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Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.



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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE DELEGATES OF THE UNITY CONVENTION.

DEAR COMRADE.—We ask you, as one of those attending the Unity Conference, to give your careful attention to the following brief explanation of the distinctive characteristics and aims of the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International).

That Party is based on the acceptance of seven cardinal principles:—

- (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism;
- (2) The class struggle;
- (3) The dictatorship of the proletariat;
- (4) The Soviet or revolutionary Workers' Council system;
- (5) Affiliation to the Third International;
- (6) The refusal to run candidates for Parliament;
- (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

All the rest of our draft programme is provisional. All the decisions of our preliminary Conference of June 19th and 20th are provisional. The membership of the National Organising Council is purely provisional. Everything concerning the Party, everything except the seven fundamental points above enumerated, is subject to amendment, revision, addition, or cancellation, at the NATIONAL INAUGURAL CONFERENCE, to be held in Manchester on September 25th and 26th. The only work of the National Organising Council is to make the formation of the Party as widely known as possible and to prepare for the September Conference.

Some of you may naturally ask why we are not represented at the Unity Conference. For this reason: It is useless to say that the differences between ourselves and those who have summoned the Unity Conference are purely tactical, and that, therefore, we ought to sink our differences and unite with them. Tactical differences, when sufficiently vital, becomes differences of principle, rendering united action impossible.

WE REFUSE TO RUN CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENT because:—

- (1) That tactics entails grave dangers of the movement lapsing into reformism;
- (2) Any attempt to use the Parliamentary system encourages among the workers the delusion that leaders can fight their battles for them. Not leadership, but MASS ACTION IS ESSENTIAL, now that the last stage of the struggle is approaching;
- (3) What we want is not class talk, but class war;
- (4) Under present conditions in this country, any participation in Parliamen-

tarism confuses the issues of the class-struggle, wastes the energies of the revolutionary workers, and delays full adhesion to the Soviet system;

(5) To-day Parliament is nothing but an instrument of bourgeois domination, a warder-off of revolution, a safety-valve through which the revolutionary urge escapes in wind. To-day Parliament cannot be the arena of the revolutionary struggle;

(6) Parliamentarism as a form of government has never secured, and can never secure, self-government by the masses.

WE REJECT AFFILIATION TO THE LABOUR PARTY because:—

(1) In constitution and actual working the Labour Party is a committee of leaders who divert the revolutionary will of the workers into Parliamentary and reformist channels;

(2) The Trade Union leaders and Parliamentarians who control the Labour Party have, through their bourgeois associations, acquired a middle-class mentality which inevitably makes them support the tactics of class collaboration in place of the tactics of the class war;

(3) The Labour Party is based upon Parliamentary bourgeois democracy, whereas the Communist Party is out for WORKING-CLASS DICTATORSHIP.

The Communist Party, in place of these tactics, has provisionally adopted the following tactics and methods:—

(1) Membership of the Party will be strictly confined to Communists of convinced and determined revolutionary views who accept the seven cardinal points;

(2) A primary aim in the work of the branches will be to form from among its members revolutionary Communist groups in every Trade Union branch;

(3) Both centrally and locally to assist in every possible way the growth of the unofficial working-class movement;

(4) The support of every strike, since EVERY strike tends to strengthen revolutionary class-consciousness;

(5) The diffusion of Communist ideas among agricultural workers;

(6) The active support of the movement for independent working-class education, whether among adults, adolescents, or children;

(7) The formation of Household Soviets and the propagation of the Soviet ideal by house-to-house visitation;

(8) In the internal organisation of the Party we aim at the immediate application of Soviet principles, and it is the hope of the provisional organisers that the Manchester Conference will adopt the principle of **RECALL** for all comrades delegated to executive office. This will ensure the control of the Party by the rank and file, control from below and not from above; we seek to **WORK FROM THE BOTTOM UP, AND NOT FROM THE TOP DOWNWARDS**;

(9) A further essential point of internal organisation, in fulfilment of the Party's policy of Communism and economic equality within as well as without, is that no paid official of the Party shall receive a higher wage than is at present received by the average skilled proletarian. This will ensure that the Party will not be a hunting-ground for job-seekers, place-seekers, money-seekers, or ambitious persons who might wish to exploit the movement in search of power and notoriety;

(10) Believing the breakdown of the Capitalist machine to be imminent, and believing that effective action in the coming struggle must be the work of a minority of convinced Communists, the Party wishes **TO ORGANISE THIS REVOLUTIONARY MINORITY THAT IT MAY BE READY TO SEIZE POWER IN THE HOUR OF CRISIS.**

Comrade, this party has been formed in the firm conviction that in Britain to-day there is a higher proportion of Communists than existed in revolutionary Russia three years ago, a higher proportion of revolutionists than existed in France of 1789. We do not believe that our immediate task is to make Communists, but rather to organise on uncompromising lines those who already hold Communist views. This is not to say that the work of Communist propaganda is not likewise of supreme importance. But, pending the revolutionary crisis, what is needed is not construction but destruction. We must destroy bourgeois ideas and values, bourgeois morality, the bourgeois standards which create the mental and moral slavery of the proletariat. In so far as we have constructive work before the revolution, this can only be to establish independent proletarian standards and ideals. Hence our uncompromising programme. We will have nothing to do either with bourgeois or with social-democratic parties, organisations, and institutions. We call upon all genuinely Bolshevik groups and individuals to rally to the standard we have raised, to share in the up-building of our Party, to join with us in forming the spearhead of the revolution.

Yours for Revolutionary Communism,
THE NATIONAL ORGANISING COUNCIL.

"LEFT" COMMUNISM IN ENGLAND.

By N. LENIN.

This article by Comrade Lenin, printed in full, is the Ninth Chapter of a recent work of his, written in May last, and entitled "Infantile Sickness of 'Left' in Communism." It is undeniably better that Comrades should have before them at this juncture Lenin's views in a complete form, rather than piecemeal quotations or wirelessly brief sentences. Comrade Lenin, more than once, found himself in a minority and opposed by Comrades who are now his valued co-operators. He will not be surprised, therefore, if we adhere to our well-thought-out opinions, and that we should defend our position. An article by "Amperand," dealing with this question also from the international point of view, is held over, owing to the limitation of space.

There is no Communist Party in England yet; there is, however, a fresh, wide, powerful, rapidly growing Communist movement among the workers, which gives us the right to cherish the most rosy hopes. There are a few political parties and organisations (the B.S.P., the S.L.P., the South Wales Socialist Society, the W.S.F.) who are desirous of forming a Communist Party and who are carrying on negotiations with this object. In the *Workers' Dreadnought* (February 21st, 1920), the weekly organ of the W.S.F., edited by Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, there is an article by her entitled: "Towards the Communist Party." The article relates the progress of the negotiations between the four organisations indicated above, as to the formation of a single Communist Party on the basis of recognition of the Third International, of Sovietism instead of Parliamentarism, and of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It appears, however, that one of the main obstacles to the immediate formation of a Communist Party is the difference on the question of participation in Parliament and on the question of affiliation to the old opportunist and social-chauvinist Labour Party, composed mainly of the Trade Unions. The Workers' Socialist Federation, as well as the Socialist Labour Party (it seems that this party is against affiliation to the Labour Party but not the whole party is against Parliamentary action) express themselves against taking part in elections and in Parliament and against affiliation to the Labour Party, differing in this respect with the whole or with the majority of the B.S.P., which appears to them as the Right Wing of the Communist Party in England (see the indicated article by Sylvia Pankhurst, p. 5).

The Arguments of the English Left Wing.

Thus the fundamental division is along the same lines as in Germany—notwithstanding the enormous difference in the form which it assumes (in Germany this form approaches more closely to the "Russian" form, than is the case in England), and in very many other circumstances. Let us see the arguments of the "Left."

On the question of taking part in Parliament, Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst refers to an article by Comrade W. Gallacher, appearing in the same number, who writes on behalf of the Scottish Labour Council in Glasgow:—

"The Council," he writes, "is decidedly anti-Parliamentarian, and is backed by the Left Wing of various political organisations. We represent the revolutionary movement in Scotland, which strives to create a revolutionary organisation in industries (in various branches of industry) and of a Communist Party based on social committees all over the country. We have quarrelled for a long time with the official Parliamentarians. We did not think it necessary to declare open war upon them, and they are afraid to open an attack upon us."

"Such a state of affairs cannot continue, however, for long. We are conquering all along the line. The rank and file of the I.L.P. in Scotland are beginning to loathe ever more and more the idea of Parliament, and almost all the local groups are for Soviets (this Russian word is used in English transcriptions) or Workers' Councils. This is, of course, a very serious matter for those gentlemen who consider politics as a means of livelihood (as a profession), and they use all and every means to convince their members to return to the Parliamentary fold. The revolutionary comrades must not (the italics are everywhere the author's) support this gang. One of its worst features will be the betrayal on the part of those to whom personal interests are a stronger incentive than their interest in revolution. Every support of Parliamentarism means helping our British Scheidemanns and Noskes to power. Henderson, Clynes and Company are hopelessly reactionary. The official I.L.P. is ever more and more coming under the power of bourgeois Liberals, who have found a spiritual home in the camp of Messrs. Macdonald, Snowden and Co. The official I.L.P. is severely hostile to the Third International, whilst the rank and file are for it. To support in any way whatever the Parliamentary opportunists means simply playing into the hands of the above mentioned gentlemen. The B.S.P. here has no standing. . . . What is required here is a healthy revolutionary industrial organisation and a Communist Party acting in accordance with clearly and exactly defined scientific principles. If our comrades can help us to create the one and the other, we shall gladly accept their help; if they cannot, then for heaven's sake, let them not interfere, if only they do not wish to betray the Revolution by helping the reactionaries, who so insiduously clamour after the

honourable (?) (the interrogation mark is by the author) Parliamentary title, and who are burning with impatience to prove that they, too, can rule just as successfully as the "masters" themselves, the politicians of the upper classes."

A Valuable Factor.

In my opinion this letter to the editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought* expresses excellently the feelings and viewpoint of the young Communists of rank and file workmen, who have just come over to Communism. This state of feeling is an extremely glad and valuable factor. One must know how to value it and how to keep it up, because without such a state of feeling the triumph of the Revolution in England—and in any other country—would be hopeless. Men who are able to express this state of feeling of the masses, are able to evoke the sentiments (lying very often dormant, sub-conscious) in the masses themselves. Such men must be taken care of and given every assistance. At the same time, however, one must tell them openly and straight that feelings alone are not enough to guide the masses in their great revolutionary struggle, and that such and such errors, which people most devoted to the revolutionary cause are making or are prepared to make, are errors that may inflict harm on the cause of the revolution. Comrade Gallacher's letter contains clearly the germs of all the errors, which are being committed by the German "Left" Communists, and which were committed by the Russian "Left" Bolsheviks in 1908 and 1918.

The author of the letter is brimming with the most noble proletarian hatred for the bourgeois "class politicians" (a hatred so comprehensible not only to the proletarians, but to all the toiling people, or to use a German expression, to all "small people"). This hatred on the part of a representative of the oppressed and exploited masses is indeed "the beginning of all wisdom," the basis of every Socialist and Communist movement and success. The author, however, does not take into consideration the fact that politics are an art and a science, which do not drop from heaven and cannot be had for nothing, and that the proletariat, if it only wishes to defeat the bourgeoisie, must evolve its own proletarian class politicians, who are not worse than the bourgeois politicians.

