

# THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

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

No. 113

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th, 1922.

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

TWOPENCE



DUMP HIM!

# TRADE UNION BLACKLEGS

A letter from JACK CARNEY and a  
Reply to the Critics by J. T. MURPHY

To the Editor the COMMUNIST.

Dear Comrade,—

J. T. Murphy's reply to V. Brodsky, in your issue of August 26th, is an able reply as far as it goes. But it does not present itself as an adequate reply to the criticism made by Brodsky.

It seems to me that what Brodsky is endeavouring to point out is the necessity for the revolutionists assuming a more powerful position than they at present occupy. There is room, decided room, for constructive work in our attacks upon the reactionary officialdom of the Labour movement. We need to be in amongst the rank-and-file of the unions and so compel action. To expect that the officials will bring about unity of action along the lines suggested by comrade Murphy is to expect, what Murphy himself knows to be so, the impossible. Any Labour leader who accepts the "spiritual" guidance of Amsterdam accepts its tactics and in so doing is consciously or unconsciously opposed to sympathetic action.

To act on an international basis is to turn towards Moscow. It is resorting to action. It is a turning away from phrases, etc. The officials of the Labour movement mistrust the rank-and-file and feel that they themselves are competent to lead the masses. It is, therefore, in my opinion, a waste of time to hammer at the officials without attempting to create the necessary support amongst the rank-and-file.

In the state of Illinois there is a mine leader, who believes in state agreements. In other words, he is for sectionalism of the worst kind. Within the miners' organisation in this state there are hundreds of militants. The result of such organising of the militants was responsible for this mine leader receiving in one day a protest from over fifty locals informing him to keep his hands off a separate agreement. If the revolutionists had kept hammering away at the mine leader and left organisation within the union alone, the mine leader would have been successful. The rank-and-file need backbone. The revolutionist must supply it.

In conclusion, let us not forget, that as dangerous as "leftism" is, there is a far more dangerous "rightism." The United States militants are fortunate in having in their midst a W. Z. Foster, whose methods might be studied to advantage by all those who realise the necessity for more militant action and revolutionary understanding on the part of the rank-and-file of organised labour.

Fraternally yours,  
JACK CARNEY.  
Editor, "The Voice of Labour."

## The Critics Answered

COMRADE Marsden appears to me to have done little more than to repeat Comrade Brodsky, whilst Comrade Carney misses the critical point of the argument in order to advocate the development of minority movements in the unions.

With such a policy we are in entire agreement and to advocate such movements as a lesson arising from immediate failures is quite all right. But again I repeat, we were not striving to derive lessons from failures. We were trying to get action with the material at our disposal.

Reconstruct the situation as it was at the time my article was written. 600,000 miners were on strike in America. They had worn down the strength of the employing class in America, in spite of the activities of non-union labour. The employers turned to other countries and began to import coal, especially from Britain. This meant that the British miners, dockers, sailors, railwaymen and transport workers in general were being called upon to play the same role as the non-union and scab labour in America. There was no organised minority movement in a single one of the unions involved, to which we could appeal. We were left, therefore, with only two ways of appeal, which we utilised—one to the leaders who have con-

trol over the organisations; the other a direct appeal to the rank-and-file.

But Comrades Brodsky and Marsden object to our appeals on several grounds. First, because of the poverty, thus:—"How do you expect starving men to strike for a principle, etc." . . . "We, who have three sound meals a day, can strike like Hell."

Let us examine the position a little. Is it only a principle at stake? Smash the American miners and see what happens to the British coal trade. The defeat of the American miners inevitably leads to demands for further reductions of British miners' wages. Then, if they resist because it is "concrete," etc., etc., the American miners will be justified in blacklegging because they are hungry, etc. So when the poverty and misery are handed out all round, nobody will be justified in appealing for a strike because all the workers are so poor. The absurdity of the argument is clear. By it the workers are condemned to permanent slavery. For when will the workers get their three meals a day which will enable them to strike like Hell? In the employers' own good time? Can you not see that you are arguing the bosses' case and reviewing strikes and wage demands from the point of view of the permanency of capitalism? To us a demand for a rise in wages, or resistance to wage-cuts, or a strike, is not an end in itself, but a means of developing the struggle until it sharpens to the struggle for power (the only way out for the workers). Comrades, you have applied to this question not the vision of Communists but the petty-bourgeois psychology of a trade union official who measures success and failure in terms of wage negotiations.

A second objection is raised because we have appealed to the leaders. Comrade Marsden asks "Who do the things? The leaders or the rank-and-file?"—and answers it as follows—"The rank-and-file." So, Comrade Marsden, a leader has no role in a fight of masses. You know you are talking clap-trap. There has never been a successful mass fight without successful mass leadership, and the difficulties we are up against lie in the fact that the leaders of the mass organisations are what they are and "the masses elect J. H. Thomas and Co." Very well, we will face this problem also. But first don't misrepresent the Communist Party. You know quite well you don't speak the truth when you write as follows:—"and the only policy of the C.P. seems to be 'Change your leaders!'"

The very article you criticise concluded as follows: "We appeal direct to the rank-and-file as well as to their elected leaders. Refuse to be used as blacklegs."

Now, as to the masses and the leaders, Comrade Marsden says: "The fact is Thomas and Co. represent the views of the rank-and-file in the trade unions. Hence the C.P. must address itself to the masses, and expect nothing from the leaders." Why discriminate if you please, if the views of the rank-and-file and the leaders are the same? Are six million Johnny Thomases easier to convert than one or have you some grudge against a particular Jimmy Thomas that you wish one of them to be ignored?

Comrade Marsden argues exactly as Mr. McDonald argues, with this difference: he evidently dislikes the trade union leaders and takes his dislike to be the guarantee of his revolutionary policy. But it won't wash. The problems arising out of the relationship of leaders and masses cannot be solved in terms of "views" and votes. These are only a part of the problem, otherwise how is it that although time and again a hundred per cent. of a union will strike under the leadership of union officials, whilst it is questionable whether there is a single leader in the whole trade union movement who holds office on a 20 per cent. vote, and the average is much below that. Again, as to views, everyone knows who has given five minutes' observation to trade union elections, that the political views and programmes of candidates for office have played a minor role.

