

# Workers' Breadnought

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## ROBERT SMILLIE.

(An Interview With Tom Watkins).

By C. E. EDWARDS.

What impressed me most as I followed the dreary and strict parliamentary routine of the Unity Conference was how so many of the speakers delighted in dialectical oratory and how others seemed enamoured of the melody of their own voices. While I was weaving a mental comedy of place, personalities, features, speeches and atmosphere, I became suddenly aware of a distinct and arresting accent, a voice giving expression to a strong conviction. It was a Welsh miner explaining the tactics the class-conscious workers should adopt in dealing with the exploiting class, and what a Communist Party might do to help them in their fight.

Later on I had a talk with Comrade Tom Watkins, of the Trethomas Class, Rummy Valley, and I asked him to give me his opinion, as a revolutionary and industrial worker, of the President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. I had heard of the great part the president had played in the increasing industrial struggle in the mining areas. Would he tell me what the men in South Wales thought of it and how much were they benefited?

His remarks are given here:—

"I will try to tell you," said Tom Watkins, "what the revolutionary miners think of him. Of the conservative men I can't say much but this: when they heard that he was ill and likely to retire, the consensus of opinion among them was that he had sold out to the master class. Of course, it wasn't true, but the men naturally got the idea into their heads after the fiasco following the Sankey Commission and the negotiations with the Government.

### The International Limelight.

"We of the advanced sections thought differently. Smillie is a sincere, conscientious and honest man. We still admire him for the pioneer work, in conjunction with Keir Hardie, that he carried on among the Scotch miners. This made him the leader of the Scotch miners and ultimately head of the Miners' Federation. But the Coal Commission of last year brought him into international prominence and gave him a reputation neither he nor any other Trade Union official can merit. He is too solid and canny to have lost his head: he has certainly lost his balance. The Capitalist Press shout "Smillie!" The radical and even the revolutionary papers abroad take up the false cry. It is very unfair to the Executive which determines and decides on all official actions affecting the miners.

### The Constitution of Federation is Obsolete.

"We advanced workmen hold that no Trade Union official can long understand and interpret the will of the workers. From the very nature of his job, the official tends to get farther and farther away from the workshop. He does not represent the view of the working man, for he has not the necessary and fundamental knowledge. We need new men educated efficiently from our point of view to represent us. The constitution of our Federation is so framed that no matter how revolutionary a leader would be, he must abide by it or lose his place. And to us the constitution is obsolete and is framed in the interests of the robber class. There must be a two-thirds majority before we can pass a strike vote, which means that the minority, having the balance of power, rules and blocks all progress. You cannot get the views of the minority in the M.F.G.B. expressed at a conference; within the Executive the extremist would make himself a nuisance. Smillie is always with the majority.

### How the Government Out-Manoeuvred Smillie.

"Smillie has recently said that it was the biggest mistake of his life when he accepted the Sankey Report. You know about the great unrest of the workers in the coal industry that gave rise to the Sankey Commission. We miners had the capitalists on the hip then. The war had disorganised the system. There was chaos in the German coal-mines. France and Italy were gasping for coal, and America and Japan were waging a grim and silent war against the British shipping monopoly. The industrial magnates were in deadly fear of an internal struggle, and there is no doubt that at that period we could have won the best terms that would have reacted favourably upon all the class-conscious workers of Great Britain.

### That Famous Commission.

"By our agitation we gained the Sankey Commission. For the type of mind that admires an ugly building because it is colossal and fawns upon

parasites because they possess stolen wealth and silly-sounding titles, it was a wonderful thing to see the so-called old and proud aristocracy of England and the big business bosses come at the bidding of a mere Trade Union official to give an account of their poor stewardship. It was the chance of a generation for the clever capitalist and the muck-raking radical Press and the sensation-loving pub-



ROBERT SMILLIE.

lic. And the real gain was nil. The fools shouted moral victory when we were fighting for an industrial triumph! That fateful commission gave the miners' cause an undesirable international reputation, and Smillie a most unenviable notoriety. As I said before, it unbalanced him. But it had the desired effect: what the Government and the master-class wanted they obtained. The Commission turned the miners' concrete mind away from the immediate objective to highly-coloured abstractions. We who have made ourselves acquainted with the historic struggle of the exploited classes, were not in the least deceived. We knew that the "old and proud aristocracy" would crawl before a dog on all fours and eat dirt and even something worse to keep their profits. But Smillie was fooled, and now his obsession is to redeem himself. All his late actions lend colour to my view.

