well-known telegram dispatched to Soviet Russia, during the Brest Litvosk negotiations, and in Bullitt's mission in Russia in 1919. Harding's Administration is still groping in the dark. The interests of America, as a great industrial export country, in the development of Russian agriculture, as well as its East-Asiatic interests and its competition with Great Britain, are bound to force it out of its present passive attitude. America will either make up its mind to enter into relations with Soviet Russia, or it will, given an opportunity of success, prepare to deal it a vital blow. Just as American policy towards Russia is influencing France, so will any changes in the French policy towards Russia influence the American policy. It is possible that Hoover's famine relief works marks the beginning of a change in American policy.

Historically, the wrestling of capitalist Europe with the question of Soviet Russia represents the struggle for the great breach which has been made by the world war in the State system of world capitalism. Should Soviet Russia succeed in maintaining itself and in forcing the capitalist States to enter into regular trade relations with it (which in the long run must lead to a full recognition of Soviet Russia), it would mean the entry into the ranks of States of the first State with a proletarian political orientation, a

situation which is parallel to the co-existence of the capitalist and feudal States, but which is causing more disturbance in the capitalist system than, for instance, the relations between the capitalist and the feudal worlds. If the world political contrasts described above are a true picture of the capitalism in the process of its dissolution, then the contrast between the capitalist world and Russia is a problem of the relations between a capitalist world and a socialist world in its initial stages, a problem, the solution of which will assume a more acute form as soon as a strengthened Russia will be joined by a German proletarian State.

VI.

The Near East

THE storm centre of all the great problems of the future is the struggle for the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Notwithstanding the greater significance of the Pacific question, the problem of the Near East must not be left out of consideration. Great Britain is struggling in the Near East for the world position which it will be able to maintain in the event of its evading any conflict with the U.S.A. by the formation of an Anglo-Saxon Trust. *Notwithstanding the fact that France and England are competing for the domination of the European Continent, such domination is utopian.* The industrial masses of Central Europe cannot be ruled from outside. Central Europe will either go down in ruins, or it will become an independent capitalist nation—in the event of the German bourgeoisie extricating itself from its present precarious position by taking advantage of the conflicting capitalist interests—or it will become an independent proletarian Republic. Seventy millions of people who can read, write, and work cannot be held in subjection by a foreign Power. Therefore, the struggle between France and England over Central Europe will be confined to a struggle for a greater or lesser degree of influence and exploitation.

Russia, on the other hand, although to a great extent an agricultural country, is too vast to be conquered and turned into an English colony. There are too many competitors in the field, who will, in the long run, keep each other in check. In the event of the continuance of capitalist world rule, the economic needs of Russia will make its dependence on other countries very hard. But whatever this dependence might be, it will not be a domination by foreign capital, neither will it be a domination by a capitalist State. The territories which it will be possible for Great Britain to seize are the territories of Central Asia. The origin of the world war was the struggle for the South-East corner of Europe and for Turkey, and it is in this region that strife is lasting longest. Great Britain is hurrying with the partitioning of Turkey, in order to establish itself firmly in Constantinople before Russia puts forward its claims as a Black Sea Power. Great Britain is hurrying on with the establishment of the "independent" Arabian States, which will only be its puppets. For the next few years the British Near East plan will consist in using the Hussein family in Hedjas, the Trans-Jordan

territory, and Mesopotamia as a screen for the railway line which connects India with Egypt, and as the nominal ownership of the Mosul oil wells. To what extent Great Britain clings to these territories is shown by the fact that, notwithstanding its financial difficulties, it is not inclined to renounce its Mesopotamian policy. With its well-known capacity for concentrating on the most important point, it is retreating for the time being in Persia, on the perfectly justified assumption that, by establishing itself firmly in Mesopotamia, it will safeguard its northern flank. But in order to establish itself in Mesopotamia it must overthrow the Young Turks, the only spiritual force in the Islamic world. It is endeavouring to achieve this, not only by the struggle against Kemal Pasha (whose Government, notwithstanding all personal differences between Kemal and Enver Pasha, is a Young Turk Government), but also by attempting to make the ruler of Mecca the Kaliph. This attempt is being pursued with great caution, and yet with characteristically British pertinacity.