It has depended mainly on the part played and the associations created in dealing with every day issues, that gives confidence and popularity, leading to election. To get the every-day results from wage negotiations, etc., in an era of expanding capitalism (the era in which the trade unions made their greatest progress) became an art in which Mr. Thomas excels. It was in this era that practically all the trade union leaders of to-day came to power at the head of powerful organisations, with strong vested interests binding the membership.

Revolutionary leadership under these conditions could only be the exception and not the rule. Only when the general economic situation changes and forces the masses and the leaders into revolutionary situations and policy can there be a general revolutionary change in leadership. Such changes are rapidly taking place to-day and producing all the forces making for change of leadership. The capitalists can no longer make the old concessions and the fate of the unions and the masses is now at stake. Under these circumstances it is useless and wrong to regard the union leadership as a static unchangeable monument. It is subject to changing circumstances as is everything else. Nor can we assert that the changes will come along a single track. They will operate in many ways. In some cases the union leaders will feel their fate is bound up with the fate of their union and will fight even in a revolutionary fight. In others, new elections will throw up new leaders through the normal operation of the union apparatus, and still again, changes may be made through the organised pressure and activity of minority movements.

To direct attention, therefore, to the central leadership of the unions is of paramount importance, whatever its personnel may be. First, because it is a centre of authority controlling the masses; second, because it immediately focuses the character of the lead which is emanating from that centre, strengthening it if it is revolutionary, exposing it if it is not. And that is why the Communist Party directs attention to the leadership of the unions and makes its appeals to the leaders as well as to the masses.

If our comrades realised the dynamic character of the struggle, its varied and manifold expressions, they would realise that to bank all their money on one phase is fatal. Comrade Carney is right in his insistence upon organising the influence in the unions which can compel action. And the C.P. supports that policy. But he is wrong when he judges our policy by what he assumes our expectations to be. Nor is it a question of who accepts the "spiritual" guidance of Amsterdam. Even the Amsterdam International has grown out of the experiences of the working class and it is involved in the struggles of the working class. In our criticisms of the weapons of struggle and those who have these weapons in their hands, we must not forget the struggle. In that struggle we must be prepared to mobilise and involve every available force, even the Amsterdam International, against the capitalist class.

That in my judgment is the way to wage the revolutionary struggle and win the masses to the leadership of the Communist Party. Comrade Marsden's conception of organising for revolution is absurd. "Just as an army can organise without (and before) going into the firing line, so the workers." The working class is not an army going into a future battle. It is a class actually in battle every hour of its existence and has to forge its weapons of struggle in the furnace of a many phased conflict. Need I say more?

Just one pointed question to Comrades Brodsky and Marsden: If you could not discover the policy of the Party when inside, how do you expect to find it outside? Even our enemies give us credit for knowing what we are after and discuss our methods—but our "friends"?

J. T. MURPHY.

We have received a complaint from P. Marsden of the title "Trade Union Blacklegs"—we use it because it was that of the original article which gave rise to this discussion.—ED. COMMUNIST.

# A CHALLENGE

By Harry Pollitt

**T**HE demand of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation that the wages of the shipyard workers shall be reduced a further 10s. per week, raises once more the problem of how far are the employers to be permitted to go in their steady lowering of wages, before any united action is taken to challenge their continual encroachments.

For sheer callousness and brutality the action of the shipyard bosses in launching this further demand at their workers is surely unparalleled in Labour history. First it was a demand for a reduction of 6s. per week immediately after the defeat of the miners last year. When this demand was made, the Press simultaneously launched a campaign to emphasise what reduced Labour costs meant to the coal markets and how that factor would stimulate trade. The same arguments were used in reference to shipbuilding and the atmosphere created favourable to accepting the 6s. cut in two instalments.

When this was finally accepted without any resistance being offered, the employers soon worked for the 12½ per cent. to be taken off shipbuilders' wages. After lengthy negotiations a settlement was agreed on that the 12½ per cent. should come off in three instalments: again no effective resistance was offered and the very week that the last instalment was taken off, saw the shipyard unions in conference with the employers to discuss the demand of the latter that a further 26/6 should be taken off the shipyard workers' wages. This was the last straw, and on a ballot being taken there was a large majority in favour of refusing to accept this reduction and a lock-out of all shipyard workers took place. This was contemporary with the engineers' lock-out on managerial functions and, whilst it was known that all previous reductions had afterwards been forced on the engineering unions, and whatever terms were arranged so far as the 26/6 was concerned would afterwards be forced on the engineering unions, no attempt was made to combine these two forces.

After a short struggle, the union leaders submitted the employers' modified terms of a 16/6 reduction in three cuts, without prejudice to a further claim of the 10/- reduction to their members. The result of

the vote was a majority in favour of continuing the struggle, but the officials declared there was not a two-thirds majority, and the men were ordered to resume work on a reduction of 16/6 in three cuts.

The last of these cuts has taken place, and now the shipyard bosses demand their full pound of flesh—the further 10/-, and a ballot vote is being taken on three questions:—

1. Whether the reduction shall be resisted by a strike.
2. Whether the reduction shall be accepted.
3. Whether the E.C. of the Federation shall be empowered to get the best possible terms.

## ADVERTISE YOUR MEETINGS

Now that summer is over, lecture and social secretaries should be arranging their winter campaign of meetings and social functions. They are strongly urged to advertise all such functions in the COMMUNIST.

We want to build up a full weekly list of all Party activities, but can only do so with the active co-operation of branches.

Remember, publicity always pays!  
Two shillings spent on an advertisement of your branch meeting place or public meeting, may bring you at least one new member.

Send a trial advert.  
Now.

We strongly urge that the proposed reduction should be rejected, and that the Executive Committee of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation be instructed to demand that the General Council should immediately organise a united resistance to this arrogant demand of the shipyard bosses.