### The Audacity of the Government.

"Perhaps the 'Left Wing' group in the Executive would have preferred the Majority Report of Nationalisation and 3s. per day increase, but they had to compromise on the Sankey Report of Nationalisation and 2s. per day. Even the owners' report of nationalised royalties and 1s. 6d. increase would have been a bone thrown to the miners and the public, but no sooner had the Government seen that the psychological moment had passed, and they had the situation well in hand, than they repudiated the whole Commission, and the present Mines Bill is their new move. What is clear to us, and well-known to the Government, is that from the very beginning the Miners' Executive was afraid of the issue; they didn't want to face the outcome, for it would have been too big for them.

### Smillie's Latest Move.

"This latest move on Smillie's part is an attempt to rectify the mistake of the past. It is quite clever of him to link the 14s. 2d. reduction

on domestic coal and the 2s. increase for the miners together, for it puts something tangible before the men, and the Government is muzzled and cannot raise the old cry: "The public suffers." I don't like to say anything tactless in the hearing of the common enemy, but if it comes to a climax, the Government can choose either course and drive a wedge between the so-called public and the miners. The average miner won't strike for an abstract principle like the removal of the 14s. 2d. from coal, for this aspect of the quarrel does not affect his economic life; the thinking miner will not support a strike vote either, for the reduction of the 14s. 2d. to him means an indirect increase in wages to other trade unionists. At present the minimum wage of unskilled labourers in the tin sheet, metal and engineering trades is equal to that of the coal hewer. But we would all strike for the clear principle of an increase of 2s. If the Government should grant all these new demands, willy-nilly, the M.F.G.B. would gain an immense prestige with the rank and file; but that is just what the Government does not want the M.F.G.B. to have. The new tactics of the Miners' Executive are clever, but the miners themselves are now disillusioned.

### A Better Way.

"The men of the rank and file who are watching all the new developments have a better way of dealing with the exploiting classes. Our scheme is, under the threat of a general strike, to press for shorter hours and higher wages, which will eventually absorb all surplus profits and make the perpetuation of the present system unprofitable and impossible. All the revolutionary elements in other trade unions should also join together in these new demands. With them we will carry the whole rank and file in the Labour world. The man with the dullest imagination will strike for more leisure and more pay when he will not strike for abstract principles like reducing the cost of living and stopping the Polish war."

### SYLVIA PANKHURST IN RUSSIA.

Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst has arrived in Russia, and is on her way to Moscow.

### THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

The Labour News Service says:—"The work of the International and Socialist Conference in Geneva disproves the assertions that the International is dead. While it has not been possible, owing to the unsettled conditions among a number of national movements, to reconstruct the International on permanent lines, several important decisions were taken which indicate that, pending reconstruction, the present organisation is able to 'carry on.'"

The next Conference is to be held in Brussels in 1922, which shows how important this body is! We predict that it will never meet again.

### POLAND AND UKRAINE.

A manifesto has been issued by a delegation of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party to the effect that any re-arming of Poland will sooner or later involve an attempt to reconquer Ukraine as a part of the policy of forming a barrier of bourgeois States for the hemming in of Soviet Russia.

BERLIN, Monday.—Vienna reports an official intimation that France has consented to an increase of the Hungarian army to 500,000 men, subject to the condition that Hungary shall take part in the campaign against Russia.

It is added that the Entente has requested Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Roumania to permit the passage of Hungarian troops through their territory.

Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia consent; negotiations with Roumania are proceeding.

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Hungary is disposed to send some 10,000 soldiers, together with munitions and war material, and to put the Hungarian Red Cross Corps at the disposal of Poland.—Exchange.

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The Koreans are waging a relentless war against Japan for the independence of their country. The Korean women are the forerunners of the movement. The Japanese have never admitted that there has been torture in Korea, but independent witnesses tell that very cruel tortures still go on. Frightful indignities are visited upon the women, and many are arrested on political charges. There is no help for them under the present system.

UNDER THE IRON HEEL.