Soviets Not Parliament.

The writer of the letter had grasped well that only the Soviets of workers and not Parliament may be the instrument wherewith to attain the objects of the proletariat, and of course, those who have not grasped it until now are the worst reactionaries, no matter whether it be the most learned man, the most experienced Marxist, the most honest citizen or family man. The writer of the letter, however, does not ask himself the question (and the necessity of asking it does not even occur to him) whether it is possible to carry the Soviets to victory over Parliament without introducing men of "Soviet" politics into Parliament? Without dissolving Parliamentarism from the "inside"? Without preparing from inside Parliament the triumph of the Soviets in the problem facing them of dismissing Parliament altogether? At the same time the author of the letter gives expression to the very correct idea that the Communist Party in England must act on scientific principles. Now science demands, first: the utilisation of the experience of other countries, particularly when the other equally capitalist countries are passing or have passed through a very similar experience; second—the taking into consideration all the forces, groups, parties, classes and masses acting in the given country; but in no way must the policy be determined on the basis of wishes, outlook, degree of consciousness, and readiness for the struggle of only one group or party.

That the Hendersons, Clynes, Macdonalds and Snowdens are hopelessly reactionary is true. It is equally true that they want to take the power into their own hands (preferring, however, a coalition with the bourgeoisie) and that they want "to rule" according to the traditional bourgeois precepts, and when once in power they will inevitably behave like the Scheidemanns and Noskes. All this is quite true. From this, however, it does not follow that to support them is to betray the revolution. It only follows that in the interests of the revolution the revolutionaries of the working class must offer these gentlemen certain Parliamentary support. As an illustration of this idea, I shall take the modern English political documents: (1) The speech made by the Prime Minister Lloyd George, on the 18th March, 1920 (as reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of the 19th March); and (2) the arguments of the "Left" Communist comrade, Sylvia Pankhurst, in her article mentioned above.

Lloyd George as Leading Bourgeois Politician.

In this speech, Lloyd George entered into polemics with Asquith (who was specially invited to the meeting, but declined to come) and with those Liberals who are against a coalition with the Conservatives and in favour of a rapprochement with the Labour Party. (In Comrade Gallacher's letter we have also an indication of the fact of Liberals going over to the I.L.P.) Lloyd George proved that a coalition, and a close one, with the Conservatives was necessary to prevent the triumph of the Labour Party, which he prefers to call "Socialist," and which aims at "collective ownership" of the means of production. "In France they called it 'Communism'—the leader of the English bourgeoisie was

explaining in a popular manner to his auditors, members of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, who were probably unaware of this fact before; "in Germany they called it Socialism, and in Russia Bolshevism." For the Liberals—Lloyd George went on—this was inadmissible on principle, because Liberals are for private property. "Civilisation is in danger, declared the speaker; and therefore Liberals and Conservatives must unite. . . .

"... If you go to the agricultural districts," said Lloyd George, "I admit that you will find there the old party divisions in force as of old. The danger there is remote. There is no danger there. But when you go to the rural districts the danger there is as great as it is now in some of our industrial districts. Four-fifths of your country is engaged in trade and industry; hardly one-fifth in agriculture. This is one of the circumstances I bear in mind when contemplating the dangers which the future brings us. In France the population is agricultural and you have a solid base of distinct views, which does not move very rapidly and which it is not so very easy to incite by a revolutionary movement. It is, however, quite different in our country. It is easier to upset our country than any other country in the world, and, once it will begin to shake, the collapse, in consequence of the indicated causes, will be greater than in other countries."

The reader can thus see that Lloyd George is not only a very clever man, but one that has learnt much from the Marxists. It won't be bad if we learn something from Lloyd George.

It is interesting to note one incident in the discussion that followed Lloyd George's speech:—

"G. Wallace: 'I should like to ask the Prime Minister what he thinks about the effect of his policy towards Labour in the industrial districts, where very many workmen are at present Liberals, and where we obtain much support. Won't the likely effect be that the Labour Party will obtain a great accession of strength from the workers, who at present are our most sincere helpers?'"

"The Prime Minister: 'I am of a quite different opinion. The fact that Liberals are fighting one another undoubtedly drives a considerable number of Liberals out of despair to the Labour Party, where you already have a considerable number of Liberals, very able men, engaged now in discrediting the Government. The effect of this is undoubtedly a growing public sympathy with the Labour Party. Public opinion is not turning towards the Liberals standing outside the Labour Party, but towards the Labour Party, a fact proved by the recent elections.'"

Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst's View.

Another political document is the following argument by the "Left" Communist, Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst:—

"... Comrade Inkpin (Secretary of the B.S.P.) calls the Labour Party the 'main organisation of the Labour Movement.' Another comrade from the B.S.P. at the Conference of the Third International, expressed the view of the B.S.P. yet more saliently. He said: 'We regard the Labour Party as the organised working class.'"

"We do not share this view in regard to the Labour Party. The Labour Party is numerically very large, although its members are to a very large extent inactive and apathetic. They are working men and women, who have joined the Trade Union because their mates in the workshops are Trade Unionists or because they wish to get benefits. We recognise, however, that the growth of the Labour Party is also due to the fact that it is the creation of that school of thought beyond which the majority of the British working class has not ventured as yet, although a great change is being prepared in the minds of the people, which will soon change this position. . . ."

"... The British Labour Party, like the social-patriotic organisations of other countries will, in the course of the natural development of society, inevitable come to power. It is the task of the Communists to build up the forces which will overthrow the social-patriots, and we in this country must neither delay nor waver in this work."

"We must not waste our energy by increasing the strength of the Labour Party; its rise to power is inevitable. We must concentrate our forces upon the creation of a Communist movement, which should defeat it. The Labour Party will soon form a Government; the revolutionary opposition must be ready to attack it. . . ."

Thus the Liberal bourgeoisie renounces the "two party" system (of exploiters) sanctified by tradition, by the experience of ages, a system exceedingly advantageous for the exploiters, because it considers it necessary to unite its forces for the fight against the Labour Party. Some of the Liberals, like rats from a sinking ship, are deserting to the Labour Party. The Left Communists consider the attainment of power by the Labour Party inevitable, and they recognise that the Labour Party has behind it the majority of the workers. From this fact, however, they draw the strange conclusion which Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst formulates, as follows:—"The Communist Party must not make any compromises. . . . It must keep its doctrine pure and its independence from Reformism untarnished; its mission is to march onward without stopping or turning from the road, to take the straight route to the Communist Revolution."

English Communists and Parliament.

Well, it is just the opposite. From the fact that the majority of the workers in England are still following the English Kerenkys and Scheidemanns, that they have not passed yet through the experience of a government composed of these people (and in

Russia and Germany it was this experience that had brought the workers over *en masse* to Communism) it follows most clearly that the English Communists must engage in Parliamentarism, must from inside the House of Commons show the workers the results of a Henderson-Snowden government, they must help the Hendersons and Snowdens to defeat the Lloyd George and Churchill coalition. To act otherwise means hampering the work of the revolution, because revolution is impossible without a change in the views of the majority of the working class. This change is brought about by the political experience gained by the masses, but it is never brought about solely by propaganda. "Forward without compromise, without turning from the path" when pronounced by an obviously weak minority of the workers which knows (or in any case should know) that the majority within a brief space of time will get disappointed with its leaders, provided the Hendersons and the Snowdens obtain a victory over Lloyd George and Churchill, and will then pass to the support of Communism (or at any rate to neutrality, and largely to benevolent neutrality towards the Communists) is an obviously erroneous watchword. It is as if some ten thousand soldiers would rush into battle against an enemy five times their strength, at a time when it is imperative for them "to halt"; "turn aside from the road," conclude even a "compromise," so as to hold out until the arrival of some reinforcements a hundred thousand strong, but who, however, cannot come to their assistance immediately. Such a policy is intellectual childishness, and in no way serious tactics for a revolutionary class.

The Law of Revolution.

The principal law of revolution confirmed by all the revolutions, and particularly by the three Russian revolutions of the Twentieth Century, is as follows:—It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses should conceive the impossibility to live according to the old system and should demand changes; revolutions require that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule according to the old system. Only when the "lower classes" do not want the old and the "upper classes" cannot manage as of old are the conditions present for the triumph of the revolution. To put this truth in other words: a revolution is impossible without a national crisis (affecting the exploiters and the exploited). Consequently a revolution requires first of all that the majority of the workers (or at any rate the majority of the thinking, conscious, politically active workers) should completely understand the necessity of the revolution and should be prepared to lay down their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes should pass through a government crisis drawing the most backward masses into politics (the sign of every real revolution—the rapid increase tenfold and even a hundredfold of the number of people capable of entering the arena of the political struggle from among the ranks of the toiling and oppressed masses hitherto apathetic), bringing about the weakening of the Government and offering the revolutionaries the possibility of overthrowing it.

In England, to judge from Lloyd George's speech, amongst others, both of these conditions for a successful revolution are ripening. The errors on the part of the Left Communists are now doubly dangerous, because some of the revolutionaries are exhibiting an insufficiently thoughtful, insufficiently attentive, insufficiently conscious, insufficiently prudent attitude towards each of these conditions. If we are a party of a revolutionary class and not a revolutionary group, if we want to carry the masses with us (and without that we run the risk of remaining mere talkers), we must, firstly, help Henderson and Snowden to beat Lloyd George and Churchill (to be more correct, we must compel the two former to beat the two latter, because Henderson and Snowden are afraid of their own victory!); secondly, to help the majority of the working class to find out by experience that we are right, viz. that the Hendersons and Snowdens are of no use whatever, that they are of a petty bourgeois and treacherous nature, that their bankruptcy is inevitable; thirdly, to accelerate the moment when upon the ground of the disillusionment which will set in amongst the majority of the workers with the Hendersons, it will be possible, with serious chances of success, to overthrow at one blow the government of the Hendersons, which will be tossing about in yet greater confusion, seeing that even the most solid and clever representative, not of petty, but of large capitalist interests, Lloyd George, is showing signs of utter confusion, and is more and more weakening himself (and the whole of the bourgeoisie), now by his "differences" with Churchill, and now by his "differences" with Asquith.

The Four Weak Parties.

Let us speak more concretely. The English Communists must, in my opinion, combine all the four parties and groups (all very weak, some very, very weak) into one Communist Party, on the basis of the principles of the Third International and an obligatory participation in Parliamentary action. The Communist Party offers to the Hendersons and Snowdens a "compromise," an arrangement for election time; we go together against the Lloyd George Conservative alliance, we divide the Parliamentary seats according to the votes cast by the workers for the Labour Party and the Communists (not at elections but on a special vote), we retain full liberty of agitation, propaganda, and political activity. Without this latter condition we cannot of course go into a *blocc* with the Labour Party—it would be treachery. The fullest freedom to unmask the Hendersons and the Snowdens must be fought out and

attained by the English Communists just as thoroughly as it was fought out (for the space of 15 years, 1903—1917) and achieved by the Russian Bolsheviks in respect of the Russian Hendersons and Snowdens, viz., the Mensheviks.