We know full well the state of the shipping market, we know the suffering that will be caused by a strike, but unless the shipyard workers are to sink to a lower level of living than they have yet experienced and, in being lowered, bringing other industries with them, the General Council must take the job in hand. This is no time for the niceties of Constitutions and the principles of autonomy; the very life of trade union organisation is at stake.

The fate of the engineering and railway workers is bound up with the shipyard workers. Every reduction that the shipyard workers have had, so have the engineering workers. The railway shopmen have not yet had the 16/6 reduction, but after October 1st, the railway companies are to put in a demand that this 16/6 should be taken off railway shopmen. If they succeed, then it gives another lever to the railway companies whereby to try and force down the bare rates of the traffic men.

If the shipyard workers were to accept this proposed reduction of 10/-, it means the engineering workers will have to accept the same reduction immediately they are out of the 16/6 wood. And with the present structure of the unions and the varying arguments as to rates of pay for railway shopmen, it is clear that attempts will also be made during the winter to impose it on them, again this will react upon the traffic men.

Therefore, the united action we ask for, is not for any reason of sentimental solidarity, but as a vital necessity if the other unions are not to be dragged down into the pit along with the shipyard workers. If no effective resistance is put up, the employers will demand another reduction later in the winter. We are not concerned with the state of the market, and the rest of the arguments used by the employers. The present offensive on the workers exposes capitalism in its worst form, and if it is good and popular for trade union leaders like J. T. Brownlie to say at Southport, "Damn your Political Economy," it should be good for them to commence organising their forces with a view to putting the platform slogans into operation.

The present situation in the shipbuilding industry gives these leaders their chance. The rank-and-file will support them, the unemployed will support them, and the whole union movement could be rallied together and the present demoralising atmosphere dispelled.

This is organised Labour's final chance. The General Council can, if it will, retrieve the defeats and set-backs of the past, by organising a united resistance to this latest demand of the shipyard bosses.

WILL IT ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE?

## WHAT IS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—ANYWAY?

Letter sent to Capt. W. D. Basset, V.C., Secretary of the League of Nations Union (Scottish Council):

Dear Sir,—

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th September, enclosing ticket giving me a seat on the platform at the League of Nations Union meeting at Motherwell on Friday next. I shall not, however, be able to attend.

My attitude to the League of Nations is well known in the constituency before which I have been a prospective candidate for nearly four successive years.

In 1918, in the course of my election address, I stated:—

I believe there can be no escape from war and the rumours of wars except by making an end of capitalism, by replacing the rule of the so-called "Democracies"—the great capitalist states—by a World Federation of Free Commonwealths wherein the whole industrial and political power must rest with those who, by hand and brain, contribute to the upkeep of society. They and they alone have any just claim to order the affairs of the world.

For that reason my slogan is "Complete and unconditional surrender of capital and all power to the Working Class"

That still remains the slogan of my candidature. Nothing that has transpired since that time has caused me to modify my opinion—except to strengthen it.

In the judgment of some, the League of Nations is a dream, an idealists' dream, a thing unsubstantial and incapable of realisation in this hard world.

With them I do not concur. Institutions are not conceived out of mere aspirations and ideas—however noble and however enlightened,—but take shape and substance around a framework of material fact and in response to the historic requirements of the dominant class in society at any given time.

The League of Nations was, in its beginnings, the essay of the statesman—the first concrete expression of whose ascendancy in the politics of America was the broadcasting of credit and the centralisation of its control by the Federal Reserve Banking system.

President Wilson was the man who, having performed his appointed task of stabilising capitalism in the United States, was entrusted with the mission of salving that system throughout the world.

The greatest exponent of the idea in the British Empire is General Smuts, a man who has for a decade been the pliant but

not too obvious—and, therefore, more useful tool of the cosmopolitan collection of creditors who rule on the Rand and throughout United South Africa. His nominee, Strakosch, occupies the all-important position of secretary of the League's Financial Committee. This gentleman's activities in Central Europe, like those of his patron on the Rand, will some day meet the justice they deserve.

Ter Meulen, Brand, Drummond Fraser—those well-chosen bell-wethers of the cosmopolitan banking oligarchies of Amsterdam, London, Paris, Liverpool and New York,—why do you not be frank and put them upon your note headings, rather than the marionettes whom they move upon the stage of politics?

The League of Nations has a function and a future. The more the Supreme Council is discredited; the more the ascendancy of the bankers over the industrialists asserts itself; the more the manipulators of the exchanges and the credit houses handling cotton and the other raw materials extend that secret dictatorship that every banker and every steelmaster knows to his cost, the more do we read and hear of the League of Nations.

The more extended becomes the queue of unemployed at the Labour Exchanges in "this land fit for heroes," the more the payment of relief drains the emptying coffers of the Treasury and the Parish Councils; the more desperate becomes the financial plight of many a shipping company, a shipyard firm and its gaunt and idle steel works subsidiary, the more do the debenture holders, mortgage holders and creditors cudgel their distracted brains to discover some new form of official receiver-ship.

The more discontented become the masses (walking the streets for years on end), the more they lose faith in governments and in established forms; the more they threaten to take power into their own hands—so the more do the harrassed capitalists hurry on with the erection of new defences and new safeguards for their property and their dominion.

Much as I should have enjoyed being present to witness the snare set for the bird, I regretfully thank you for your invitation and remain,

Yours very sincerely,

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

(Prospective Communist Party Candidate for the Borough of Motherwell and Wishaw).

# Who'll Cut Throats for Kerosene?

HERE will be no war—just now. Later on, of course, we shall see—what we shall see; but just now there is “nothing doing” in the “making the world safe” line.

Lloyd George, Churchill & Co., have run into a snag and until they can pull themselves together again, the world can go back to its normal occupations of making money or hunting jobs.

What was it all about?

## Capitalism Makes War

We need waste no time on technicalities—on the exact excuse that would have been served up to us. The fact is plain beyond all disguising, that British and French Imperialism clashed in their grab at the lands of the Near East—lands which each need to repair the all but irredeemable chaos into which their economy has fallen.