British Labour, says the Daily Herald, will stop the Allies from making war against Soviet Russia. Let us hope so. Perhaps the Allies will hold back at the last moment, coming to the conclusion that a Russian campaign might prove to be a very dangerous experiment, or the unscrupulous Polish leaders might be brought to their senses. In either case, we shall be prepared to see huge Herald posters, John Bull-like, shouting at us from the city walls: "We stopped the Russian War."

Meanwhile the Irish war goes merrily on, and British Labour and the Daily Herald look on. The Executive of the Labour Party does not send out ponderous notes demanding the stopping of the Irish war.

Although funds are being solicited for the victimised workers of Belfast, we can learn nothing of the real conditions obtaining in that city from the Capitalist Press. Carsonism, using its loyalist thugs, has driven hundreds of working men from their jobs and homes because they dared to resent English oppression, and their wives and children are literally starving. The big, expensive advertisements in the Press appeal for clothing and money for the children of Vienna, but we hear nothing of the children of Belfast. Of course, we have no objection to the Allies rationing the Viennese after depriving them of the means of making a living.

To divert attention from the dastardly crime that is going on in Ireland, the English Junkers and their Press raise the cry of Marxism. The religious bug-bear is

invoked to justify junkerism in Belfast. It has also been used to aid the Poles, but it has become a boomerang. It is natural that the Church, especially the Catholic, should take part in economic struggles. In the end it will try to snatch the victory from the workers and give it to the favoured class. Irishmen, like other people, are rather concerned about the way in which established religion affects their economic welfare. And persons who are interested in, and conversant with, the industrial life of the North and the South will easily understand why the wily politicians can play off one religious section against the other. Capitalism will use the foulest methods to set the workers at each other's throats.

In his recent pamphlet (Daily News reprint), exposing the barbarities practised upon the Irish people and advocating a free republic for Ireland, Mr. Childers remarks that such a system is the only one by which a white people can be governed, thus subtly endorsing the vulgar and pernicious view of the Western peoples that coloured humanity may be ruled by any system. A rather silly sentiment to be voiced by a so-called rebel. British Imperialism has not been able to pit Mohammedan against Christian Egypt, although it has tried. Both groups have buried their religious differences and united in a nobler and higher cause—to rid Egypt of foreign Imperialism. Even in India the different sects are coming together. What British Imperialism could not achieve in the coloured East, it has accomplished in white Ireland.

In Central Europe, before the great war, nationality was set against nationality. The intrigue was centred in Vienna, the result of which is that that city is now ruthlessly boycotted by the border states, and even the farmers of Austria are refusing to send it food. To-day, Allied machinations are centred in London and soaked in blood and oil. The City of London will eventually pay the price.

Across the Atlantic the Capitalist weapon is race and colour, but the recent dockers' strike in Philadelphia shocked even the blunted feelings of the American Plutocracy, for it was a unique demonstration of working-class solidarity, regardless of race or colour.

It should not surprise us greatly, then, that Downing Street, Dublin Castle and Carsonism should invoke religious hatred, as a last resort, to maintain Imperial Capitalism in Ireland. But Sinn Fein diplomacy, we are pleased to chronicle, is more than a match for English chicanery, and the Junkers will be out-witted again.

Sinn Fein has been learning much from the tactics of the Bolsheviks. It has recently issued a manifesto to the Irish people, enjoining them to give a whole-hearted welcome to all members of the Royal Irish Constabulary who have resigned from the service. And the resignations are becoming more numerous every day! The policemen are only regarded as enemies while they wear the uniform of English Imperialism. We are on the eve of dramatic changes in the Irish situation. C.E.E.

GOOD THINGS FROM OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

[In all cases the issue referred to is last week's.] Robert Dell, in the Glasgow Forward, in an able article on the Polish situation, states:—

"In 1916 the Government of Mr. Asquith and the French Government made a secret treaty with Russia by which it was agreed that the Polish question should be regarded as a question of Russian internal politics, and that in the event of an Entente victory, Prussian and Austrian Poland should be annexed by Russia.

"Poland, Finland, and all the Russian Border States owe their independence solely to the Russian revolution. They have won that independence not with the help of England and France, but in spite of the attempt of England and France to enslave them for ever. This is what makes the Polish attack on Communist Russia so base an act of ingratitude.

"The French Government offered a large loan to Roumania on very easy terms if she would join the Poles, and the Roumanian Government refused.