If the Hendersons and Snowdens agree to a *blocc* on such conditions, we shall be the gainers, because for us the number of seats in Parliament is altogether unimportant; we are not hunting after seats, we shall be very conciliatory in this respect (it is seats that the Hendersons, and particularly their new friends or their new masters, the Liberals, who have joined the I.L.P., are mostly after). We shall have won because we shall carry our agitation among the masses at a moment when they have been "stimulated" by no other person than Lloyd George himself. We shall not only help the Labour Party to form its government more quickly, but shall help the masses to understand more quickly our whole Communist propaganda, which we shall carry on against the Hendersons without any restrictions and without glossing anything over.

Should the Hendersons and Snowdens decline a *blocc* with us on such conditions, we shall gain still more. We shall have shown the masses (bear in mind, that even within the purely Menshevik, completely opportunist I.L.P., the masses are in favour of Soviets) at one stroke that the Hendersons prefer their proximity with the capitalists to the union of all the workers. We shall have gained in the eyes of the masses who, particularly after the brilliant and extremely true, extremely useful (for the Communists) explanation of Lloyd George will sympathise with the idea of uniting all the workers against the Lloyd George-Conservative coalition. We shall have gained at one stroke because we shall have demonstrated to the masses that the Hendersons and Snowdens are afraid to defeat Lloyd George, are afraid to take the power of State by themselves, are striving secretly to obtain the support of Lloyd George, who is openly offering his hand to the Conservatives against the Labour Party. It should be noted that in Russia, after the revolution of February 27th, 1917 (old style), the propaganda carried on by the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists (i.e., the Russian Hendersons and Snowdens) had gained just because of such a state of affairs. We told the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionists: Take the reigns of government without the bourgeoisie, because you command the majority in the Soviets (at the first All-Russian Conference of Soviets in June, 1917, the Bolsheviks had only 13 per cent. of the votes). The Russian Hendersons and Snowdens were, however, afraid to take the reins of government without the bourgeoisie, and when the latter was delaying the elections to the Constituent Assembly, knowing well that it would result in a majority for the Social-Revolutionists and Mensheviks (both were marching together in a close political alliance representing in fact only the petty-bourgeois democracy), the Social-Revolutionists and the Mensheviks had not the courage to fight these delays energetically and right to the end.

Henderson and Snowden Allied with Communists?

Upon the Hendersons and Snowdens declining to form an alliance with the Communists, the latter will gain in the task of winning the sympathies of the masses and of discrediting the Hendersons and Snowdens, and even if we lost thereby a few seats in Parliament, it would be of little importance to us. We would only run a few candidates in such districts where our victory would be certain, viz., where our running a candidate would not bring about the return of a Liberal against a Labourite (a member of the Labour Party). We would carry on our election campaign, distributing Communist leaflets, and in all the districts where there are no candidates of our own in the field we would invite the workers to vote for the Labourite against the Capitalist. Comrades Sylvia Pankhurst and Gallacher are mistaken if they see in such action a treachery to Communism or a refusal to fight the social-traitors. On the contrary, the cause of the Communist revolution would undoubtedly gain by it.

It is now very often difficult for the English Communists even to approach the masses of the workers; they cannot even compel a hearing. If I step out as a Communist and declare that I advise them to vote for Henderson against Lloyd George, I am sure of a hearing. I can then popularly explain not only why Soviets are better than Parliament, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat than the Dictatorship of Churchill (hidden behind the sign of bourgeois "democracy"), but I can also explain that I wish with my vote to support Henderson in the same sense as the rope of the gallows supports the executed, that the Hendersons' approximation to government will just as well prove, that I was right, will just as well draw the masses to my side, accelerate the political death of the Hendersons and the Snowdens, as happened with their confreres in Russia and Germany.

If I am told: "These are too 'tricky' or too complicated tactics, the masses won't understand it, it will split and scatter our forces, will hinder their concentration upon the Soviet revolution," etc., I will reply to my "Left" interlocutors—do not ascribe to the masses your doctrinaire ideas! In Russia the masses are certainly less educated than in England.

* The elections to the Constituent Assembly in Russia in November, 1917, according to data covering over 36 million electors, showed 25 per cent. for the Bolsheviks, 13 per cent. for the parties of the landowners and the bourgeoisie, 62 per cent. for the petty-bourgeois democracy, viz., Social-Revolutionists and Mensheviks, together with a few other small united groups.

Nevertheless the masses understood the Bolsheviks; the Bolsheviks, on the eve of the Soviet Revolution in September, 1917, were drawing up the lists of their candidates to the bourgeois Parliament (the Constituent Assembly), and on the morning, after the Soviet Revolution, in November, 1917, were taking part in the elections to the very same Constituent Assembly which, on the 5th January, 1918, they suppressed. This fact, far from proving an obstacle, was only a help to the Bolsheviks.

Affiliation to the Labour Party.

I cannot dwell here on the second difference among the English Communists, namely the question of affiliation to the Labour Party. I have too little data in my possession on this question, which is particularly complex, in view of the extreme originality of the British Labour Party in its construction, so very unlike the type of political parties usual on the Continent. There is no doubt, however, first, that those who think of deducing the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat from such principles as:—"The Communist Party must preserve its doctrine pure and its independence from Reformism untarnished; its mission is to march forward without halting or turning from the road, to go by the straight road to the Communist Revolution," will inevitably fall into error, because such principles only repeat the error of the French Communards-Blanquists who proclaimed in 1874 the "abrogation" of all compromise and of all intermediate stages. Secondly, there is no doubt that here too, as usual, the problem consists in the knowledge of how to apply the general and fundamental principles of Communism to that peculiarity of co-relations between classes and parties, to that peculiarity in the objective development towards Communism which is natural to each individual country and which one must know how to study, to discover, and to divine.

FIGHTING CAPITALISM?

We hoped that personal insults against Comrades would be confined to the Capitalist Press, and that it were possible to differ and preserve the dignity of the debate. Apparently we are mistaken.

Retaliation of that kind is foreign to the traditions of the Workers' Dreadnought; but in order that Comrades may judge, we print passages we object to. We appeal not unto Caesar, but to a higher tribunal: to the opinion of Comrades at large:—

"I refer to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and her W.S.F. I cannot condemn too strongly her action—her action—in trying to jump the claim and set up a little chandler-shop Communist Party of her own. This is most emphatically

A WRECKING POLICY.

"I say unhesitatingly to those few whom she inveigled into attendance at 'her' conference, Comrades, you are being led into a morass!

"Miss Pankhurst appealed to Comrade Lenin for his views, hoping to get something from him to support her anarchist views and action; Lenin's views appear on this page. The appeal to Caesar has recoiled upon her. Her action is the more reprehensible, inasmuch as she took part in the unity negotiations from the beginning, and only in the final stages, when the success of a United Communist Party was assured, and she saw that she and her W.S.F. would be merged in the new organisation instead of, as heretofore, continuing to run a "show" of her own, did she break away and attempt to wreck the whole endeavour. Faugh! It leaves a bad taste in the mouth, comrades!"

—A. A. Watts, L.C.C., in the *Call*, July 22nd, 1920.

"After eighteen months useless palaver by the Unity-mongers, after a mountain of labour, a mouse has come forth. Sylvia Pankhurst has started a Communist Party with the help of a few Anarchist and anti-Parliamentary elements. During the last few months of the "negotiations" for Unity, Sylvia Pankhurst, while attending the Conference in London, tried to initiate a mild flirtation with the S.L.P. Knowing, as we did, her fundamental instability and erratic character, were fused to be wooed or won. We turned a deaf ear to the blandishments of one who was running with the Centre Party (B.S.P. et alia) and at the same time attempting to hunt with the Left."

—T.E., in the *Socialist*, July 1st, 1920.

NOTE.—We would again point out that the main reasons for the W.S.F. getting in touch with the Left Wing Communists, and leaving the Unity negotiations Committee, were:—

The S.W.S.S. and the S.L.P. had ceased to attend the final sittings of the Unity Negotiating Committee.

The W.S.F. was therefore left in that Committee without the support of people of like views.

It was then possible for the B.S.P. delegates and ex-S.L.P. members to pass a resolution pledging the bodies taking part in the negotiations to abide by the decisions of the Conference and merge themselves in the party formed from it.

Had the W.S.F. not retired from the negotiations it would have cut itself off from the very people with whom it was in sympathy.

Therefore the W.S.F. called a conference of Left Wing anti-Parliamentary Communists to know what their attitude would be towards the conference.

The representatives present decided to form the Communist Party there and then, since they felt that owing to divergence on questions of principles they could not possibly join the party that would eventually be formed on August 1st.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE GOVERNMENT AND RUSSIA.

The worst, and at the same time most illuminating, of the proposals just made by the Capitalist Government of this country to Soviet Russia, is that which concerns General Wrangel. That proposal is a proof, if any proof were needed, that the British Capitalist Government still intends active mischief towards Soviet Russia.

It was impudent indeed for the British Government to profess its inability to interfere with Poland's attack on Russia, and to pretend to strict neutrality, whilst it was providing Poland with the material for the attack. It is still more impudent for the British Government, now that Poland is getting the worst of it, to demand an armistice and a peace conference in London, at which, forsooth, representatives of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland and Eastern Galicia are to be assembled as opponents of Soviet Russia, even those of them that have already made peace. Soviet Russia is to be coerced into agreeing to all this by the threat that, if she refuses, the Allies will assist the Polish nation to defend itself with all the means at their disposal.

The British Government's demand that Soviet Russia shall also sign an armistice with General Wrangel, and that he shall be invited to the Conference, though not as a member, on condition that his forces shall retire to the Crimea, shows that the British Government is not merely making an effort to end the war; it is making another effort to end the Soviets. Capitalism and Communism cannot exist side by side in any country, and so long as Russian counter-revolution is supported by foreign capitalist nations, there can be no peace in Russia. Wrangel, whom *The Times* now eulogises, as it has eulogised, in turn, the other Russian counter-revolutionary adventurers, makes his demands known in this capitalist organ, which eagerly reports him. He refuses to make peace unless the Soviet Government is replaced by what he calls a "democratic" government, and unless the rights of private property are to be restored. Though he professes to be willing to allow the peasants to keep the land, we know that this concession would be quickly withdrawn, once reaction considered itself firmly re-established. Promises of reform have long been the stock-in-trade of Russian reaction.

The British Note, as read to the House of Commons, did not state that Britain is prepared to defend not only Poland but also Wrangel, "with all the means at its disposal." We believe, however, that it is prepared to, in order to keep alive the counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviets in some form or other.

In our opinion, Communists may regard entirely without dismay the Government's threat to use "all the means at its disposal" against the Soviet Republic, or, as is actually the case, against the Workers' Revolution in Russia and elsewhere. When the great Allied Capitalist Powers—Britain, France, and Italy—plunge openly, and with "all the means at their disposal," into the international civil war, the pace of the Workers' International Revolution will be speedily quickened and the workers of all the European nations, including Germany and Austria, will be brought actively into the struggle. At present, whilst the workers of Eastern and Central Europe are bearing the burden of the fight, the workers of the Allied nations are passively assisting the capitalists by providing them with munitions, and all the materials they need for the struggle. When Allied Capitalism decides to use "all the means at its disposal" it will attempt to use the workers of the Allied countries to the utmost possible extent, and will call on them to make even heavier sacrifices than they did in the last war.