\* \* \*

Capitalism in its beginnings demands and must have “freedom.”

Freedom of sale, freedom of purchase, freedom of access to markets and materials, freedom of competition, freedom of the so that they may freely offer themselves in the free and unrestrained labour market—in the name of all these freedoms whose essence, distilled out, became the world-redeeming slogan “Free Trade,” Manchester went forth and conquered, the British Empire grew until God felt small and all the other Empires started to sprout.

But Capitalism grown old and crabbed, scorns the romantic exuberance of its youth. Free Competition is a fine thing for those who win in the scramble—and all the finer (for the winner) because its logical end is the monopoly of the Conqueror. As on the battlefield, so in the economic struggles of the bourgeois world. The fights from being the tiny tussles of fretful minnows become the savage onslaughts of furious sharks. Finally, the Great Deep itself is split in the clamorous conflict of the frantic Leviathans.

Capitalism, passing from the stage of individual enterprise, leaving behind the childishness of the joint stock company, enters upon serious business with the trust, the combine, the cartel, and the merger, and reaches mature and complete hideousness with the overlordship of finance capital and the total subversion of the State to its imperious and Imperialist needs.

There arises then no question of freedom—there is only Security to be sought and gained by the one great State which can manage to emerge triumphant when the last issue has been joined and the fall of the last rival has left it power unchallenged; wealth; dominion absolute.

To speak plain English on a plain matter—Nationally centralised Finance Capitals, inflated beyond imagination by the gains of the Great War, have grown so vast that the world has not room enough for them all to grow. Something must smash—and the crisis in the Near East was but the preliminary rumbling of an inevitable, final eruption.

## Oil and Blood

Let none fool you with talk of Right and Wrong.

From the point of view of Capitalist Imperialism there is no Right but the Right of Property; no Wrong but the Balance on the Wrong Side; no joy, but the joy of a Great Gain; no adversity but the adverse rate of exchange.

Who bothers about the “Rights” of small nations—when they possess oil wells or trade routes necessary to the stability of a hard-pressed Empire?

There are hundreds of millions of mere human beings in all that part of the earth that lies East of the Meridian of Vienna and all have their human capacities, wants and desires—but who that thinks Imperially regards them as anything but material for Imperial conquest and control?

When the Turkish armies swooped down on Smyrna and tumbled the Greek army into chaos and annihilation, there crashed into ruin along with it all the old bourgeois philosophy which sought to keep the exploited wage-slaves of Western Europe safely acquiescent with their slavery because, being “White,” they thought themselves the natural superiors of the “dago” and the “nigger.”



THE SACRIFICE

# Who'll Bleed to make Fat men Fatter?

“East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet.” The rhymester of Imperialism said it and its dupes swallowed it as gospel until the whole East surged and seethed under the exploiters’ rule and the “Asiatic” Turks hurled their philosophy into chaos along with their schemes and the rabble of the routed Greek army.

## The Spectre of Communism

It was a hard pill to swallow—to find that Turks could grow as enthusiastic for Nationalism as though they were French or Irish; still harder that they could fight in a manner to excite the envy of even the I.R.A.; hardest of all that ties of kindred, common faith, and community of suffering should so bind them to the millions of India that their triumph should excite in them hopes and enthusiasms of fearful portent to the Lords of Lombard Street and their kept statesmen.

But worst of all was the fact that within its own house Capitalism had engendered its own worst enemy—a discontented, a rebellious working mass whose hopes had been excited by the triumph of their fellows in Russia; and who, despite punishment and defeat, saw (even though dimly through a smoke screen of lies) in the continued existence of the Soviet Republic a sure and certain sign that their day of deliverance would dawn.

\* \* \*

The surest way to extinguish the last spark of revolutionary fire in the breasts of the toiling masses of Britain, France and Germany—to bring upon them all once again that “hope deferred that maketh the heart sick”—was to secure the overthrow of Soviet Russia.

Open attack had failed; suborned treachery had failed; the blockade had failed;—there remained diplomatic entanglement and the occupation of adjoining lands.

All the Powers—bourgeois and anti-proletarian as they were—were agreed upon occupying the Straits which form for half the year the only sea outlet for the produce of Russia. All the Powers were agreed that the Turk must go—in order to let some one or other of them in.

All were agreed because no otherwise could Russia be encircled and the virus of Communism kept from spreading to the robbed and exploited wage-slaves of the West.

But who was to be the one?

Who was to hold the Straits? Who was to have the corn of Syria? Who was to have the oil of the Caucasus and the lower Caspian? who the Bagdal railway? who Mesopotamia? who Persia? and what of Central Asia and all the East beyond . . . ?

And into the clamour of their greed and the snarling of their infuriated cupidity, comes the conquering Turk, bringing visions of a worse peril—the Red Army of Soviet Russia.

## David must Sweat for this

For the time being, therefore, the war is off. The Press is working overtime trying to manufacture a super-Talleyrand out of Curzon, and their psalms of praise are already counter-pointed by the first mutterings of the storm of wrath that is going to burst upon the Man who Made their Flesh Creep—Dirty David George. But who that is sane believes all this stuff?

We were saved from war because such as French Imperialism hates British, each is afraid of America, doubtful of Japan, fearful of Germany and terrified at the great Might Be of Soviet Russia.

We are saved—not from misery—but “saved up” until time and circumstance shall be ripe for the war to decide who shall be Master of the World.

The day for that decision will most surely come. When it comes it will not be our fault if the answer to the question who?—is any other than—THE WORKER.

They have fooled us, they have bled us, they have robbed us, they have insulted us—but an end comes to all things and the Day of our Judgment is nigh at hand.

The Council of Action must meet. If not to end war to end the rule of the war-mongers.

Lloyd George has got to go—and his gang with him—and the Labour Party must be (whether they want to be or no) the agents of his going, so that the workers of the world may know that there are still men among the British Proletariat—that the working class of Britain are ready to take their place in the vanguard of the Emancipation Struggle of the World’s Disinherited.