"That we should now see as the defenders of Poland against the nation that has restored her freedom and independence is really the last word in hypocrisy.

Charles Baker (the International), on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party:—

"Some of our I.L.P. comrades have developed dual personalities in this dual organisation effort. How familiar many of us are with the water-tight compartment method of speaking. A comrade one evening speaks as a member of the Labour Party, another evening as a member of the U.D.C., and another evening he will speak in an official capacity as a member of some other institution, and so on.

"The whole atmosphere of our alliance with the Labour Party is tainted with corruption. We are continually apologising for the company we keep. Many of this company are distinguished on account of their services to the Capitalist class. Keir Hardie received no honours from the master class.

In a leading article, the Worker says:—

"If there is to be any revival of industrial organisation, any new tactics of policy, the active Socialists in the workshop have got to get busy. It is no use waiting and asking 'what the workers are going to do.' The mass never does anything except under the leadership of an active minority. Hitherto the active minority who have led them have been the officials who have led them into hopeless compromises when they did not lead them into absolute betrayals. The officials (national and district) have generally ruled the roost.

"They have been the only section whose interest in union policy is concentrated and continuous, and have therefore had an immense advantage over the or-

dinary rank and file. In many unions there has been little or no stirrings amongst the rank and file, and the elected officials have degenerated into sheer insolent bureaucrats.

"It is no use cursing the officials for this development. The bulk of the responsibility rests on the jaded rank and file, too tired to attend to its own business. Even the Socialist section has been far from competent in its work in the industrial organisation. The majority of the Socialist groups in this country has simply taken the Trade Unions as they found them. The idea that a Socialist Party should hammer out an industrial policy, and that its members should struggle to get that policy accepted by the workers is a conception that is foreign to the majority of Socialists in Britain. Consequently the work accomplished by Socialists in the industrial organisations, lacking as it does the unifying idea of a common policy, has been very inadequate indeed.

"There has always been a tendency on the part of Socialist groups to forget that a Socialist's main business is to strive for the leadership of his class in the struggle with the bosses. Here and there groups are to be found who have changed Socialism from a philosophy of struggle into a philosophy of contemplation, trying to find, in Marx's writings, not an equipment which would enable them to fight the bosses more scientifically, but trying to discover excuses for doing absolutely nothing at all."

T.D.H., in Justice, concerning the appeal for Soviet Russia (signed by A. A. Purcell, H. Skinner, R. C. Wallhead, Ben Turner, and R. Williams, working Trade Unionists), says:—

"It is rather humorous to see H. Skinner's name appended to an appeal for 'direct action' about Russia, when, as Secretary of the Typographical Association, he is engaged in getting his members in Manchester and Liverpool back to work at the overtime to which they object!"

C. L'Estrange Malone, giving his impressions on the newly-formed Communist Party in the Call, says:—

"Some delegates appeared even now a little muddled as to Parliamentary action. Of course it is purely for propaganda, and I still hold, not the most effective means of employing available energy. As to affiliation with the Thomas, Henderson crowd, a little more effort and the motion would have been defeated.

"But the formation of the Party stands out as a definite milestone of the week-end. The resolutions are subsidiary."

Evidently Comrade Malone sees things more clearly than his companions on the Executive, and does not think much of the "resolutions."

J. T. Walton Newbold, in the same issue, says:—

"My loyalty, at any rate, is now as it has been for two and a half years—first and foremost to the position of the Third International."

A rather strange declaration, seeing that his name appeared in a list of candidates that received the official endorsement of the Labour Party in 1919.

W. J. Hewlett (South Wales):—

"I fail to synchronise the contradiction, i.e., the affiliation to the Second and Third International. It will take, indeed, a good deal of 'synchronising' to explain that away, especially when, as Fred Willis says, referring to the Geneva Conference—chiefly a Labour Party affair—that it is 'a solemn farce.'"

Comrade Andrews, in the International, Johannesburg, speaks the right words:—

"It is fashionable in these days for capitalist spokesmen and many labour leaders to teach that these bad old days are over, and that we have entered a new era. With powerful trade and industrial unions, with federations, delegates to international conferences, boards of reference, arbitration courts, etc., it is argued with mutual goodwill the inequalities of the capitalist system can be removed, and by means of Labour legislation the tyranny of capitalist exploitation can be gradually abolished.