British policy is being imperiled, not only by the consequences of the Russian revolution and the strong position of the Young Turks, *but also by French policy in the East*. French domination in Syria is a menace to Great Britain's left flank, and that at a spot which is of vital importance for Great Britain's world dominion. France, which is already imperiling Great Britain's lines of communication through Toulon and Biserta, is now establishing itself in the vicinity of the Suez Canal, and is assuming the rôle of "Defender of Islam," basing its rights to Syria on the policy of the Catholic kings of France. The Anglo-French dissensions in the East are having a bearing on their dissensions in Europe and *vice versa*. Here, in the Near East, the conflicting interests of the two States are most apparent, and at the same time America's attitude to the Moslem question bears evidence that American capital is not inclined to tolerate a situation which practically amounts to Great Britain establishing a monopoly in its colonies.

We have described in telegram form the most important conflicts of the present world policy. The picture these present is truly chaotic, and there is no sign on the horizon that the solution of the problem is near. There can be no question of a balance of political power, except that the remembrance of the world war is acting like a lid on the witches' cauldron. All these conflicts are of a revolutionary nature (in the most direct sense of the word), for they are working themselves out in a world, the economic system of which has been destroyed, and in which the national debts have assumed proportions which threaten to overwhelm the contending capitalist Powers. The economic crisis, the renewed war preparations, the failure of the League of Nations, show plainly that capitalism is unable to rebuild the economic structure of the world. When this inability of capitalism will have engendered great proletarian movements, then will arise the power which is destined to brush aside the ruins of capitalism, in order to establish with an iron hand a new world order.

Britain, Holland & Germany

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

DURING the last month or two, there has been manifest in political and financial circles in this country a disposition to come to some arrangement with the political and industrial masters of the German Republic with a view to the stabilisation of the exchanges as affecting the mark, which might, at one and the same time, obviate disastrous commercial competition between the two exporting countries, and put at the disposal of our moneyed magnates the profit-earning enterprises of German industrialism. It is quite apparent that, despite the frantic efforts of a syndicated newspaper press, with Franco-American affiliations and sympathies, to perpetuate a policy which, in practice, works out to the pecuniary advantage of the French banks and to the detriment of British interests, the Government and the concensus of capitalist opinion in this country are swinging away from their attachment to the Entente and towards an accommodation with Germany. It is noticeable that the press, in so far as it is primarily concerned with discharging its function as the purveyor of news, opinions, and sensations, serves, in fact, the purposes of a capitalism that is alien alike in its organisation and its seat of power, whilst the press, owned or controlled by capitalists whose major interests are not in newspaper publication, but in home and empire industry and commerce, more and more vigorously opposes the policy which supports or yields to French aggrandisement. As yet, the Entente continues, and from time to time appears to obtain a new lease of life and vigour, but every now and then that traditional repository of our masters' unchanging cult of the balance of power, the Foreign Office, and the capitalist press—as distinct from the press of the newspaper capitalists—sound a more vibrant note of antagonism to French imperialism. It must never be forgotten how strong are the influences at work at Court—and in the last resort the King is legally absolute—and in the older circles of what is called "society," which make for a restoration of all the German royalties, and, with them, of the monarchic system throughout Northern and Central Europe. The traditions of centuries have not been completely eradicated by seven years of strident republican journalistic clamour, and marked by the making and unmaking of governments and premiers. The whole statecraft of the United Kingdom, from the "Glorious Revolution" to the commencement of the Anglo-German naval rivalry, was conducted in an atmosphere thick with the palace intrigue, dynastic relationships and diplomatic manœuvres of the innumerable princely houses of Protestant Germany. The politics of these royalties were not conducted without resort to the liberal advances of the bankers and bondholders, whose tentacles, through two centuries and more, driven deep into the chancelleries and revenue departments of these parasite-ridden states, had got hold of a very considerable proportion of German trade. Consequently, there are in London, as well as in Frankfurt, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, very old-established financial houses and families influential in society and in politics whose economic basis was laid in

the monetary transactions of Low country, and London merchants with German princelings. These are the older generation of capitalist and landed oligarchs who despise the erstwhile clients of Rufus Isaacs, Earl of Reading, and would be only too glad to turn the tables on the *nouveaux riches*, whose political creature is Lloyd George. To such as these the alliance with France can never, in itself, have been too pleasing, and the politico-economic tactics of the pseudo-socialist "hacks" of French capitalism savouring too much of the "bucket shop" and the "thimble rigger."

The more conservative elements in British political life undoubtedly incline towards a revival of monarchy, a strengthening of aristocratic tendencies in diplomacy and a movement away from France and towards Holland and Germany.