## A PAGE FOR WOMEN

## A Parable of Plenty.

By S. Francis.

ONCE upon a time there was a woman and she was out-of-work. Now, to be out-of-work was a serious thing, because in those days it was necessary to work in order to obtain money with which to buy the necessaries of life, such as food, clothing, and somewhere to sleep, and as this woman was out-of-work, she could not get money and presently would be unable to obtain the necessaries of life.

But a paternal government had instituted a method of obtaining work for such as had it not; and this method was called the Labour Bureau. So this woman went to the Labour Bureau and said:—

"I want some work."

And they answered her: "You shall have some work on condition that you fill in this form, come and see us every Monday, and Wednesday, and Friday in the middle of the morning—instead of looking for this work—and if you wait here long enough, we may be able to give you an introduction to another of our branches, who will in turn give you an introduction to an employer, who when you get there may still have the job open—or, of course, he may not. In the meantime, if you do not get anything in six days, we will pay you the sum of twelve shillings a week—provided you accept whatever work we offer you—out of which you must live, eat, pay your rent, buy your clothes—always bearing in mind that employers like smartly-dressed applicants best—and pay your fares, which will be considerable, as we shall send you to many places after unsuitable work."

As there was nothing else to do, the woman consented to these conditions. Then she gave up all Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings to the Worship of the Rules of the Labour Bureau, and spent much time and more money in going after unsuitable work. And, after having wasted six days with no money coming in, she was told to wait a further three, when she would receive six shillings. This was done.

But when after another six days she went to the Labour Bureau for the twelve shillings that was due to her, they told her:

"It has come to our notice that you have refused a job at two pounds ten shillings, hours nine to six and one on Saturdays, therefore you cannot have the twelve shillings due to you."

And the woman answered:

"I refused the job because it was not good enough. I had been getting four pounds a week, hours nine-thirty to five-thirty, but in accordance with Your Wishes I have reduced the price of my labour power a pound and I cannot afford to make a further reduction. If I had taken your job at two pounds ten a week and worked from nine every morning to six every night I should never have been able to get a better job, but would have had to go on working those hours until I was sacked, when I should have been forced to take another job at less money than ever and longer hours, because I would never have been able to save anything out of that money to keep me going while I looked for more work."

And they admitted the force of her argument, but said it was no affair of theirs.

\* \* \*

Which being interpreted means that the function of the Labour Bureau is simply to force the worker to accept ever decreasing wages and increasing hours. In other words, the capitalist is forcing the unemployed worker to undersell his comrades for twelve pieces of silver. Is this not another instance of decreasing market price?

In these days it is not even thirty pieces of silver!

Women Readers are urged to send notes, items and contributions suitable for this page to K. Jackson, c/o Editor, "The Communist," 16, King Street, W.C.2

## MARY THE BOLSHEVIK

## A TALE OF RUSSIAN VILLAGE LIFE

[The emancipation of Mary the Bolshevik is traced by an anti-feminist spectator]

WE had one such. Tall, broad-chested, with black eye-brows that rose like arches.

Her husband was no bigger than a thimble. Kozonok was the name we gave him. You felt you could hide him all under a hat, so insignificant he looked. But when he got cross with his wife—goodness gracious—he was a terror. He banged the table like the smith with his hammer, and shouted:—

"I'll murder you—squeeze your soul out of you."

But Mary was artful. She would pretend to be frightened, and would speak respectfully.

\* \* \*

When the Bolsheviks came with their freedom and started their twaddle about



YOUNG RUSSIAN MILITIAWOMAN  
"Her soul inspired with sacred thought,  
She guards what streams of blood have bought,  
The commune of Free Russia."

women being equal to men, Mary opened her eyes, so to speak. Whenever there was speech-making she flew to the meeting. You would have thought she had lost all shame. Once she came up to an orator and, with wide-open eyes, said:—

"Come to our place, Comrade orator, and have tea with us."

Kozonok was simply dumbfounded. His eyes went dim. His nostrils swelled like bubbles. "Ah, he's going to do for her right here," we thought. But somehow he pulled himself together and walking awkwardly toward her, said curtly:—

"Home you go! Quick!"

Not her. Just to spite him, I suppose, she got on to the orator's box and turned to us with a speech.

"Fellow peasants!"

We simply burst with laughter. And even Kozonok could no longer control himself.

"Comrade orator, shove that devil of a woman down, will you?"

At home he went for her for all he was worth.

"I'll squeeze your soul out."

But Mary only kept teasing him.

"Who is it making so much noise here,

Prokofy Mitrich? Is it you? It does sound terrible, but I'm not a bit afraid."

\* \* \*

From this it began. Kozonok tries to show his power, Mary hers. Kozonok sleeps in the bed, Mary on the stove. Kozonok goes to her, she goes from him.

Then Mary refuses to have any more children. She had two and they both died. Kozonok wanted a third one, but Mary would not even hear of it. "I'm tired of this game," she said.

This drove Kozonok mad.

"I'll knock your head off if you speak like this."

But Mary only laughed! "I won't have children," she said.

\* \* \*

The poor fellow was no longer himself. No more jokes or high jinks with him as before. He would go to the stove and lie there like a widower. What could he do? Give her a good thrashing? But she would leave him at once. Worse still, she would drag him into the court, and the Bolsheviks were sure to find him guilty—it was their fashion to make a fuss over women. Or perhaps let her do as she liked? But this would only be bringing shame on himself, as everybody would be saying, "The man has no character, he is a coward." Twice he went to a fortune teller—but this also had no effect.

Meanwhile, Mary began to bring home books and new papers from the club. She would spread a whole sheet on the table, and would sit like a school mistress, silently moving her lips. Kozonok, of course, only looked on and said nothing. Better that she read at home than gadded about outside, he thought. Only now and again he would just say mockingly:—

"Holding the paper upside down, eh? A reader, heaven forbid."

Books and newspapers—they draw one like a hog. They change one, make one a different person.

As a matter of fact, Mary was getting somewhat off her head. She began to poke her nose into men's business. When there was a meeting to decide some public matter, she was always there. This annoyed the men.