Large sections of the British, French, and especially Italian proletariat, are already awake to the issues of the struggle; already they are desirous of joining the International Civil War on the workers' side. Lack of organisation, the instinct of individual self-protection, the fact that they are in a minority, prevent these sections taking effective action at the present moment; but they are missionaries amongst their fellows, and war hardship will cause the ground on which their propaganda falls to become fertile for revolt. To draw the Allied nations into a serious war with the Workers' Revolution is to produce the Workers' Revolution within the Allied nations; indeed, it may be perhaps the only way to precipitate the Workers' Revolution here within a fairly short period.

When the international civil war extends to all the great European countries, the triumph of the workers is assured, for only by the aid of the workers in highly industrial countries can capitalists defeat the Workers' Revolution.

That capitalism does not feel at all confident of the aid it might obtain in the fight is revealed by this stipulation in the British Note on the trade negotiations:—

"The Soviet Government will refrain from any attempt by military action, or propaganda, to encourage any of the peoples of Asia, in any form of hostility against British interests or the British Empire."

The longer the ultimate struggle is delayed the longer Capitalism will have had in which to prepare regiments of Asiatic, Indian, and African soldiers. Meanwhile, however, sections of the Asiatic, Indian, and African peoples are developing a spirit which may cause serious trouble to Western Capitalism.

And America? The Government of America is already assisting Poland's attack on Russia, the \$50,000,000 dollar loan to the Polish Government, which has the full support of the American Government, is making great headway. Baker, the U.S.A. War Minister, has written:—

"Poland is the barrier of Western civilisation, and there is nothing between the Rhine and the Russian armies except the Polish army. It is, therefore, of the highest military importance that the Polish army should not be maintained as an army merely, but sustained in its morale, so that it will continue to stand as a bulwark as it is now constituted."

Other Ministers have expressed similar views.

American firms may trade with Soviet Russia, the U.S.A. Government may even permit it; but whilst the American will always trade where he can, the hostility of the U.S.A.; the hostility even of President Wilson, towards Communism, is as strong as ever.

The deportation of the representative of the Soviet Bureau in America, Santeri Nuorteva, is another proof of the continued hostility of British Capitalism towards the Soviets. The reason of course is that Nuorteva, whilst genuinely confining himself to trading arrangements, makes his propaganda to secure trade a very effective advertisement for the constructive work of Soviet Russia.

Amongst the American proletariat the microbe of revolution has also found a home. We think it will take longer to develop than in Europe, but nothing could help to accelerate its growth more than an attack by Capitalist America on proletarian Europe.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SIGNS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Ireland.

Those who are closely watching Irish affairs will have noticed that the situation is undergoing a decided change during the last few weeks. The tone of the Opposition at Westminster is remarkably different and the Labour Members are apparently disconcerted in not having the least inkling of just what the next move of the Government will be and whether they will be able to make Ireland safe for the Labour Party.

Edward Carson has recently said that it must be either close union or complete independence; there can be no middle course. And the *Times* has this editorially: "Every liberty which is conferred upon Ireland by the present measure is hers of right. The Sinn Fein Courts have ousted British justice. The question that confronts the Government is no longer one of choosing between the Government of Ireland Bill and Crown Colony rule; but rather whether direct warfare is to be opened upon an Irish Republic almost in being." Northcliffe nearly always spots the winner and makes his bets accordingly. The truth is that English vested rights in Ireland are dangerously insecure. If the parasite aristocracy cannot understand, the shrewd business men are realising that it is no use maintaining Imperial forces in Ireland when the capital that should go to their upkeep is being ruthlessly destroyed by the military and a desperate people determined to go down to destruction rather than surrender. The policy of extermination, of which the British junkers are fully capable, will not work in these times of international capitalist bankruptcy.

Events may shortly take a dramatic turn, and we may soon hear of a Sinn Fein diplomatic Corps in London. If we cannot actively support the Irish movement because its flag is green for the nonce, we have not the slightest word of censure for it. But we do blame official British Labour for its betrayal of the Irish workers, and we believe that if the conniving English capitalists should concede to Sinn Fein a bourgeois republic, the proletariat of Ireland, so long rebellious and class-conscious, will sweep it away to establish a Communist Commonwealth.

The Lords Debate Amritsar.

The finest moral for the coloured colonial world lies in the Lords' vindication of General Dyer. Imperialism in its ignorance takes off the mask and shows the "slaves of the colonies in Asia and Africa" that they are exploited and ruled by the prod of the bayonet only. The Archbishop of Canterbury was justly uncomfortable and made a feeble gesture of protest; and Capitalism, as reflected by its organs, is obviously uneasy. We pray that our revolutionary comrades of the Young India Movement will use this incident for all it is worth as a means of propaganda among the workers of religion-ridden India. It would seem that that clever charlatan, Annie Besant, is losing her hold on the Hindu imagination and must seek a more celestial sphere of endeavour. Even the mystic Ghandi and safe Labour leaders like Wadia are losing ground. The future of India belongs to the young revolutionaries, many of whom

are in America, working for the overthrow of foreign Capitalism and the destruction of the native caste-system that was chiefly responsible for the subjection of the country by Western powers. These young workers are ardent internationalists. Moscow has access through unconquerable Afghanistan to the Punjab.

The Polish Debacle.

Our victorious Russian comrades will not have the Allied rogues to mediate between them and Poland. They will not be a party to the deception of the Polish workers, but they will carry their propaganda to the heart of that land still raging with old Czarist hate, and explain to the people how they were used by the Allied intriguers to carry out their designs. If the Polish workers are not dense beyond redemption, they will understand and themselves deal with their patriotic and land-owning leaders. The result, we predict, will be a Russian road into Germany; but not the sort of road that the *Daily News* thinks would unite the dissenters to support the French and British governments in their attack on the Soviets.

The Middle East.

Judging from the situation in the Middle-East, the Russians hold the trump cards. British prestige in the East has been practically destroyed by the war, and the successful Russian Revolution. The different nationalities of Mesopotamia are refusing to be mandated, and Turkey is sullen and just biding her time. Moscow has her finger on the situation and can set the whole East aflame. The white workers of the Allied countries could not now be conscripted *en masse* for a big Eastern war. If France use her black and England her Indian troops, colour will meet colour, Mohamedan meet Mohamedan. If nothing comes of this strange meeting, something will come from the workers at home bearing the brunt of the war.

The Far East.

England cannot turn to Japan. This latter Imperialist state is being steadily isolated. An Anglo-Japanese alliance in the old sense would certainly detach Australia and Canada from the British Empire. But whichever way it works, English Capitalism—if the Revolution does not intervene—will be at the mercy of American plutocracy. American capitalist emissaries, disguised as missionaries, are in the East trying to stir up China and Korea against Japan, and the anti-Japanese campaign in the United States is at its height. The patriots are using every foul means to offset Communist propaganda across the Atlantic and stem the rising tide of labour unrest. But a new war would also be their undoing.

The signs of the International Revolution are visible the world over. But success depends on the right readings, the proper application and our organising ability here.

In an unpopular cause the minority is always pooh-poohed, but in spite of that the Communist workers in the key industries, the miners, transport workers, electricians, gas-workers, compositors, metal-workers, etc.—in London, Wales, and the great industrial centres of the North and Scotland—should continue to get together in groups and make plans for the taking over and efficient operating of the Commonwealth when Capitalism is scrapped.

SUPPORTING OUR POINT SEVEN.

Dear Comrade,—I notice in to-day's *Herald* that Moscow recommends revolutionary British parties to affiliate to the Labour Party in order to "free the masses from the influence of the opportunistic leaders of the Labour Party."

I am not aware on what grounds Moscow claims to be a better judge of Communist tactics for this country than native Communists, nor of the persons who have been Moscow's advisers on this matter.

Every British Communist is well aware that the work of the B.S.P., which has been affiliated to the Labour Party, "in freeing the masses from the influence of the opportunistic influence of the Labour Party," has been very small, and that on the other hand the influence of the Shop Steward Movement, unaffiliated to the Labour Party, has been immense in this direction.

As an impartial outsider from all parties, I would even venture the opinion that no comrade's work in this special direction has been greater than that of the comrade whose name appears as Secretary to the Communist Party you have formed, through the medium of his articles in *Solidarity*. As the work of the Communist Party will be to break up the Labour Party, no good whatever could come from affiliating to it.

It is surely evident that the Labour Party is essentially a bourgeois party, controlled by an inner circle every member of which is in receipt of a middle-class income, often over £1,000 per annum.

To affiliate to such a body would be suicide for a party avowedly out to achieve economic equality, the basis of Communism.

The rank and file of the workers themselves are going to decide the question of parliamentarism, and their instinct is completely opposed to such a tactic. By building up industrial Soviets and boycotting the Trades Councils and Labour Parties, much in the way the Welsh Miners are beginning to act, the Labour Party will be broken much more effectively than by open affiliation to it. All power to the Soviets of Britain.—Yours, etc.,

J. PENFOLD.

Garston.

DIRECT ACTION AT THE TRADE UNION CONFERENCE.

An Advance—but a Small One.

The Trade Union Congress has declared by 2,760,000 votes to 1,636,000 for a "down tools" policy for Ireland and Russia, but we have not come to the point of action yet. Says the resolution:—

"We recommend a general 'down tools' policy, and call upon all the Trade Unions here represented to carry out this policy, each according to its own constitution, by taking a ballot of its members or otherwise."

The battle for the "down tools policy" has now to be carried into the multitude of separate unions, with their hoary old constitutions and firmly entrenched bureaucracies.

What is the "Down Tools Policy?"

We should like to believe that all who voted for the resolution meant it to lead to action; but unfortunately the rejection of a resolution which actually made provision for action proves that the majority is still afraid of it. This resolution was moved by the National Amalgamated Coal Porters' Union, and the Boilermakers, and was supported by Tom Mann. It did not deal with Russia, but in regard to Ireland it was practical, so far as it went. It made no demands upon the Government, but confined itself to what should be done by the workers, and that is as it should be. It was practical also in setting up machinery for carrying its intentions into effect. Its terms were as follows:—

"That no Trade Unionist should knowingly carry on any operation for the repair, or transport of war materials destined for use in Ireland."

"That this Conference appoints a special National Executive Committee, to be called the Peace and Trade Committee, from delegates to this Conference."

"This Conference recommends that members suffering loss of employment through such action shall be entitled to a definite daily benefit to be decided by the Committee. The affiliated societies will contribute a sum equal to 1s. per member, and each society shall take a ballot of members upon this resolution, the votes to be in not later than the last day of August."

Trade Union Congress is Unwieldy.

Even this resolution did not declare for immediate action; the Trade Union Congress is said by its big-wigs to be incapable of deciding upon action, and obliged to refer all questions of action to its constituent bodies. But this resolution at least declared that the constituent bodies must take a ballot, and named the date on which the ballot must close. It also dictated the appointment of a Strike Committee by that day's Congress, and the setting up of a central fund to which all Unions must contribute.

It recognised, moreover, that what is required to meet the capitalist aggression is, not a spectacular demonstration such as a one-day strike, impressive though that would undoubtedly be, but a continued resistance. Therefore it declared that no Trade Unionist should again handle munitions for Ireland and that the whole Trade Union movement should join in supporting the workers affected by this decision.

If carried, the resolution might have produced important results. It was defeated by so large a majority that a card vote was unnecessary.

The miners' resolution for a ballot on the "down tools policy," which was carried, demanded

"the withdrawal of the army of occupation from Ireland and the cessation of the production of munitions of war to be used against Ireland and Russia."