The Economic Power of Holland

WHY, some will ask, this reference to Holland? The fact that the Dutch have to-day neither military nor naval forces of any importance does not detract from the considerable power which mercantile and financial interests in Amsterdam and Rotterdam exert in many quarters, and not alone in the oil market. Dutch magnates, many of them Jews, have known how to place the profits of trade between their own and other countries in such a way in the stocks and shares of companies outside of Holland as, for two and a half centuries, to make gain out of other people's colonies and other people's industry. They were, during the eighteenth century, tremendously interested in British commercial expansion, and their hands can be seen in foreign and colonial policy again and again. They were an interested go-between in the relations of Britain, Hanover, Brandenburg-Prussia, Hesse, and many another German ally of the banking oligarchy who came to power here at the Whig Revolution of 1689. In fact, there are indications that Dutch mercantile houses had something to do with the accession of their prince, William of Orange, to the throne of the United Kingdom in the place of the French puppet, James. Relations begun centuries ago, when Holland was the centre of overseas trade, the creditor of Northern Europe, the home of banking enterprise, and the *fulcrum* of the bourgeois world, have continued generation after generation, knitting the Dutch capitalists with the British on one hand and the Germans on the other. They have profited not so much by reason of their own colonial ventures, or their own manufactures, as by their tolls upon commodities in transshipment, by their services as carriers, as warehousemen, as bill-brokers, and bankers to the peoples of the Rhineland and of Western Germany. Again, the fact that the Dutch lost New Amsterdam to the British did not mean that they ceased to have vast interests in the city and state of New York. They continued an immense power financially on the Hudson and the Delaware, and, as the kinsmen of the patroons, maintained and expanded enormous mercantile and monetary interests in the ever-extending economic domain of "the empire city of New York." Geographic and historic factors have made the Dutch a nation of bondholders, of internationalists—is not The Hague the capital of Holland and the

site of the Palace of Peace? Hence, we have good reason to look to the mouths of the Rhine and the cities thereabouts when we are approaching the question of Britain's relations with Germany now about to be resumed in a more friendly tone.

The Transport of Coal

FOR, let it not be overlooked that important as is ownership and operation of the actual machinery and processes of commodity production, a commodity is, in essence, something exchangeable, something that circulates, something that is moved, something that is TRANSPORTED. The more highly developed becomes the capitalist system of production, the more it comes to depend upon the all-essential industry of transport. The more it comes to rely upon foreign supplies of raw material and foreign markets for its finished articles, the more does capitalism come to depend upon overseas transport, upon shipping, upon docks, canals, and warehouses. Within any country capitalism requires, and, therefore, sees to it that there are good roads and railway facilities, but, needless to say, it has a preference for water carriage wherever possible. It is more economical of labour power. The British and the Dutch, in the nature of things, as nations depending on sea-borne commerce, think in terms of shipping. The British have a great advantage in this era of machine-production in that they have coal and iron and the Dutch have not, at least, to any extent.

Yet, whilst the Dutch have to import coal and iron for their own use, they are fortunately situated for levying tribute upon the exporters of these commodities in that they control the lower reaches of the Rhine, the waterway of ingress and egress for the greatest German coalfield, the richest coking coalfield in Europe, the Ruhr coalfield.

The fact that the coal produced in the valley of the Ruhr is pre-eminently suited to the manufacture of pig iron, that iron ore gravitates to coking coal rather than coking coal to iron ore, that the latter is not produced in adequate quantities in the Rhine valley, but has to be brought from Lorraine or from overseas, i.e., Spain and Sweden, and that it is a commodity very costly to transport by rail, and much cheaper to bring by water, has resulted in the development of a great business in ore shipment to Rotterdam.

There, great fleets of river barges discharge Ruhr coal, pig iron, and finished iron and steel, and load again with iron ore, with food-stuffs, and with raw materials of all kinds. The mineral and metal brokers, merchants, importers and exporters were, in the first instance, Dutch, and, with the expansion of Westphalian industrialism, throwing up its own traders and its own moneyed men, whether sprung from its own ranks or come in from Frankfurt to serve it, became largely German in identity, affiliations, or control.