"During the last five or six years the national sentiment and patriotic feeling of the workers in all countries have been played upon and exploited in order to induce them to acquiesce in the wishes of the capitalists. The majority of the workers have succumbed to these sophistries.

"The facts, however, do not bear out this theory. There never was a time when the profits of the exploiting classes were so prodigious, nor when the remuneration of the producers was relatively so small. So far from the theory of community of interests being demonstrated, the class war was never more naked and brutal than now. Look where you will, you will find that Capitalism, realising that the 'last fight' is taking place, is using every devilish weapon at its disposal to drug and mislead, and if that fails, to murder, dragoon, and assassinate the workers."

Dr. Haden Guest, L.C.C., Labour Party Candidate, and of the Labour Mission in Russia, is reported in the Fabian News to have said, under the chairmanship of Sir Sydney Olivier:—

"The moral atmosphere in Russia is one of Terror. Everyone is afraid to speak, and there is an almost universal and all-pervading system of espionage. The Secret Service has its own army, especially paid and rationed. The workers are miserably poor. There is no idea of liberty. Lenin himself said frankly that liberty is a bourgeois superstition and he does not believe in it. Further, there is no idea of equality."

"Our 'affiliated' friends to the Labour Party will find themselves in pretty fine company, to-

ELECTIONS TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. — By N. LENIN.

The collection of writings published by the Social-Revolutionaries under the title, "The Year of the Russian Revolution, 1917-1918" (Moscow, 1918, "Zemlya i Volia"), contains a remarkably interesting article by N. V. Sviatitsky, entitled "The Result of the Elections to the Constituent Assembly." The author quotes figures for 54 electoral districts out of a total of 79.

Practically all the governments of European Russia and of Siberia were studied by the author, with the exception of the following: Olonez, Esthonia, Kauloga, Bessarabia, Podolia, Orenburg, Yakutsk, and Don.

We will first quote the most important totals published by N. V. Sviatitsky, and will then proceed to make political deductions.

I. Analysis of voting to the Constituent, Nov. 1917.

36,262,660 electors in all voted in the month of November, 1917. The author gives the figure 36,257,960, which is divided into seven regions (plus the army and the navy), but the total of the figures which he enumerates separately gives exactly the figure I have mentioned.

The division of votes among the parties is as follows:—Russian Social-Revolutionaries, 16.5 millions of votes, and if one adds the Social-Revolutionaries of other nations (Ukrainian, Mussulman, etc.), 20.9 millions, i.e., 58 per cent. of the total.

The Mensheviks obtained 668,064 votes, and if one adds the analogous groups, Socialist-Populist, 312,000; Edinstvo (Unity), 25,000; Co-operators, 21,000; Ukrainian Social-Democrats, 95,000; Ukrainian Socialists, 597,000; German Socialists, 44,000; and Finnish Socialists, 14,000, one gets a total of 1.7 million.

The Bolsheviks obtained 9,023,963 votes.

The Cadets received 1,856,639 votes. Adding the Union of Landed Proprietors and Agriculturalists (215,000), the Rights (292,000), the Old Believers (73,000), Nationalists: Jews (550,000), Mussulmans (576,000), Bashkirs (195,000), Letts (67,000), Poles (155,000), Cossacks (79,000), Germans (130,000), White Russians (12,000), and the "lists of diverse groups and diverse organisations" (418,000), one gets a total for the bourgeois parties of 4.6 millions.

It is known that the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries formed a block from February to October, 1917. The events of that period, and since, have proved that these two parties are petty-bourgeois democrats, falsely calling themselves Socialists, as all the parties of the Second International do.

Uniting the three fundamental party groups we obtain the following totals for the elections to the Constituent Assembly:—

Table with 2 columns: Party Name and Votes. Rows include Proletarian Party (Bolshevik), Petty-bourgeois Democratic Parties (Menshevik, S.-R., etc.), Parties of proprietors and bourgeois (Cadets, etc.), and Total (36 millions, 100%).

Let us now produce the figures given by N. V. Sviatitsky for each region:—

Table with 3 columns: Region, Soc.-Rev. (Russian), Bolsheviks, Cadets, T.I. Rows include North, Industrial Centres, Volga and the Steppes, West, East, Ural, Siberia, Ukraine, and Army and Navy.

Town-Proletariat and Peasants.