"Mary, go to your kitchen," they would say to her.

But she took no notice. Only looked round as if it did not concern her at all. Then she got it into her head to start a "Fem-branch"—a fancy name—goodness only knows what it really means. It did give us a shock, however, when we saw first one woman and then another, then a third, go and join Mary in that blessed branch of hers. Soon an adult school opened in Kozonok's house. Women gathered there together and rattled on and on for hours. The commissary from the village council himself began to pay visits to their meetings—all about self-education and such trash,—you know.

The commissary, of course, was always hand in glove with the women. That was his programme.

"You must not scold a woman now, Prokofy Mitrich," he would say to Kozonok, "it's revolution." But Kozonok only smiled like a fool. In his heart he would have torn all that revolution to pieces.

Mary's pranks, however, were getting worse and worse. One day she said: "I'm going to join the Communist Party."

"You must be ashamed of yourself," answered Kozonok, trying to bring her to her senses. "Haven't you got any conscience left? You'll be punished by God if you behave like this."

But Mary only sniggered.

"God? What God? Where did you find him?"

She became quite like a madwoman.

\* \* \*

It was a time when the village had to elect a new council. Women swarmed to the meeting as if it was a fair.

(Continued on Page 7)



A YOUNG RUSSIAN  
MILITIA WOMAN.

*“ Her soul inspired with sacred thought,  
She guards what streams of blood have bought,  
The commune of Free Russia.”*

# WORKERS! WAR AGAINST WAR-MONGERS!

## The Communist

A Weekly Organ of the Third (Communist) International  
Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain

16 King Street, Covent Garden

London, W.C.2

Telephone . Gerrard 877

### MAKE WAR ON WAR

THE Communist Party throughout Britain led the way during last week-end with a series of "Stop the War" Demonstrations.

From all quarters come reports of successful meetings, large and enthusiastic audiences—evidences of the general hatred with which the working mass regards the villainous attempt to drag them once again to the shambles.

Labour must act—the rank-and-file must see to it that there is no more shilly-shally at headquarters.

Not only end war—but end the rule of the war-makers.

\* \* \*

The Communist Party, in addition to all its other activities during the crisis, endeavoured to secure a hall in London in order to hold a mass demonstration against war.

No hall of any kind could be obtained—the boycott was complete.

Preparations are therefore being made for a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, October 1st.

### Rank and File! What's the Game?

THE Executive Committee of the Communist Party issued the following statement on Saturday, September 23rd:—

"The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain views with considerable alarm the fact that at this moment, when the British Government is on the point of embroiling the workers of this country in another massacre, and the whole working class movement is looking to the leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress for a definite lead, that no report has been published of the interview between the Labour Delegation and the Prime Minister on Thursday last.

The Communist Party warns the workers against the danger of any sort of secret diplomacy on the part of their official representatives with the discredited Coalition Government, and calls upon the Labour Party and General Council to stop coquetting with this bloody-minded crew and exert the whole strength of the Labour Movement to stop this war, and to sweep the war-mongers completely out of office.

### A United Front Against War

The Communist Party associates itself with the appeal made by James O'Grady, M.P., Secretary of the National Federation of General Workers, to the Labour Party and General Council, for the immediate summoning of the Council of Action.

This is the right step at the right moment and will secure the entire support of the organised workers.

The Communist Party unreservedly places itself behind this appeal.

### Mary the Bolshevik

(Continued from Page 6)

"Mary! Mary Grishagina!" they shouted. Just to tease them, one of us men said without thinking:—

"Come along, Mary. Do us the honour."

We took it just as a joke. But it turned out very serious. Women started pecking the men, like daws—a whole flock of them—widows, soldiers' wives, and what not. And our men are not over anxious to take up official jobs, particularly in these days. So we just let them have it their way.

"Mary? Well, let it be Mary. Let her burn her fingers, too."

When the votes cast for Mary were counted, they were two hundred and fifteen! The commissary, Vasily Ivanich, even made a speech congratulating her on her success.

And as to Mary, she stood solemn like, with her face just flushed and eyes grown still bigger.

"I'll do my duty, comrades," she said. "Don't condemn me if I do anything wrong. Rather come and help me."

Kozonok was much upset over all this. He was at a loss as to how to take it—

whether it was a slight on him or an honour.

"How am I to speak to her?" he thought when he came home. "She is a Government official now."

To us men it also seemed rather queer. It looked like some game. A woman—and then all of a sudden she sits on the village council, decides our business.

\* \* \*

When we came to the meeting of the council just to have a look at Mary, we could scarcely recognise her. She set a table. Put an inkstand on it, two pencils—a blue and a red one. Near by the secretary was scribbling something. And Mary, the devil-woman, even changed her voice and ran through the papers as if she had been doing that all her life.

We simply could not believe our eyes. Mary! Who would have thought that of her! And she never, even once, blushed. And everybody was a "comrade" to her. Once the old Klimov came, and she used the same word to him. "What do you want, comrade?" she asked.

But the old man could not stick this word --it hurt him more than if you trod on his corn. So he turned on her:—

### How's This for Unity?

AT Edinburgh the Executive of the Labour Party were greatly concerned for the unity of the Party which they alleged would be impaired were the Communist Party admitted to affiliation.

We commend to the notice of the working-class rank-and-file of the Labour Party, the following letter which speaks for itself. Sir Leo Chiozza Money is neither a Communist nor a proletarian; consequently, it would seem, he is welcome to do as he pleases.

22nd September, 1922.

To the Editor of the *Daily Herald*.

Sir,—

Some time ago Sir Leo Chiozza Money was approved by the Labour Party Executive as a Labour candidate for Parliament (South Tottenham).

To-day a letter bearing his signature appears in the *Morning Post* definitely supporting Lloyd George in his anti-Turkish policy which threatens to involve this country in war within the next few days.