Now, there is one other coalfield in Europe, famed for its production of coke, and that is the Durham coalfield. Nowhere in Britain, probably, is capitalism so thoroughly knit together, so thoroughly organised, so well equipped as to the technique of production, so well furnished with credit facilities under its own control,

and so admirably provided with electric power, with railway and steamship services as in Northumberland, Durham and Cleveland. Capitalism on the Tyne and Wear is of great antiquity ; the landed class there, as in Silesia, has for centuries been interested in mining and exporting coal ; the mine owners, often London merchants and bankers like the Barings, have had fabulous fortunes at their command and a bias towards trade and shipping. There has been for generations, if not for centuries, a traffic in coal and iron with Holland in exchange for commodities imported by the Dutch from Northern and Central Europe, or, at least, paid for by them in such commodities whereon they had a lieu.

In the last thirty years there has been built up one great shipping enterprise, in particular, founded upon the export of coal and iron, and the import of timber, corn, and other North European and North American raw materials to the Tees, Wear, and Tyne, viz., *Furness, Withy & Co.* This firm has, as a firm and through its shareholders, gigantic interests in shipbuilding, marine engineering, ship and boiler plate rolling mills, blast furnaces, coking ovens, and collieries in Durham, on the Tyne, Clyde, and other shipbuilding rivers of Great Britain and Ireland. It is, however, native to the Hartlepoons, and at home upon the Tees. It has very great interests in Holland, and extremely valuable connexions, financial and as regards transport, at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and also at Antwerp. Last autumn there was formed, at Rotterdam the *Société Néerlandaise de Navigation, de Commerce et de l'Industrie*. The *Agences Furness* holds 96 per cent. of the shares, and through this subsidiary controls three river shipping companies, one shipyard at Schiedam, one engineering works, two colliery companies, an elevator company, a metal trading, two coal trading, and one insurance company. In addition, it acts as agent for seven shipping and twenty-one insurance companies, and has subsidiary shipping agencies at Antwerp, Brussels, Charleroi, Basle and Berne. The Furness interests, be it noted, are on the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Danube. They are coal exporters. They own coking-coal collieries. They own iron and steel works. They have their own barges on the Rhine—maybe on the Ruhr. They make a speciality of coal, iron, and the shipment of coal. So does Hugo Stinnes.

Stinnes

STINNES is a man of mystery. He does not unduly trumpet his achievements, but everywhere and at all times we are conscious of him as a force in industry, a power in politics. He is one of the men, influential before 1914, who have been thrown up by the War.

We have remarked that there are two coalfields in Europe pre-eminent in the production of coking coal. One is Durham. The other is the Ruhr, or, as it is sometimes called, the Bochum or Dortmund coalfield. The War, being essentially one of material, of iron and steel, made enormous demands upon the producers of metallurgical coke, and upon those who handled and transported it, putting in their hands immense economic power. For several decades prior to 1914, there had been proceeding in Westphalia, in

Luxemburg, Lorraine, and in the Saar Valley, an intense struggle between capitalist interests respectively operating in the coal and iron industries. The coal owners in Westphalia had, since 1893, been organised into the Rhenish-Westphalia Coal Syndicate for the allocation of proportionate output and disposal of product. In 1903, all the collieries owned by iron and steel producing firms came into the syndicate, and from that time onwards exerted an enormous influence in its councils. In 1904, was formed the *Stahlwerksverband*, or Steel Syndicate, comprising practically all the steel producers in the West of Germany, and, in 1905, the formation of the Upper Silesian Steel works Union completed the organisation of and enormously enhanced the economic power of the steel industry, which, in so militarist a state as Germany then was, took immediate precedence over the coal trade. The tendency of the ensuing decade was for economic power to centre more and more in Lorraine and in the Saar Valley. Yet the same people were influential directors alike in the coal and in the steel syndicates. Behind them, and associated with them in various combinations and complexes, were the great German banks. There were, in the Saar region, old-established families like the Stumms of Dillingen, like the de Wendels, and like the Röchlings, some in coal and some in iron, and some in both, families very powerful in German capitalism. In the Ruhr region there were the Krupps of Essen, and there were the Haniels of the Gutehoffnungshütte, great magnates in steel production, and, incidentally thereto, big coal owners. In the same region, but moving towards the iron field of Luxemburg-Lorraine, was Thyssen. Associated with him in all kinds of enterprises in coal and iron was Hugo Stinnes. Stinnes was the grandson and heir of old Mathias Stinnes, of Mülheim-on-the-Rhine, owning six big collieries, and, more important than these, a great fleet of barges, lighters, and tugs carrying coal on the Rhine, on the Ruhr, and on the canals which the Imperial Government had recently constructed to ensure through water transport between the Rhine, Ruhr, and Ems, and which they were supplementing by other canals joining up the Ems, Weser, and Elbe.