The Unions are to ballot as to whether they shall down tools in support of this demand. The demand, so far as Ireland is concerned, is a negative one. It says to the Irish: "We will not join in fighting you," but it does not insist that the Irish shall be left free to decide their own affairs. It might be thought that the demands for the withdrawal of the army of occupation implies that; but it does not, for Congress carried, by 1,953,000 votes to 1,759,000, the N.U.R. resolution offering the Irish Dominion Home Rule, and, by 2,676,000 votes to 1,916,000, it rejected an amendment demanding that the Irish should themselves determine the form of their government.

Nevertheless, the "down tools" resolution, which was carried with all its reservations, marks the high-water-mark of class-consciousness in British Trade Union Congresses. Until now the record was held by the Glasgow Congress of last September, which censured the Executive for not having called a special congress to discuss direct action regarding Russia. After that vote of censure there was a bad relapse into apathy, which has lasted till now.

But do not be too confident that action will speedily follow this resolution. Remember that more than a year ago the Triple Alliance Conference decided to ballot its constituent bodies on this very same proposal, but the Executive stopped the ballot, and the membership of the Alliance has made no protest.

Lloyd George need not yet begin to tremble for the safety of British Capitalism; the Executive of the Trade Union Congress still remains as a bulwark to Capitalism. It is of the self-same metal as the German Trade Union Congress that sold the workers' revolution. Nothing will come of this Conference resolution unless the rank and file makes itself ready to put the match to the tinder.

C. L. MALONE, M.P., ADVOCATES "A COMPLETE BOYCOTT OF PARLIAMENT."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Dear Editor,—My action in joining the British Socialist Party (which will shortly be merged in the Communist Party) having aroused some comment, I desire to say that I have taken this action because I appreciate that the Parliamentary machinery and the Parliamentary democracy of this country are arrant humbug. Only a fundamental change of our present economic and social systems can improve the conditions of the working classes, who constitute the majority of the people. The present system is guilty of those vile and hopeless sufferings to which the workers are subjected, from the permanent slums and hovels of our great cities to the periodical recurrence of world wars and widespread carnage, all the direct outcome of a Society based upon Capitalism, allied with Imperialism.

The modern development of Parliament is out to back up that system and to strengthen and repair it when necessary, but not to change it. It can never be adapted to destroy itself.

Parliament is not controlled by the people.

It is controlled by the Banks and the Capitalists acting by and through the Press, which to-day has come to be the kept harlot of Capitalist interests.

The Press controls Parliamentary elections.

The Press stands between the workers and the Truth.

Money controls the Press, as it controls the public-houses, which pour Capitalist politics into you with your beer.

The machinery of Parliamentary government is also to a formidable degree influenced by a reactionary bureaucracy.

The working-classes are blinded by the hopes that a so-called Labour Government, working through this effete machine, will alter and better conditions.

A Labour Government would inherit the capitalist machine and be at the mercy of it, i.e., it could do nothing fundamental against the capitalist interests and the bureaucracy.

The office-seeking elements of the Labour Party will be as conservative as their bourgeois predecessors.

Saddled with the Monarchy, the Court and the Aristocracy, the Labour Party will follow the lead of all bourgeois parties, selling honours as well as honour. They (i.e., the official leaders) have already betrayed Ireland.

The masses must clearly understand that the two irreconcilable forces to-day are International Communism and Cosmopolitan Capitalism.

There must be no confusing the issue and pandering to the enemy.

So-called Labour members, Radicals and others who temporise between the two sides of this clear-cut issue, are weakening the case of the workers on their only possible line of attack—the line of direct revolutionary mass action.

I entered Parliament in the hopes of assisting to better the social conditions. I have seen from the inside this futility of Parliamentary action so far as fundamentals are concerned. Parliamentary work and elections must only be used for carrying out an intensive revolutionary propaganda.

My own opinion as regards Parliamentary action is that results could be obtained quicker by a complete boycott, and at elections that the boycott of the polling-booths should be advocated, in addition, of course, to Communist propaganda.

If you are out to destroy the system, you cannot begin with taking the oath of allegiance to the symbol of that very system. The People's Army must have its own flag, and not deceitfully salute the flag of the enemy as a preparation for striking it.

But at the same time there are many who believe that Parliament can still be used for propaganda and other purposes. Whilst firmly convinced myself that Communism would develop quicker by a complete boycott of Parliament, if all energy is thrown into work outside Parliament, I shall defer the question of resigning my seat until after the Communist Party discusses this matter at the inaugural meeting, which is being held on July 31st.

If I leave Parliament it will be to continue the work with the revolutionary Communist Party outside, and should I return, I trust it will only be with the Red Guards at the time of the Revolution which I see is approaching.

That Revolution will finally overthrow this system which allows 5 per cent. of the population to own two-thirds of the wealth produced by the remaining 95 per cent., and which is the cause of an innumerable amount of evils, threatening the European races with destruction.

Only the social revolution can begin to make Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity realities, and not mere election cries of the Parliamentary hypocrisy.

I am, etc.,

CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE.

July 24th, 1920.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By A WAGE SLAVE.

The Abolition of Piece-Work.

In view of the fact that the South Wales miners at their Annual Conference decided, without any opposition, upon the abolition of piece-work in and about the South Wales Coalfield, and that a ballot shall be taken upon it, it is necessary that the active elements in each lodge should bring home to the piece-workers the real principles involved. It can be safely assumed that the ballot will carry, but we should not overlook the fact that there will be thousands of workmen taking part in the ballot who are not piece-workers; therefore, while there may be a majority in favour, it will not indicate the attitude of the piece-workers themselves.

The decision of the ballot or an agreement on paper by the Conciliation Board will not be the chief factors in the abolition of piece-work. It can only be eliminated by the workmen themselves. For piece-rates to be substituted by day rates is not in itself an indication that the objectives aimed at—economic, humanitarian, etc.—will be immediately accomplished. Those who as yet are not class-conscious, and are contented if they draw a few shillings over the minimum, and consider themselves by doing so as super workers—sloggers—may allow themselves to be used by the boss as examples for others to follow in connection with output, thus defeating the principles involved, which are embodied in the action of each individual piece-worker, viz., a relaxation of the intensification of labour.

Opposition.

The real meaning of the abolition of piece-work is the abolition of the speeding-up system, and unless that is accomplished, we shall have failed in our objective. Hence the need for the propagation of this policy. We can anticipate opposition not only from the rank and file victims of capitalist ideas, but also from those whose interests do not coincide with such policy. It is evident that the coal-owners will stoop to anything in their attempt to defeat this project; the fullest use of platform and press will be made to convince the people of the disastrous consequences of the miners' 'canny' policy, and who knows but that some of the supposed "Labour leaders" will join in the crusade; but the miners and their comrades of the other industries throughout the country must treat such parrot cries with the contempt they deserve. They will manufacture all kinds of "arguments" to prove the need for increased production; they will tell us it is the only hope for a reduction in the cost of living; but our reply must be, that we are not concerned with the cost of living, because that is what determines our wages: if the cost of living is low, wages are low; if it is high, wages also must be high, otherwise we will not be able to reproduce the strength and energy necessary to carry on production; hence the cost of living to us simply determines the amount of Bradburys we'll have to carry from the pay-box to the grocer, butcher, landlord, etc.

Safety.

The fact must be pointed out that we, the grime of society, are sufficiently intelligent to realise that science has brought us to a stage where it is not necessary that we should toil and sweat for an existence as at present, and that we have an idea what is the cause of our doing so; also we know who gets the benefit; and that it is to our interest under the present social order to produce an equivalent only to the actual cost of production. Once that is realised and put into practice, the question of safety, which to-day to many piece-workers is of secondary importance, will have a great impetus, and is bound to result in a favourable reduction in accidents, both fatal and non-fatal.

The chief point, however, in connection with this policy is, that it is one of a series of weapons which can be used by the workers to destroy private ownership. It is our duty as workers, no matter of what industry, to adopt the policy of undermining Capitalism, and to use any weapon that will be of use in doing so. In addition to lessening the risks of life and limb (which is conditioned on a decreased output in the mining industry), there must be a policy, pursued systematically, so as to abolish all profits. Therefore it must not be confined to the miners, but must be extended to all industries, must be made deliberate use of in order to hasten the "day" when, as Marx said, "The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." This policy is the negation of the increased production stunt, so much glorified by "Labour leaders," and to make it a success, our "slogan" must be: "de— and not increased" production. To South Wales falls the duty of giving the clarion call to their comrades on this issue. I therefore repeat, that the active elements of each pit must get busy and organise 'canny on scientific lines. Educate, agitate and organise, so as to be worthy of the expectation and admiration of our Russian comrades.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE RUSTIC REVOLT.

By CHARLES B. WARWICK.

The Rustic Revolt is upon us! Hodge, the erst-while most loyal land-slave, "yeoman of the guard" of faithful fighters for the kid-gloved, spat-ankled honourables—Hodge is about to take over the control of the nation's ploughs and harrows, to see that real milk is sent to the great cities, to send his fellow-workers good food, to give the manorial barons and the unemployed clergy a chance to aid manfully in the common needful production of primal necessities.

Sounds all right, to be sure! And if you had read the "Labour Notes" of a certain Labour daily for the last few months, unless you were "on the job," your revolutionary breast would have swelled with enthusiasm. But matters are not so cheerful as all that. I am sorry, but if I must write agricultural notes, I must disillusion you. Not that I am pessimistic; ah, no! but my impressions, from working with, and among, our fellows in the country, are that, in spite of the increase of strikes, they are relatively further removed, in general outlook, from revolutionary consciousness than the city's industrial toilers.

The mass of the land workers lack initiative; their strikes are created and controlled by the Agricultural Labourers' Union, which, although containing many sincere and capable men, is dominated by the usual Labour leader type.

The land worker, through his Union, although taught the first principle of class solidarity, yet is nurtured in the age-long belief that the bosses have some rights over his existence. Therefore, to gain little portions of justice for himself, he must "negotiate," he must let matters be done "constitutionally"; whatever happens, he must not take up the cudgels himself, for what then is the use of paying officials to do it for him? Trade Unionism breeds the spirit of apathy among the many; the few intellects there may be, become reconciled to positions of ease, and, when they act, they act like sedate statesmen. Rank and file initiative can only come in two main ways; first, when the rank and file are left to work out their own destinies; secondly, when the consciousness of class-interests develops inside the centralised Labour organisations themselves. In short, when the spirit of libertarian vigilance over "representatives" and class-enemies, alike, gives place to the servile docility, class-apathy, and mutual distrust of fellow-workers now prevalent.

Let us cry: "Back to the land"—but the land-workers will not help to materialise our cry yet; they believe still that the land rightly belongs to those that have possession. A few grumble and hazily understand that there has been a robbery, but do not put themselves out to find the why and the wherefore. To go back a century; between 1800 and 1831, 3,511,770 acres of common land were stolen from the working-class population of the countryside by various Parliamentary devices. In 1845 a General Enclosure Act was passed which enabled the landlords to appropriate 320,855 acres. It is nothing! No one bothers about what was done in "days gone by"!

Regarding the vexed question of workers' housing, it seems hard to admit that the position of the rural workers is relatively worse than that of the town workers, but it is. The countryside is picturesque, but the workers' homes there, even though superficially appearing picturesque, are many of them unfit for human beings to live in. Our wealthy parasites ride by in their dust-raising motor cars, and say, as they pass the dwellings of those who toil to overfeed them: "Ah; how beautiful! How rustic!" But they forget, or don't wish to find out, how insanitary these cottages are.