In view of the Labour Party's official pronouncements on this question and the imperative need for unity in the Labour movement to stop this new war, it is to be hoped that if Sir Leo Chiozza Money has not already resigned, the Labour Party Executive will see that he resigns at once from the Party, or at least from the responsible position of Labour Candidate for Parliament, which seems to give him authority in his attempt to split the Labour Movement.

Yours faithfully,

(signed) ALBERT INKPIN.

Secretary.

### Communist Party Conference

THE arrangements for the forthcoming Annual Party Conference, to be held in London, on Saturday and Sunday, October 7—8th, are now well in hand. The proceedings will open on the Saturday morning at 10.30. Branch secretaries who have not already done so, should immediately fill in and send to me the form of application for delegates' credentials, together with the necessary delegate fee of 35/- per delegate. Credentials, voting cards, etc., will then be issued.

So far as the payment of delegates' travelling expenses is concerned, these are to be covered by the pooling arrangement about which branches have already been notified. It is necessary that the expenses of the Conference shall be kept as low as possible, and delegates travelling from the provinces will take advantage of the cheap week-end return tickets that are now available on all the main lines to London at a cost of single fare plus one-third, provided that the total fare is not less than 15/-. These tickets are available for the journey by any train after 5 p.m., on the Friday and for the return journey by any train between 6 a.m. on the Sunday morning and midnight on the Monday.

The agenda for the Conference, together with the amendments sent in by the branches to the draft new Statutes and Rules proposed by the Party Commission, are now in the hands of the branches.

As soon as delegates are appointed by their branches, they should communicate with the London Divisional Organiser, E. W. Cant, 35, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1, letting him know their requirements in the way of accommodation. Applications for accommodation will be dealt with strictly in the order in which they are received.

All enquiries respecting the Conference other than those dealing with the accommodation of delegates should be addressed to me at Central Office, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.

ALBERT INKPIN,

Secretary.

"You may be a councillor, but I'm no comrade to you."

A month later she began to wear a man's shirt and stuck a star to her cap.

Kozonok suffered all this as long as he could, but at last his patience gave out—he asked for a divorce.

"I can't stand it any longer," he said to Mary. "Relieve me of this life."

Mary only waved her hand.

"With pleasure. I have been ready for this a long time."

\* \* \*

So she went on with her job for about five months. By this time we began to be tired of her. Whatever the Bolsheviks did she always backed them, and then other women caught from her these new ideas. Here one sniffed, there another. Two left their husbands altogether.

And then one day Mary got into a cart, and off she went. Where she went—I can't say. People say she was seen in another village, talking at meetings, and gadding about among the women. Who knows? Perhaps it wasn't she, but another like her. There are lots of her kind nowadays.

# BACK TO THE UNIONS

## CONFERENCE AT GLASGOW

**T**AKING into consideration the apathy created in recent months by the trades union defeats in the Engineering and Shipbuilding centres, the conference of the R.I.L.U., held at Glasgow on September 23rd was fairly encouraging. 177 delegates, representing 106 trades unions, trades councils and unemployed organisations, were present.

Comrade Ritchie (Lanarkshire Miners' Union) was in the chair.

Comrade Pollit (British Bureau, R.I.L.U.), pointed out the lack of unity, cohesion and co-operation in the Trade Union movement. He showed the difficulties that were being placed in the way of unity by the officials, illustrating this by the voting at the last Trade Union Congress on the General Council's recommendations. He showed the failure of the Amsterdam International and outlined the principles of which the R.I.L.U. was endeavouring to build a real trade union international.

H. O'Neill (Glasgow Trades and Labour Council), asked who had arranged the agenda and also who had selected the people who would speak to the resolutions. The chairman answered that the British Bureau had drawn up the resolutions and the speakers who would introduce them were selected by the local committee, R.I.L.U.

### Wars and Hours

The first resolution, calling for a united resistance to further attempts to reduce wages and lengthen hours, was moved by Devine (Motherwell and Wishaw Trades and Labour Council) and Aitken (Airdrie A.E.U.). Both speakers were exceedingly brief in their remarks, pointing out that the resolution was non-contentious.

Cohen (Furnishing Trades), dealing with the part in the resolution urging the General Council of the T.U.C. to take action, pointed out that if active socialists in the past had spent more time working within the unions, capturing the key positions in the unions, they would not require to urge the officials from outside.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

T. Clark (Bridgeton A.E.U.), moved the resolution on union reorganisation. He pointed out that in the past they had indulged in general criticism of the Trade Union movement and had advocated general solutions. The worker to-day had, as a result of recent experience, reached this standpoint and the advanced elements had now to offer detailed solutions of the various problems. He spoke in some detail of the changes required in local or national organisation.

J. Carmichael (Glasgow Trades Council) said that he agreed with nine-tenths of what Comrade Clark had said, but disagreed with policy of grouping the unemployed with the unions in the trades councils. He moved that the words "unemployed organisations" be deleted from the resolution. The unemployed could find

adequate expression for their grievances through their unions. The resolution, if given effect to in any trades council, meant overlapping and therefore he opposed it.

O'Neill (Glasgow T. and L.C.) seconded, pointing out that there was nothing in the constitution of the trades councils to prevent an unemployed man from representing his union and from stating the unemployed point of view. He also adversely criticised the recent activities of the unemployed.

Mackintosh (N.U.R.), Kent (Renfrew U.P.A.), Welsh (Partick Unemployed),



O.H.M.S.

McFarlane (Kingston Unemployed), and Aitken (Airdrie A.E.U.) and Wright (A.S.U.), spoke in favour of the resolution. Wright pointed out how the constitutions of certain societies practically made non-unionism inevitable and deprived the unemployed man of the possibility of using his union as a medium of expression. Carmichael and Clark having replied to the discussion, the motion was carried by an overwhelming majority.

J. H. Maxwell (Socialist Teachers' Society) moved a resolution on the prospect of war in the Near East, which was carried unanimously.

J. R. Campbell (Local Secretary, R.I.L.U.) urged the delegates to go back to their branches pledging themselves to get affiliations to the local R.I.L.U., or at least to accept a speaker who would outline the policy of the R.I.L.U.