In 1904, Stinnes joined the board of the great *Gelsenkirchen Coal Company*, an industrial subsidiary of the *Disconto-Gesellschaft Bank*, and the largest participant in the Coal Syndicate. He was already vice-president of the *Deutsche-Luxemburgische Coal and Iron Company*, which had behind it the *Darmstädter Bank*, one of Germany's greatest banks. In 1905, Stinnes became one of a syndicate of industrialists and banking houses, including the *Deutsche, Disconto-Gesellschaft, Dresdner*, and *A. Schaafhausenscher Banks*. In 1904, together with the Coal Syndicate, the Haniels and another firm of coal carriers, Stinnes had formed the *Rhine Coal Dealing and Shipping Company*, and so aided in consolidating the river freighters of the Rhine. This concern had huge terminals at Mannheim, and did a big transport business down to Holland, across to the Moselle area, and up to Switzerland and Bavaria. It was his virtual control of this company, gradually but progressively acquired, that was the making of Stinnes. The Versailles Treaty has ended the priority of Krupp, and struck a staggering blow at

the machine shops dependent on small arms manufacture. It has deprived Thyssen and Stumm of their coal and iron fields and steel works in the Saar and Lorraine. It has made the de Wendels once more into French capitalists. The blockade and the seizure of ships has weakened the Haniels and other capitalists still more interested in the Transatlantic lines. The Stahlwerkverband has been dissolved, and the Coal Syndicate reigns in its stead. The Saar is lost, and Silesia, where collieries, blast furnaces, and steel works were great assets of the *Dresdner* and *Berliner Handelsgesellschaft Banks*, has since been transferred to Poland, and thereby to the same capitalists as have fallen heirs to Thyssen and Stumm, the capitalists of France. Economic advantages paramount in war time, transport facilities at all times indispensable, political handicaps affecting his competitors, all these have helped to make Stinnes more powerful in industry and commerce, and, consequently, in his dealings with the credit control, inherent in the great Rhineland houses, the Darmstädter, and the Direktion Der Disconto-Gesellschaft Banks.

Hugo Stinnes has his coal-carrying river and canal fleets on all the waterways of Germany. He has established himself as an owner of overseas shipping lines. He has possessed himself of steel works, wagon works, engineering works, and has his agencies again penetrating the old foreign markets of Germany. He has arrived at a community of interests with Rathenau in the all-powerful *A.E.G.*, the manufacturers and erectors and operators of electrical material of all kinds. He has acquired numerous cellulose factories and scores of newspaper companies. He has the indispensable coke, the lack of which is an insurmountable barrier to the economical operation of so many blast furnaces in what was formerly Austria-Hungary. He has coke, he has coal, and he can transport it by river and by canal. It has made him partner with Castiglioni in the greatest of the mid-European iron works, the *Alpin Montangesellschaft*. It has wafted rumours of his economic alliances with French capitalists in Lorraine, with Polish exploiters in Dombrowa, and with one or other of the conscienceless cosmopolitan syndicates in Hungary and in Czecho-Slovakia.

Stinnes has coke, and he has river and canal transport services. He dominates the economic life of the middle and upper reaches of the Rhine, and the navigable waters of the Weser, Elbe, Oder, and their connecting canals.

Furnesses have coke, and they have sea and river transport services. They dominate the lower reaches of the Rhine and the navigation of the Danube.

Rotterdam and the Rhineland

AT Rotterdam there is another firm of metal and mineral merchants, *W. H. Müller & Co.*, who have financed many recent reorganisations of colliery, iron and steel works and engineering concerns in Germany, have become sales agents to the *Gutehoffnungshütte*, and besides forming this community of interest and rendering apparent financial support to the Haniel family

now in acute rivalry with Stinnes for priority of position in Rhine-land industry, have arranged the transfer of the *Phoenix Coal and Iron Company*, a gigantic and old-established concern, producing before the war 5,000,000 tons of coal a year, to a Dutch syndicate. The Müllers are in much the same line of business as Stinnes and the Furnesses.