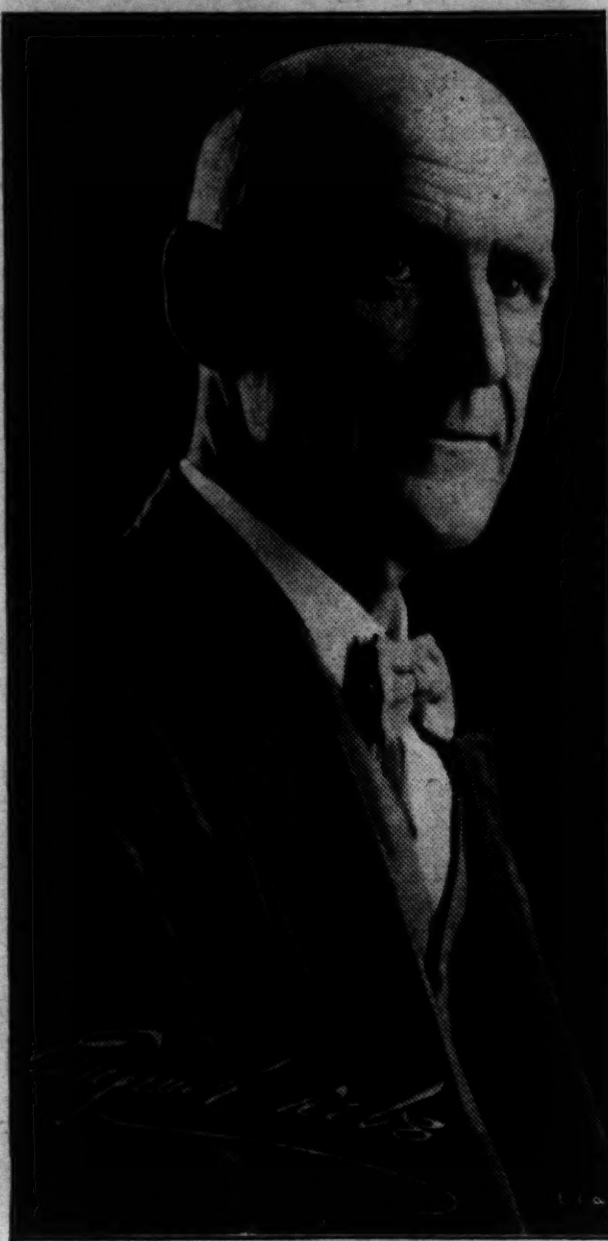
A personal note, in passing. Not many months ago, while working as a gardener at Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire, the "King's own county," I organised a branch of agricultural workers, and came into close contact with the conditions of home life and field work. I gained for myself the enmity of the surrounding farmers in attempting to gain a little "justice" for a fellow-worker. He was an old man of 60—a life-long farm worker—a ploughman, "steady and faithful" (to use an employers' phrase); his eldest son joined the Union, and tried to get his father to do the same; he was afraid, but eventually we managed it between us, and I went into his case. He was very reluctant to give information. Sixty hours a week he worked—including Sunday morning work—for 30/-. The minimum for the Union even was 36/6 for a 54 hour week. Included with his wage was a cottage, which was rated at a rental of 8/- per week. There was neither ventilation nor drainage to the cottage, and the water-supply was a quarter of a mile away, a mere pool; spring water, it is true, but to have to go so far, especially in winter, with the water buckets, was—well, I leave it to you. The back of the cottage was in great need of repair; whenever it rained, the water came through the roof into the back bedroom; there were four tiny rooms in all, and the cottage was shared by the old man and his wife, the elder son, 30 years of age, a younger son of 18, and two younger children. Do not say the old man was too old to work (though land work under the present system makes one older than one really is), for he had to work—or starve, and he feared his boss, who, by the way, threatened to shoot me if I tried to interview him on the land he owned. I managed to get an extra 6/- for the old fellow, and no Sunday work, and raised the storm of class-enmity in so doing.

Another labourer and his family were threatened with eviction. He had lived in the same cottage for over thirty years, and worked faithfully for his boss, who, incidentally, owned him and his family, along with the cottage. He had been in the Great War, fighting for the propertied class. When he returned, he was given a certain time to "get out"; as there were no other places to get into if he got out, he had

to agree to whatever dominating terms his owner decreed—and he did!

Another thing. Resistance to eviction has been especially active in Manchester, but the country labourers dare not help their persecuted fellows in like circumstances, because they themselves are owned bag and baggage, and much of even their private lives is controlled by the same owner as the evicted ones. Many villages belong to one man. Again, if you happen to live in a village, and you do not attend "divine services" when called upon to do so, you become a social outcast, because you rouse the ire of the local parson and his wealthy co-parasites who control the timid ignorance of your fellow-villagers.

Social life in the villages seems more restricted now than in the past days of folk songs and dances and old social folk customs and the folk-mote. Where it exists at all the social life of the village is mainly controlled in "safe" channels by religious, patriotic shopkeeper and imperialist organisations.



EUGENE V. DEBS.

(Serving a sentence of 10 years, in U.S. Penitentiary).

"I believe . . . that a change is due in the interests of the people, that the time has come for a better form of government, an improved system, a higher social order, a nobler humanity and a grander civilisation. . . . You may hasten the change, you may retard it; you can no more prevent it than you can prevent the coming of the sunrise on the morrow."

CAPITALISM AND THE RAPIDS OF REVOLUTION.

By J. P. M. MILLAR.

Enthusiastic Socialists have so often drawn out their watches to count the last few heart-beats of a dying capitalism, only to find it more lively than ever a short time afterwards, that those who now circulate reports about the impending decease of the system cannot but expect to meet with a sceptical reception. Yet, after all, even the sceptics are to-day beginning to believe that capitalism is breaking up, even their unbelieving ears cannot fail to hear the wheezing which indicates that capitalism is become palsied and incapable of withstanding the shocks that threaten to convulse it.

There is no question that the vital bolt that is holding the system together is the British Empire. Russia is Bolshevik, Italy has all the symptoms, France follows not very far in the rear, whilst what were Austria-Hungary and Germany are in chaos, only kept in the circle of profit-making society by the Allies' whip, with its two thongs of military force and threat of starvation.

But things are not going well even from the British Empire capitalists' point of view. British capitalism is, directly or indirectly, conducting war against Russia, war against Ireland and war against Turkey; and what ever may be the result of the last-mentioned war, certainly in the wars against Ireland and Russia, they are marching from defeat to defeat. India, too, does not seem to have been provided by nature with the faculty of appreciating British rule; Persia and the

Middle East generally do not appear to be averse to the blandishments of Bolshevism.

However, British capitalism may quite well be able to sustain itself for a long time against these attacks on its outworks, so long as all goes well in the keep, and the keep is the island of Great Britain. It is this island of ours that is the Ark of the Covenant of British capitalism. The vital link, then, for the British ruling class is the Scotch and English working-class. Their problem is: How can they keep that class the most moderate and the most "gentlemanly" working-class in Europe.

This is no easy problem, for the continual rise in the cost of living has the tendency to bring about a rise in the intensity of working-class thought, and even to breed doubts on a considerable scale as to the competency of the ruling class. This expresses itself in the rapidly growing polls of the Labour Party, and the persistent demand for increased wages. As an exceedingly interesting article in this month's *Plebs Magazine* points out, the finance capitalists of Great Britain have a remedy. That remedy is cheap food for the British working-class, which the capitalists hope to be able to provide by grabbing "the unlimited control of world-resources of raw material."

The point for us to consider is: are the capitalists likely to be successful in their scheme? The answer largely depends on the matter of time, and time appears to be against them.

At the present moment the employing class, speaking generally, is not very difficult to press into granting increases in wages, for market conditions allow of continually rising prices. But there is no reason to suppose that conditions will always be so. As surely as it has happened in the past, so will it happen again, that producers will find themselves with goods which they will either not be able to sell or to sell only at a loss. When that time comes, it will be as easy to squeeze blood from a stone as to obtain a rise in wages from employers. They will rather close down—may even prefer to close down—as that would give them an opportunity of getting rid of their surplus stock.

That critical period may not be so far off as some of us think. Already Japan is in the grips of a serious crisis; banks have failed, credit is almost impossible to get, and unsaleable goods pack the warehouses. And, willy-nilly, the workers in some industries have had to accept reductions in wages, and there is every likelihood that these reductions will become more widespread. Business is by no means at its best in America, and France also appears to be approaching a crisis. That this is no mere Socialist opinion is indicated by the fact that the editor of the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* foresees world-wide stagnation and crisis' approaching.

Long, therefore, before any British practical monopoly of raw material can bring cheap food—a full dinner-pail—to the rescue of the British capitalist class, they may have to discharge many workers, refuse all further advances, and may even try to cut wages. If this happens on any scale the working-class, even in this country, is not likely to be content to pass resolutions: the workers will enforce them. But at once they will find that they will not be able to enforce them on the basis of the present system. The logic of events will drive them to challenge the basis of the system, and, if the British ruling class intended to go to the length of civil war a short time ago over Home Rule for Ireland, still more so will they be likely to use all the means that God and the working-class have put into their hands, to oppose working-class rule.

We can, then, well understand how largely the governing class have become converted to anti-conscription. They don't feel that a conscript army is always to be relied upon—it is too much of the people! They are "putting their money" on a professional army; one that will have as little interest as possible in conditions in industry.

The one thing that will make the British movement's path relatively easy when the critical time comes, as it must come sooner or later, will be Russia, provided she remains unconquered and unconquerable. A great powerful Socialist Russia can control the issue in this country—when once the British workers put out their hands for a place in the sun. Without such a Russia the struggle will almost inevitably be long and painful, for we are an island people with no vast leagues of often snow-covered plains to protect us from attacks from without.

Altogether, then, one need not be a mere scare-monger or a victim of a heated imagination, if one sees in the signs of the times that the whole of profit-making society is being swept into the rapids of revolution much faster than some of us realise.

THE REFRACTORY LLOYD GEORGE.

George Lansbury still tries to believe in the good intentions of Lloyd George. He thinks that the Russian policy of the Government, its commitments in Mesopotamia, and its attitude towards Germany are all due to the Prime Minister being over-ridden by the Junker clique in the Cabinet. The *Herald* scolds and chastises. Sometimes it despairs of its pet and writes: "No fraud is too callous for men who have risen so high in power and sunk so low in honour as Mr. Lloyd George." But the Liberal Press, which knows more about the strange ways of politicians than the optimistic Labour organ, has never made the mistake of thinking that Lloyd George, the one-time Radical, is misrepresented by the Conservative coalies.

But the *Herald* will not stay long in the doldrums. It is convinced that the prodigal son will return in the end. And so it smiles contentedly and says: "The Soviets will be recognised, the world will have peace and be set right again, 'if Mr. Lloyd George's profession are sincere. . . .'"

DEMOCRACY AND THE PRO-LETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

By LENIN.—(Continued).

Copies of last week's issue containing the opening chapter of this interesting article by Comrade Lenin can still be obtained from WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4., 2d., post free.