It will be seen from these regional figures that in the elections to the National Assembly the Bolsheviks constituted the party of the proletariat, and the Social-Revolutionaries the party of the peasants. In the purely agricultural regions of Greater Russia (Volga, the Steppes, Siberia, East-Ural) and in the Ukraine the per cent. of the votes. In the industrial centres the Bolsheviks were predominant. This predominance is not so clearly apparent from the

\* By adding the votes of the Mussulman and Tchuvak Social-Revolutionaries, Sviatitsky obtained the figure 62 %.

† By adding the votes of the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionaries, I obtain the figure 77 %.

‡ The author has not in this case followed the usual division of Russia into the following sections:—North E. Archangel, Volodga, Petrograd, Novgorod, Pskov, Livonia, Industrial Centres: Astrakhan, Voronej, Kursk, Orel, Penza, Samara, Saratov, Tambov. West: Vitebsk, Minsk, Mohilev, Smolensk, East, Ural: Viatka, Kazan, Perm, Ufa. Siberia: Tobolsk, Tomsk, Altai, Jenisef, Irkutsk, Transbaikalia, Amur. Kraie: Volhynia, Yekaterinacel, Kiev, Poltava, Tauride, Kerson, Kharkof, Tchernigof. [In every case these are governments, not towns.—Translator.]

regional figures given by N. V. Sviatitsky, because he groups the more industrial districts with the less or non-industrial districts. For example, the figures given by Sviatitsky for each government for the Social-Revolutionaries, Bolsheviks, Cadets, and "other National Parties" show an insignificant predominance for the Bolsheviks in the Northern region, 40 per cent. against 38 per cent. But in this region there are non-industrial districts (the governments of Archangel, Volodga, Novgorod and Pskov) where the Social-



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Revolutionaries predominate, and industrial districts: Petrograd (town), 45 per cent. of number of votes Bolshevik, 16 per cent. Social-Revolutionary; Petrograd (government), 50 per cent. Bolshevik, 20 per cent. Social-Revolutionary; Livonia, 72 per cent. Bolshevik, nil per cent. Social-Revolutionary.

In the governments of the central industrial regions, Moscow gave 56 per cent. to Bolsheviks, 25 per cent. to Social-Revolutionaries; the town of Moscow, 50 per cent. to Bolsheviks, 8 per cent. to Social-Revolutionaries; the Government of Tver, 54 per cent. Bolshevik, 39 per cent. Social-Revolutionary; Vladimir, 56 per cent. Bolshevik, 32 per cent. Social-Revolutionary.

Let us note in passing how ridiculous is the accusation brought against the Bolsheviks that they are supported by only an insignificant "proletarian minority." These allegations are continually repeated by the Mensheviks (668,000 votes, plus 700,000 or 800,000 against 9,000,000 votes for the Bolsheviks); and by the social-traitors of the Second International.

II. Reasons of Bolshevik Success.

How then could this miracle, the victory of the Bolsheviks with only a quarter of the total vote—over the petty-bourgeois democrats, allied to the bourgeoisie—with three-quarters of the total vote—come about?

It would be the height of folly to deny this victory after the all-powerful Entente has given its support to the enemies of Bolshevism for two entire years.

The fact is that the blind rage of the vanquished—among whom all the adherents of the Second International are included—has made them incapable of seriously examining the political and historical problem of the causes of the Bolshevik victory. As a matter of fact, no "miracle" exists, except from the point of view of the petty-bourgeois democrats, whose profound ignorance and prejudice is revealed in this question and the answer they give to it.

From the point of view of the class-war and of Socialism—a point of view which the Second International has ceased to accept—the question is uncontestedly answered.

The Bolsheviks have been victorious, above all, because they had behind them the immense majority of the proletariat, and amongst them the elite, the most conscious, the most energetic, and the most revolutionary—the advance-guard of the most advanced class.

Voting in Moscow and Petrograd.

Let us take the two capitals, Petrograd and Moscow. In all there were 1,765,000 votes for the National Assembly. Of this number—

Table with 2 columns: Party Name and Votes. Rows include Social-Revolutionaries (218,000), Bolsheviks (837,000), and Cadets (710,000).

The petty-bourgeois democrats who call themselves Socialists and Social-Democrats may bow down and worship the idols of "equality," "universal suffrage," and "democracy"; but the inequality of the town and country is none the less a fact.