We saw in a previous article, "The Struggle for Central Europe," how active was Dutch capital in the new republics on the Danube. It is similarly busy in the oil tract of Galicia and at Dombrowa in Poland. The war, and still more the peace, have given to Dutch capital a new lease of economic and financial control upon the Continent of Europe. German and Austrian capital has sought to hide its identity under a neutral guise, and to operate through mercantile and credit institutions in Holland, which, employed as agents, have often, by reason of their indispensability to their clients, become the controlling partners. The Dutch have been selling out their holdings in American securities at high prices, and investing the proceeds at low prices in industrial and commercial undertakings in Central Europe generally. Undoubtedly, some Dutchmen will have been heavily hit by the depreciation of the mark wherein they have been gambling, but it is not unlikely that, in most cases, they will have passed on the liability to some less wide-awake purchaser.

It is Amsterdam rather than Rotterdam which seems to have affiliations with Paris. Rotterdam is more concerned with transhipment and with the Rhine traffic. It is also closely associated with Hull and Selby, where the immensely wealthy bankers and merchants, the Van den Berghs, and the Jurgens, are mixed up with as cosmopolitan a collection of financiers as capitalism has to show.

Rotterdam is indeed a bondholder's bridge, across which stock-brokers, merchant bankers, and company promoters can and do march to the exploitation of Germany or Great Britain, or both, as suits them best.

The political and economic aspirations of Parisian high finance, aiming at the buying up at bankrupt prices of all kinds of industrial concerns in the Rhine Valley—collieries, steel works, engineering shops, and chemical plants, and their exploitation to the detriment of British exporters—conflict with the ambitions of the Dutch financiers as well as the British industrialists.

Holland lies between Great Britain and Germany, and intercourse between these two will be more advantageous to the Dutch merchants than intercourse between the French and the Germans.

The Great Game of Grab

FRANCE is only too obviously desirous of making Germany bankrupt, and causing her to default in her payments of reparations and indemnity. France wishes to foreclose upon the debtor, and to take by way of compensation, at terrifically depreciated values, the magnificent means of production which Germany has developed in the Rhine Valley. Such is the way of the bondholder's type of

capitalism which always prefers to live in useless, functionless idleness, battenning on someone else's skill and industry.

The Dutch would like to resume their historic rôle of bankers to the German Government, of creditors entitled to hold as security for their advances German state script, and German industrial titles and share warrants. They would like to play the huckster with the bills, notes, and cheques of public and private transactions.

The British would like to come to the aid of the German Government, when utterly unable to support any longer its burden of liabilities, and save it from bankruptcy by extending to it credits secured on Germany's railways, canals, river services, collieries, engineering plants and what not. They would like "to do a trade" with Stinnes and Rathenau as already with Simon Krausz in Hungary. They would like to take over the actual ownership and direct the operation of the finest industrial plants in the capitalist world. Then, indeed, would they feel that the war had been worth the fighting and the winning if it had delivered over to them the properties of their competitors, together with all their technique, secret processes, and industrious and highly educated workers.

Holding debentures and preference shares in Germany's finest industrial undertakings, they would have obtained indemnification for their colossal outlay on docks at Hull and Immingham, on railways, electrical power plants, and all modern improvements on the Durham and South Yorkshire coalfields, made to enable them to compete on terms of equality with the Germans in the markets of Northern Europe.

The Ruhr coalfield has proved a deadly competitor with the coalfields of Fife, the Lothians, Durham, and South Yorkshire. If it falls into the hands of the French, already predominant in the Pas de Calais, in the Saar, in Belgium, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Teschen, in Dombrowa, in Upper Silesia, and in the Banat, then it will certainly give the *coup de grâce* to British coal and iron production and the shipping and shipbuilding enterprises of the East Coast.

The Furnesses, Peases, and Ellermans must gain possession of the Ruhr. These steel, shipping, and railway magnates must complete their economic plan by consolidating with their own enterprises those of Stinnes, and of Haniel, and of Rathenau.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Sir E. Mackay Edgar, of Spering & Co., among the prophets calling down curses upon reparations and indemnities. Sir E. Mackay Edgar has done much investment, banking and company reorganisation business for the Furnesses.