With respect to the second question, the significance of individual dictatorial power from the standpoint of the specific problems of the present period, we must say that every large machine industry—which is the material productive source and basis of Socialism—requires an absolute and strict unity of the will which directs the joint work of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. The necessity is obvious from the technical, economic and historical standpoints, and has always been recognised by all those who had given any thought to Socialism as its pre-requisites. But how can we secure a strict unity of will? By subjecting the will of thousands to the will of one.

This subjection, if the participants in the common work are ideally conscious and disciplined, may resemble the gentle leadership of an orchestra conductor; but may take the acute form of a dictatorship—if there is no ideal discipline and consciousness. But at any rate, complete submission to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of the process of work which is organised on the type of large machine industry. This is doubly true of the railways. And just this transition from one political problem to another, which in appearance has no resemblance to the first, constitutes the peculiarity of the present period. The Revolution has just broken the oldest, the strongest, and the heaviest chains to which the masses were compelled to submit. So it was yesterday. And to-day the same Revolution—and indeed in the interests of Socialism—demands the absolute submission of the masses to the single will of those who direct the labour process. It is self-understood that such a transition cannot take place at once. It is self-understood that it can be realised only after great upheavals, crises, returns to the old; only through the greatest strain on the energy of the proletarian vanguard which is leading the people to the new order.

Take the psychology of the average, ordinary type of the toiling and exploited masses, and compare this psychology with the objective, material conditions of their social life. Before the November revolution they had never seen the possessing exploiting classes sacrifice in their favour anything that was really of value to them. The proletarian had not seen that he would be given the often promised land and liberty, that he would be given peace; that they would sacrifice the interests of a "greater Russia" and of the secret treaties aiming at a "greater Russia," that they would sacrifice capital and profits. He saw this only after November 7th, 1917—when the proletarian took these things himself by force and when he had to defend them by force. It is natural that for a certain time all attention of the proletarian, all his thoughts, all his energy are turned in one direction—to breathe freely, to straighten out, to expand, to enjoy such immediate benefits of life as can be taken away and which were denied him by the overthrown exploiters. It is natural that it must take some time before the ordinary representative of the masses will not only see and become convinced, but will come to feel that he must not just simply "seize," grab, snatch,—and that this leads to greater disorganisation, to ruin. We, the Communist Party (the Bolsheviks), who give conscious expression to the aspirations of the exploited masses for emancipation, should fully comprehend this change and its necessity, should be in the front ranks of the weary masses which are seeking a way out, and should lead them along the right road—the road of labour discipline, harmonising the problem of "holding meetings" to discuss the conditions of work with the problem of absolute submission to the will of the Soviet director, of the dictator, during work.

The "meeting-holding" is ridiculed, and more often wrathfully hissed at by the bourgeoisie, Mensheviks, etc., who see only chaos, senseless bustle and outbursts of petty bourgeois egoism. But without the "meeting-holding" the oppressed masses could never pass over from the discipline forced by the exploiters to a conscious and voluntary discipline. "Meeting-holding" is the real democracy of the toilers, their straightening out, their awakening to a new life, their first steps on the field which they themselves have cleared of reptiles (exploiters, imperialists, landed proprietors, capitalists), and which they want to learn to put in order themselves in their own way, for themselves, in accord with the principles of their, "Soviet" rule, and not the rule of the nobility and bourgeoisie. The November victory of the toilers against the exploiters was necessary, it was necessary to have a whole historical period of elementary discussion by the toilers themselves of the new conditions of life and of the new problems to make possible a secure transition to higher forms of labour discipline, to a conscious assimilation of the idea of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to absolute submission to the personal orders of the representatives of the Soviet rule during work.

The transition has now begun.

We have successfully solved the first problem of the Revolution. We saw how the toiling masses constituted in themselves the fundamental condition of a successful solution: united effort against the exploiters, to overthrow them. Such stages as October, 1906, and March and November, 1917, are of universal historical significance.

We have successfully solved the second problem of the Revolution: to awaken and arouse the down-trodden social classes which were oppressed by the exploiters and which only after November 7th, 1917, have obtained the freedom to overthrow the exploiters and to begin to take stock and to regulate their life in their own way. The "meeting-holding" of the most oppressed and down-trodden, of the least trained, toiling masses, their joining the Bolsheviks, their creating everywhere Soviet organisation—this is the second stage of the Revolution.

We are now in the third stage. Our gains, our decrees, our laws, our plans must be secured by the solid forms of every day labour discipline. This is the most difficult, but also the most promising problem, for only its solution will give us Socialism. We must learn to combine the stormy democracy of the meetings, overflowing with fresh energy, breaking all restraint, the democracy of the toiling masses—with iron discipline during work, with absolute submission to the will of one person, the Soviet director, during work.

We have not learned this, but we will learn.

Summer Morn in New Hampshire.

All yesterday it poured, and all night long
I could not sleep; the rain unceasing beat
Upon the shingled roof like some weird song
Upon the grass like running children's feet.

And down the mountains by the dark clouds kissed,
Like a pale girl in floating veiling dressed,
Slid slowly, silently, the wraith-like mist,
Nestling softly against the earth's wet breast.

But O! it was so wonderful at dawn!
The still air stirred at touch of the faint breeze,

The sun, a sheet of gold, spread o'er the lawn,
The song-birds carolled in the dancing trees,

And every creature hailed with joy the day:
But wearily, I turned away from all;

For you, who hold my heart, are far away,
So far away, lost, lost, beyond recall.

CLAUDE MCKAY.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY WELCOMES THE EX-SERVICE MEN FROM BRISTOL.

By H. FOSTER TOOGOOD.
(Co-operating Secretary, Bristol Branch).

Twenty-five delegates of the Bristol branch of the International Union of Ex-Servicemen were given an enthusiastic welcome at a large meeting held in Trafalgar Square, on Sunday afternoon last, under the auspices of the Communist Party. Among other speakers, Comrade Gilmore, the organising secretary, spoke of the sorry plight of "the 10,000 ex-servicemen in Bristol on the verge of starvation, with between 20,000 and 30,000 dependents. He expected to gain less than nothing from Parliamentary sources, but the march was organised chiefly for publicity and propaganda purposes."

The journey occupied 10 days, and resulted in some remarkably exciting and interesting incidents.

At Bath Comrade Gilmore was arrested for "revolutionary talk," but released on account of the threatening attitude of a sympathetic crowd. At Swindon and Reading thousands of working people turned out to welcome the men, and collections of £18 10s., all in coppers, was taken up. But the most heartening happening was the fine fraternal spirit shown by the advanced Hounslow branch of the rather reactionary National Union of Ex-Servicemen, who provided the marchers with board and lodgings for two nights.

On Sunday morning they were given a hearty welcome at Hammersmith by our veteran, Comrade Tocatti.

The men marched during the day, sleeping in the open fields at night. They were often drenched by the rain and the footwear of some got very bad indeed, but they never lost their high spirits, and were cheered by the strain of the street organ that they took with them. The workers along the route of the march showed their sympathy in various kind deeds. It was only at the college town of Marlborough that the inhabitants, chiefly the students, were hostile. In London the men were housed and fed at the old day-nursery of the Workers' Socialist Federation, Old Ford Road.

Comrade Amadeo Bordiga, editor of the *Soviet*, of the Abstentionist section of the Italian Socialist Party, will attend the Third International Conference in Moscow.

The London "Hands off Russia" Committee would be glad to receive names and addresses of Comrades willing to speak at open-air meetings. Write to the Secretary, 21a, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

The "DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE has a few back numbers of the paper. Comrades willing to distribute these in the workshop, etc., should apply to the Dreadnought Office, 152, Fleet Street.

ONE OF THE "LEFT-OVERS."

By E. EDWARDS.

It was rather hot and dusty in the street, and my friend and I were hungry and uncomfortable, so we went down below to wash and cool off a little.

The attendant was an old-timer in the Service, and a derelict hero of the great Campaign. He showed some interest in me—thought we had met out East. I assured him we hadn't, though I had lived out there.

"It was very hot," he said in a friendly manner, "and I was miserable there and glad to get away, but I was no sooner home than I was called again."

"And here you are down here," I remarked, "and mighty lucky to have gone through it all and still remain alive. And how did you like the natives? Did you get on well with them?"

"Some was all right, real white inside, and some wasn't—just like anybody else. As soldiers, we wasn't supposed to get too friendly with them, not even with the native soldiers."

"It's so old-fashioned to speak about white insides; we are either red or something else, but never white within," I remarked. "I suppose it was rather lonesome and dull for you, considering that you could only find amusement among yourselves, for you couldn't associate with the class you were serving, and it must have been just wretched for those of you who took your wives out there."

"You're bloody well right," he agreed.

"Naturally," I said, "they get you to do the dirty work—see that we work hard and faithfully, and give them the best part of our labour back in taxes. They get you to keep us in our places, but they also keep you in yours, and precious little pleasure do you get out of the business; and, after all, life is so short, why shouldn't we all get a little joy out of it?"

"You're not one of those agitators?" He looked at me quizzically. "Anyway, I like to talk to you."

"Well, it's not my occupation, being an agitator," I replied, "but what if I were?"

"Well, I'm not taking things easy like before, and many others are not either. I listen now at all the Socialist meetings, when once I always tried to break them up. When the time comes, we'll be right there with them. When I think of all the service I have seen—duty; they said it was my duty—and what am I getting now? Hardly enough to keep my wife and the kids, and I can't even help my old mother. Less than three pounds a week here, and a few shillings pension."

"Certainly, that's something for you and all men now doing what you did a few years ago to think of seriously. Is it worth while? I don't blame you as a body of men for being brutal and cruel. If I were in your place I should act just the same. You're trained to be that way. I have some inside knowledge of the system, myself. But I do blame many of them for always staying blind. With you it's different. You are seeing clearly. For, after all, what do you get out of it? That is the first and foremost thing. You are sent out there in a strange, hot country on Duty. When you get out there you find the ruling class that you serve living such an easy life that the heat hardly affects them. They have their big receptions, balls and garden parties all the year round, and the nearest you can get to them is to be an orderly, and call for the carriages. It is worse than here, for none of your class being there, there is no sort of social life for you. Very often you are driven for clandestine pleasure to the rumshops and the brothels, among the very people that you despise. The intense longing for your own native land, English towns, English villages, and English girls to pleasure with, makes you bitter, miserable and cruel. After a number of years you come home a disappointed man, to find conditions here worse than when you left. If for all the misery, all the dirty work you were bound to do, you had returned home to find a better England, your mother removed from the filthy slum street, your sister and sweetheart not slaving in the factory—in fact, a contented working class, you might say: 'Well, it's worth while exploiting and shooting down natives for this.' But you come home to find your mother preparing for the workhouse, hardly a job for you, and you are jolly lucky to get something underground; while on the other hand, all the wealth you and your fellows were forced to loot is in the hands of a selfish few, who use it for their own selfish ends. I don't see how you could be at all satisfied with such conditions, and I am glad that you are not."

"What you say, mate, is all right. There will be big changes in those countries soon. There are many things under the surface. Few of us thought that Egypt would be carrying on the way she is now. In 1913 and 1914 the country seemed as calm as a pool, but what a change there is now! I'll be sorry for some of my folks when something big really happens, and sure enough, something big is coming soon."

"Things would be all right if the natives were treated like human beings, with flesh and blood," I said.

"That's quite true. Did you hear of the doings in Singapore during the war?"

I told him I had not heard the details.

"Well, during the riots there was a certain street barricaded by the natives, and nearly every Englishman that came by was shot, but the Dutch went by unhurt. You can draw your own conclusions. It didn't get into the papers, but it is true."