## RALLY to the RYE

**C**OMRADE S. E. DALLAS, late chairman of the L.D.C. of the unemployed, is now undergoing a sentence of nine months' imprisonment for the "crime," so frequently and conveniently committed by working-class speakers, of "seditious language."

The charge arose from a speech delivered some three months ago at an unemployed demonstration outside the Guardians' Office in Peckham Road. According to the police inspector who made it, Dallas referred to Sir Henry Wilson as a murderer; adding that he had been followed from Ireland and shot in the interests of a good cause. The same must be done here. This inspector admitted, however, that he was not a shorthand writer and his notes were not taken until Dallas had concluded his address.

Dallas, needless to say, made none of the alleged statements. On the contrary, he

deprecated political assassination while pointing out that such incidents as the shooting of Wilson were the inevitable result of oppression such as had been going on in Ireland. He also told the unemployed that they could only obtain adequate maintenance by coming together in a mass organisation. The other comrades who had spoken at the meeting were called as witnesses and their evidence confirmed Dallas' denials.

The wheels of capitalist law and order grind slowly for, although the meeting was held on June 22nd, the solemn legal buffoonery was not completed until July 25, when Mr. "Justice" Sherman pronounced his savage and vindictive sentence. Dallas at the time was already doing three months' "hard" for his activities in connection with the Ormside Street evictions.

These and similar activities are, of course, the real cause of our comrade's conviction. The sedition charge was a clumsy frame up. The local Bumbles and

### ADVERTISEMENT RATES

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

**COMMERCIAL ADVERTISEMENTS:**—Displayed, 1s. 6d. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on), 9d. per line (6 words) or part thereof.

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

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

### MEETINGS

#### Communist Party Branches

**BIRMINGHAM.** Sundays, Bull Ring, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.; Barton Arms, 7 p.m. Wednesdays, Ad-derley Road, Saltley, 7.30 p.m. Fridays, Small Heath Park, 7.30 p.m. Branch Meetings Thursdays, 8 p.m., Floodgate Street Schools. Intending members apply T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

**CENTRAL JOINT COUNCIL,** Minerva Cafe, Monday evening next, 8.15 p.m. T. A. Jackson on "Revolution." All welcome.

**CENTRAL LONDON.** Minerva Cafe, 144, Holborn, Sunday, 1st October, 6 p.m. Tea. 8 p.m. Lecture.

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

**DUNDEE.** Sunday Meetings, Albert Square, 2.30 and 6.30. Business Meetings every Monday, Unity Hall, Hilltown, 8 p.m.

**KENNINGTON.** Meetings every Sunday evening outside Kennington Theatre, Kennington Park, 8 p.m. October 1st. Speaker: W. Savage.

**KENTISH TOWN.** Meetings every Sunday morning and evening at Parliament Hill. Next Sunday 11.30 Bert Joy. 6 p.m. F. Willis. Comrades please note.

**NOTTINGHAM.** Wm. Morris Institute, Heathcote Street. Meetings on market place every Sunday morning and evening. All varieties of rebel and educational literature on sale.

**SOUTHEND.** Sundays, Marine Parade, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Branch meetings, Fridays, 8 p.m., Labour Institute.

**STREATHAM.** Squair and Bishop (and the "Tin Lizzie") will be at Westcott Road, Mitcham Lane, October 2-4, and at Greyhound Lane, October 5-7. Commence 7.30.

**WOOLWICH.** Every Sunday, Beresford Square, 7 p.m. Good speakers.

**TO LECTURE SECRETARIES**—Lantern Lectures on "Russia." Now booking for Winter Session. For terms, dates, &c., apply Russian Famine Fund, 35, Grays Inn Road, W.C.1.

**MARX'S GRAVE.**—T. Westbury, 61, Second Avenue, E.13, 5s.; Alta Gilling, Meadow View, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucester, 2s.

### GOVAN FREE GIFT SCHEME.

Winning Numbers:—1st, 898; 2nd, 1,104; 3rd, 2,504; 4th, 1,516.

**Get all your literature from the Communist Bookshop, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2**

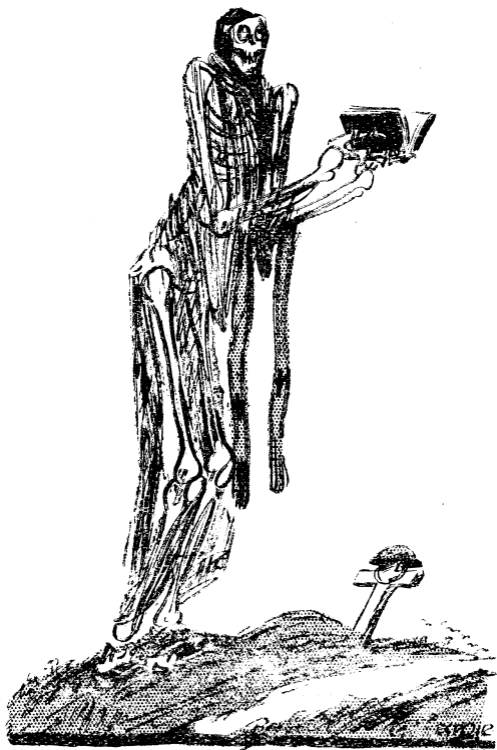
Bounderbys were intent on imprisoning Dallas on any charge, however flimsy, because he had devoted his life to the fight against capitalism.

The workers of South London are not disposed to take this attack lying down. Some weeks ago the Workers' Union to which Dallas belongs, called together all the working-class bodies in the locality, regardless of political differences, with a view to the holding of a monster demonstration to demand our comrade's release. The date fixed upon is Sunday, October 1st.

The demonstration will leave Camberwell Green at 3 p.m., and march to Peckham Rye, where many prominent speakers will operate from four platforms.

The South London Unemployed will be there with their band, while many T.U. branches (Workers' Union, N.U.R., E.T.U., etc.), Co-op Guilds, local Labour Parties and trades councils will support with banners. But banners do not make a demonstration. We want you.





O.H.M.S.