The shipping and railroad equipment interests around Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., include F. H. Houlder, of the great Continental Sleeping-Car Syndicate, the *Compagnie Internationale des Wagon-Lits*, Sir C. E. Hambro, of *Hambro's Bank of Northern Commerce*, the *Danube Navigation Company*, the *British Baltic Commercial Corporation*, and the *Great Eastern Railway Company*;

and Sir J. Esplen, of the *Mercantile Marine Finance Corporation*, a concern to afford credits to shipowners, and wherein Sir E. Mountain, another of these credit experts, is a director. C. E. ter Meulen, of *Hope and Co.*, Sir E. M. Edgar, of *Sperling and Co.*, and Sir E. M. Mountain, of the *Eagle, Star and British Dominions Insurance Company*, no more than Sir Peter Rylands, of the Federation of British Industries, Sir Henry Strakosch, of the *Rand Agency, Ltd.*, and the Finance Committee of the League of Nations, are likely to be ignorant of the advantages likely to accrue to British and Dutch capitalism, to cosmopolitan finance capitalism, by an "early return to economic sanity" in collaboration with Stinnes now that "economic insanity" has served so well the class interests of these enlightened advocates of social pacifism and "sane trade unionism."

They are awaking to the fact that the consummation of their political and economic sovereignty can be achieved by an interchange of credits and mortgages, a sequence of loans by the financiers of Britain to the Government and capitalists of Germany, who will turn over to them the material resources of that country. Credits and interest thereon mean commerce in the products of industry, transported between Germany and, in a great measure, transhipped through, Rotterdam. They purpose, therefore, to link together the river and canal services of the German rivers and the Danube to connect these with steamships and with railways. So doing, they can cut off France from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, and Roumania, and by control of communications, i.e., of transport, bring to nought the laborious scheme of French capitalist imperialism to make itself master of the toiling millions of Europe. They, in collaboration with the Dutch and with Stinnes, will benefit by the blockade, by the bankruptcy of the statecraft of the Second International, and the industrial nepotism of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, by the War, the Armistice, and the Peace. They may again restore monarchy and emperors in Europe, and give another short lease of life to royalist, aristocratic, and capitalist Reaction.

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EVERY THURSDAY



Poland

The Fight against Communism

By L. GEORGES (Warsaw)

THE recent election results of the Polish Communist Party, and the numerous workers' demonstrations, which led to an overwhelming victory of the Communist speakers over the Socialist members of parliament, were such a surprise to the Polish bourgeoisie that the entire yellow press suddenly raised a cry for special laws and extraordinary precautions against the Communists. The national-democratic land and factory-owners, the representatives of the rich peasantry, and the petty-bourgeois P.P.S. leaders, found themselves suddenly confronted by the small peasantry and working masses, and without hesitating, they joined forces in order to ward off the Red danger by legal and illegal means. At once a secret memorandum was sent by the Minister of Justice to all public-prosecutors and judges, who were directed to alter the method of fighting Communist propaganda by treating the latter not as a revolutionary philosophy, but as a common-law crime, against which the paragraphs of the Czarist code must be strictly applied. On the 19th October, the legal commission of the Sejm (Parliament) decided to present the following motion to the house:—

“The Sejm recommends to the government that it order its public authorities and public-prosecutors to prosecute any and all Communist propaganda directed against the state in a most energetic manner, and to severely punish same on the ground of the existing RUSSIAN, PRUSSIAN, and AUSTRIAN laws.”

The government was asked therein why it had not proceeded against the Communist members of Parliament, Dombal and Lawzuski, who in the public eye were guilty of high treason; the government's indulgence was causing great unrest.

The anti-Communist persecutions which had been raging without interruption since 1918, broke out with redoubled energy. The Socialist bloodhounds became the best assistants to the political police. The first victims were the comrades who lately left the P.P.S. and joined the K.P.P. It is against these that the P.P.S. leaders are particularly enraged.

The Communist workers were listed by name in the Socialist press, in order that they might fall prey to the police. Then it was proclaimed that the workers had driven out the bolshevik mercenaries, and had come back to the P.P.S. Numerous arrests were made; in the coal-mine district Dombrowa Chrzanow, in the industrial centre Rodom, where the railroad and metal workers were brutally treated, in Krakow, in the Galician cities Przemysl, Krasno, and Jaslo. in Lodz, Lublin and Posen. In Warsaw the union headquarters were shut, everywhere the radical unions are broken up and their leaders arrested. Hundreds of comrades are again feeling the old Russian, Austrian and Prussian lash, and when no sufficient evidence can be gathered against them, they must nevertheless spend months and years in prison without trial.