I did not comment on this. My friend thought we had said enough, and he was impatient, so we went above and into a Lyon's lunch-room to eat.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

The Labour Party has for some time been back from its Cooks' Tour of Bolshevik Russia; but, to look round, Henry, you wouldn't believe it. All we have had so far is a beautiful manifesto which has told the Government how wicked it is—a fact some of us learnt ages ago—and if the said Government doesn't do something or other at some time or other in the near and distant future, then the Labour Party intends to be up and doing. But as the Labour Party has been "doing" most of us for quite a long time, it will be no novelty.

Quite recently the Labour Party has had some chance to be up and doing, but it has neither "upped" nor done. When it was in Russia it was conducted all round the show—and although not strictly of the manual working class (how many have forgotten how to handle a spade?) it got its special rations all right. The Bolsheviks were a kind of collective father to it. You would expect the Labour Party to be grateful, eh, Henry?

But when a certain Bolshevik agent named Nuorteva was arrested here and put into prison, these grave and reverend fossils of the Labour Party weren't looking. They may be grateful to Russia, but to interfere with the Government by direct action in a political matter is unconstitutional. It is of course a vastly different thing for the Government to act unconstitutionally. The Government may never break the laws, but they are always bending them as far as they will go.

In René Marchand's *Why I Side with the Social Revolution*, published in Petrograd, you can have heaps of information as to how the Government works, through its agents. Marchand was present at a meeting "at the Consulate General of America, which existed at that time at Moscow UNDER THE SWEDISH FLAG," and at this meeting he learnt some of the depths to which the anti-Bolsheviks were prepared to go.

Marchand says:—

"Without doubt, this meeting, as I have already said, was an 'official conference'; it bore the character of a private business conversation; but that does not alter and never can alter in the least the fact that, in the presence of the official representatives of the United States and of France, Consul-General Poole and Grénard, without being reproved for one single instant by the latter, an English officer (whom the Extraordinary Commission for Combatting the Counter-Revolution later on identified without a doubt as Lieut. Riley) was able to explain to a French agent the details of a project, according to which he proposed to blow up the railway bridge that crosses the river Volkhoof, a little way before Zvanka station. What is singular is that Lieut. Riley did not in any way conceal from himself the extreme gravity of the consequences that would follow, for he observed quite coldly that the wrecking of this bridge CUTS OFF PETROGRAD FROM ALL COMMUNICATION, not only from the north, but also from the East (Vologda-Viatka line), FROM WHICH PETROGRAD EXCLUSIVELY RECEIVED ALL THE TRAINS OF WHEAT, CEREALS, AND, IN GENERAL, ALMOST ALL ITS PROVISIONS, already so precarious, so insufficient for its population."

And in order to realise how black this is, Henry, it should be mentioned that the Allied intervention in Russia had not yet been "officially" launched, for the alleged reason that THE ALLIES WERE WAITING FOR FOOD TO BE GOT READY FOR STARVING RUSSIA. In the words of Marchand himself:—

"I even remember very well that on one day our Consul-General, M. Grénard, stated to a peasant delegate from the provinces, in my presence, that the delays in the intervention of the Allies were due to the fact that the latter did not wish to commence their military action before they were able at the same time to commence the revictualisation of Russia, and that THE AMERICANS WERE AT THAT TIME MAKING UP LARGE STOCKS OF PROVISIONS AS WELL AS MANUFACTURED ARTICLES DESTINED FOR RUSSIA."

It would be interesting to know what became of those stocks of food and manufactured articles "destined for Russia."

And it was not only to Lieut. Riley that the brilliant idea of starving Petrograd came, for M. de Vertamond (who was also present at the "private business conference" of rogues under the Swedish flag) announced the fact that he had ACTUALLY ATTEMPTED, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS, TO BLOW UP THE BRIDGE OF TCHEREPOVETZ (WHICH WOULD HAVE HAD EQUALLY TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR PETROGRAD. AFTERWARDS HE EXPATIATED ON THE MEASURES HE HAD TAKEN IN ORDER TO EFFECT THE DESTRUCTION OF ROLLING STOCK, AND OBSTRUCT THE PRINCIPAL RAILWAY LINES.

Men have been shot for merely thinking of this. And mind you, Henry, this is not an account written by a fervid propagandist to whom the end is everything and the means nothing. It is written by what is usually known as "a respectable and responsible person," no less than the Foreign Correspondent of the Paris *Figaro*—which is, in its way, one of the bluest-blooded of the select literature read by the French profiteers.

When the British people put Soviets in the place of Parliament, the secret archives of the Foreign Office should provide some "spicy" reading.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Monday morning. All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

Action on the Anti-Parliamentary Field.

Although the Party repudiates the tactic of participation in Parliament, it recognises the paramount need to propagate the futility of Parliament and to familiarise the proletariat with the Soviet idea and with the Soviet principles.

The plans of the Party in reference to such political work, briefly outlined, are as follows:—

(1) If the Branch is a strong one, it should endeavour to create the framework of industrial and household Soviets in its area with the object of such organisations ultimately replacing the Trades and Labour Councils and Local Labour Parties as a truer reflection of working-class ideals and aspirations.

(2) [As suggested by the Manchester Soviet.] Leaflets should be distributed from house to house, so many streets per week, explaining this question of household and industrial Soviets, and requesting the favour of an interview with the householder.

Each member of the Branch dealing with the section of Communist work, should be prepared to interview his share of householders, urging them to boycott the Parliamentary ballot-box, and take their share in Soviet work in the area.

Each Branch member should endeavour to make himself thoroughly conversant with the subject so far as to be able to answer all questions, pointing out the rottenness of the DEMOCRACY the bourgeois prate of, showing that a DICTATORSHIP OF MONEY is in power to-day, and suggesting—

- That only workers should take part in administrative affairs and have the power to elect;
- Those workers should be classified industrially, i.e., according to the function of social utility they fulfil for the community; and
- That one of the main features of the Soviet system is that any delegate may be immediately recalled by those delegating him.

The leaflets for house-to-house distribution are supplied by Headquarters at cost price.

A strong branch of the Party, well supplied with these leaflets and other literature, such as the half-penny *Soviets of the Streets* pamphlet, *Soviets for the British* (1½d.), and *Direct Action* (S.W.C., 3d.), working their Branch area steadily week by week, a few streets at a time, will do more real educative work among our class than by years of wasteful dissipated effort in open-air meetings and demonstrations, which have been the main features of Social-political propaganda in the past.

Formation of Hammersmith Branch.—Preliminary Notice.—A meeting of all members resident in the Hammersmith District will be held in the Raper Hall, Cambridge Road, Hammersmith, on Monday, August 9th, at 8 p.m., to arrange for the formation of a branch. All members and intending members in Hammersmith and District are invited to attend.

New Branch Opened at Barking.—On Saturday, 18th July, a new branch of the Party was launched at

Barking. All revolutionary Communists in Barking area are requested to get in touch with the Secretary, D. Roodzant, Glenhurst, Ripple Road, Barking, London, E.

Exeter Branch.—Our Exeter comrades are keeping the flag flying for genuine Communism in this stronghold of reaction, and report lively meetings. Will all unattached Communists in Exeter get into touch with the local secretary, Comrade C. Lucy, 8, Okehampton Road, Exeter, to swell the ranks for Communism.

Manchester Branch.—This powerful Branch has succeeded in bringing into being the framework of local household and industrial Soviets, and will shortly undertake extensive house-to-house work explaining the Soviet ideal and exposing the shams of Parliamentaryism. All unattached Communists in this area are asked to assist in the co-ordinated work for Communism of our Manchester comrades. Secretary, Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD,
Party Secretary.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, July 30th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Louis Solomons and others.

Saturday, July 31st. Liverpool Street, Walworth Road, opposite Grosse Bros., 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop, Janet Grove and others.

Sunday, August 1st. Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. R. Bishop and others.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7 p.m. Geo. Aird, Ph. Edmunds.

Wednesday, August 4th. Grove Lane, Camberwell, 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop, Janet Grove.

Friday, August 6th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. R. Bishop, Janet Grove.

INDOOR.

Thursday, August 5th. 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Business Meeting.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, August 1st. Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, August 5th. International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, August 3rd. William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Christy and others.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

E. E. Swift (literature profits), 27s.; G. H. Crouch, 10s.; E. Michaels, 2s.; Comrade Sasne, 2s. 6d.; P. Solowitch, 1s.; Elizabeth Stevenson, 10s. 7d.; J. Thurgood (literature profits), 4s.; Manchester Branch (second Communist Saturday effort), 22s.; Exeter Communist, 2s. 6d.; C. Lucy, 2s. 6d. Trafalgar Square Collection: £5 11s. 6d.

COMRADES IN COUNCIL. — AN OPEN TRIBUNE.

The Need for a Clear-cut Issue.

Dear Comrade,—Communists are still divided on the question of Parliamentary action. The majority of those who favour Parliamentary action think it can be a means useful for propaganda. They say "Let us tell the workers that Parliament is essentially a Capitalist institution of no use to the workers, either for the bringing about of the Revolution, or after. But we can use Parliamentary action for the destruction of Parliament and for propaganda."

Arguments from the German Revolution and from the present position in Italy are brought in to support the idea.

The anti-Parliamentary action Communists may object on several grounds; one, that it is not necessary, another that the effort and expense are not worth while, another, the possibility of our successful candidates "ratting." But for me there are two greater objections which cannot easily be swept aside when we keep in view the present conditions prevailing in England, and the psychology of the English proletariat resulting from those conditions.

First: the English worker wants a clear-cut issue, and few would understand the reasoning by which he is asked to believe that Parliament is essentially capitalistic and always must be so, whilst at the same time we ask him to vote for a Communist candidate. Secondly: and this is the greatest objection. When there is a Revolutionary crisis the Left Wing of the Labour Party and their type will endeavour to get control by asking the workers to return a revolutionary party to Parliament. By using Parliamentary action now, we are making it easier for such an appeal to succeed. By taking a definite anti-Parliamentary stand now, we shall be making it easier for the workers to reject Parlia-

ment or any such assembly under another name when the Revolution is on.

In other words, anti-Parliamentary action will make the establishment of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils easier and tend to prevent a period such as Russia had under the Kerensky regime.

H. M. EMERY.

Journalist or Trade Union Leader?

Dear Comrade,—I see by the *Call* that the B.S.P. has in the Press a booklet by Robert Williams, *The Soviet System at Work*, consisting of "a series of articles contracted for, but refused by, the *Daily Mail*."

This last statement is—well, a "gem."

That a Labour leader of standing, a shareholder of the *Daily Herald* (our "national Labour daily") should have had, at any time, the simplicity of mind of entering into a contract with the Yellowest of Yellow papers of England to print his untrammelled and sincere impressions of Soviet Russia, visited as Labour delegate, and that he could have believed, or even hoped, to have freedom of expression in the paper that "conducted" the war and runs all scare-mongering stunts, is a fact that speaks a good deal for the mentality of our Labour men.

Are we to be blind to the fact that the Capitalist Press is one of the more important weapons of the class struggle as waged by Capitalism?

Are we to believe that Mr. Williams thinks possible a Fabianic work of penetration in the most capitalistic of our dailies?

I do not impugn Mr. R. Williams' honesty, but I do question his judgment. NORAH JONES.

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