All this, however, does not satisfy the capitalist press. The arch reactionary sheet *Rzeczpospolita*, of the 13th October, writes in its correspondence from Sosnowitz the following:—

“Unfortunately one is not arrested in Poland because of one’s Communist activities. It is natural, therefore, that as a result of the inactivity of the authorities, and a highly developed Communist Propaganda, an occurrence as terrible as that of the sick benefit elections was made possible. The Communist, “Jazeki” (nuclei) exist not only in every mine, factory, and foundry, but also in every small undertaking, however small, in every institution, almost in every house.”

Still more unrelenting persecutions and extraordinary laws are awaiting us. In its blind rage, the Polish bourgeoisie seeks to torture the Communist movement out of existence through persecution and imprisonment.

The Polish bourgeoisie seems to think that the best way to strangle the Communist movement is to gag the Communist and revolutionary press, to arrest its editors, and to confiscate every revolutionary book which is printed without the legal stamp, “P.P.S.” All this, however, will be of no avail. In place of the arrested comrades new champions arise, in place of every confiscated newspaper two new ones appear, which reach out into the farthest factories and line up the workers in the Revolutionary Front of Communism.

Polish Communists

A New Persecution in Prospect

(From our Berlin Correspondent)

[We print, without comment, the following article from the *Manchester Guardian*.]

THE Polish Government is preparing measures of exceptional severity against members of the Polish Communist Party. At first sight this would appear all the more extraordinary seeing that the Polish Communists are drifting away from extreme Radicalism, and are ready to follow moderate and constitutional methods. Departing from their original revolutionary principles, they have decided

to participate in the coming elections. They are not, like the German or British Communists, a small and comparatively unimportant party, but are the result of the fusion of two left-wing Socialist parties, and are, with the exception of the Russian, the oldest Communist group in Europe. Their leaders played an important part in the 1905 revolution, and they have a big following amongst the industrial workers of Poland. It would be certain that if the coming elections were to be free the Communists would gain big majorities in many constituencies. In the elections for the Medical Board (Krakenkassen) they scored heavily in Warsaw, and still more heavily in Dombrowa. That the Polish Government wishes to avert a Communist success would seem to be the only explanation for the hurried passing of a special anti-Communist Bill just before the elections. The circumstances in which this "Project for an Emergency Law" is being hustled through the Sejm are illuminating. The Bill decrees that all Communist propaganda or activity of any kind shall be punished as high treason. The mere fact of being a member of the Communist Party will be punishable by death.

The Bill met with little serious opposition in the Sejm, except from the Deputy Sobolewski. The Minister of the Interior, Downarowicz, and the Foreign Minister, Skirmunt, were strongly for it. But the "Administrative Commission," which has the task of elaborating Bills passed through the Sejm, rejected it.

It went back to the Sejm, and the Reporter of the Commission, Mieczkowski, the National Democratic Deputy for Posnania, spoke for acceptance. Only one other member was allowed to speak after Mieczkowski, namely, the Priest Lutoslawski, a National Democrat, and a violent Anti-Semite. The discussion was then guillotined. Sobolewski attempted to speak but was shouted down.

The Bill was then sent back to the Commission, to which another so-called "Juridical Commission" was added with an express mandate to elaborate the law within a fortnight.

A PRESS CAMPAIGN.

At the same time the Polish press has been conducting an anti-Communist campaign of the most ferocious kind. For example, Dmowski's organ, the *Gazeta Poranna*, of the 28th October, has an article headed "Necessary Measures," which runs:

"A Communist is a thousand times worse and more dangerous than a bandit, and if we condemn bandits to death we have all the less right to shrink from inflicting the same punishments on a Communist. A bandit only kills individuals, while the Communists plan to assassinate the entire Polish people. A Communist is a thousand times worse than a brigand, seeing that a brigand only robs and plunders individuals, while Communists try to plunder all citizens, as has been done in Russia for the purpose of enriching the Jewish clique, as may be seen in Russia, where the proletarian Trotsky has become a financial potentate after several years of sanguinary power."

The Bill will probably be law within the next few days. During the Bolshevik offensive last year the Polish Communists were persecuted under the state of siege, but now that the state of siege has been raised the Bill is entirely unconstitutional and a violation of the principle of universal suffrage. Coming as it does on the eve of an election, and at a time when the Polish Communist Party is adopting more moderate and legal tactics, it would seem that the Bill is inspired by the fear that these tactics may prove too successful. Under the state of siege prisons and internment camps were filled with Communists or suspected Communists, and it is to be feared that arrests, beatings, and sentences of imprisonment, internment, or death will again become common in Poland.

Why are YOU not a member of
the Party?