It is a fact that is inevitably associated with the capitalist system in general, and with the period of transition from Capitalism to Communism in particular.

The town cannot be the equal of the country, and the country cannot be the equal of the town in

the historic conditions of the present epoch. The town invariably drags the country after it, and the country follows in the wake of the town. The question is, which class among the different classes of "the town" shall drag the country after it, and what forms shall this leadership of the town take.

In November, 1917, the Bolsheviks had the immense majority of the proletariat behind them. The nearest rival party, the Mensheviks, were at that moment completely defeated (9,000,000 votes against 1,400,000, adding the 668,000 to the 700,000 or 800,000 of Trans-Caucasia).

In fact, this party was beaten in a fight that lasted fifteen years (1903-1917), during which period the advance guard of the proletariat had been disciplining, organising, and educating themselves, and forging themselves into a revolutionary vanguard. Further, the first revolution of 1905 had prepared the way for future developments, and the mutual relationships between the two parties in general corresponded with the incidents of 1917-1919.

The petty-bourgeois democrats of the Second International who call themselves "Socialists" carefully elude the most serious of historic questions, meeting them with honeyed phrases concerning the "unity" of the proletariat. With these phrases they blind themselves to the historical fact of the accumulation of opportunism in the working-class movement from 1871-1914; they forget, or will not remember, the causes of the failure of opportunism in August, 1914, and of the scission in the Socialist International in 1914-1917.

Revolutionary Action v. Political Opportunism

Without the complete and varied preparation of the proletariat by the revolutionary party, accompanied by the expulsion and defeat of opportunist elements, it is absurd to think of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It would be well to mark this lesson of the Russian Revolution on the foreheads of the leaders of the "Independent" Social-Democratic Party of Germany, of the French Socialist Party, etc., who are seeking to extricate themselves from an awkward position by a purely verbal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Let us go a step further. The Bolsheviks had behind them not only the majority of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard, trained in the course of a very large degree of political activity against opportunism, but also, in the capitals, if one may use a military term, they possessed magnificent "shock troops."

To have an overwhelming supremacy of forces at the decisive moment and on the decisive spot is essential to political successes as well as to military successes, and applies especially to the acute war of the classes which we call the revolution.

It is the capitals, or rather the great industrial and commercial centres (in Russia they are identical, but this need not necessarily be the case) that decide to a very large degree the political destinies of the people, naturally, on condition that adequate support is given by the local forces in the country—a support that cannot be afforded immediately.

In the two capitals, which are the two most important industrial and commercial centres of Russia, the Bolsheviks possessed a crushing numerical superiority. Here we obtained almost four times as many votes as the Social-Revolutionaries. We were stronger than the Social-Revolutionaries and the Cadets together. In addition, our adversaries were divided, for the coalition of Social-Revolutionaries, Cadets and Mensheviks (in Petrograd and Moscow the Mensheviks only obtained three per cent. of the votes) had compromised itself extremely in the eyes of the masses. At that moment there could be no question of an effective union of the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, with the Cadets against us. As is well known, in November, 1917, the leaders of the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks—who were a hundred times more accustomed to the Cadet-Social-Revolutionary-Menshevik block than the workers and peasants of their party—mediated allying themselves with us against the Cadets, and even bargained with us for their support.

It is beyond shadow of question that in October and November, 1917, we had captured the two capitals where we had an overwhelming superiority of numbers and the finest political preparation. The Bolshevik "troops" were numerous, concentrated, educated, tried, and in good mettle; those of the enemy were weak, disunited, and demoralised.

Being in a position to seize the two capitals—the political and economic centres—and the whole apparatus of the capitalist state, we could, in spite of the desperate resistance and sabotage of the bourgeoisie and "intellectuals," proceed to prove to the labouring masses through the central machinery of government that their one certain ally, and sole guide and friend, was the proletariat.

(To be continued.)

IN THE LAND OF LIBERTY.

The Court of Justice of Illinois has sentenced, for "conspiring against the safety of the State," twenty American Communists to various terms of imprisonment. Amongst them were William Bross Lloyd, and Ludwig Lore, editor of the Class Struggle, who were sentenced to five years and a 2,000 dollars fine. Karl Sandberg, of Chicago, and Oscar Brown, each received one year's imprisonment and were fined 1,000 dollars.

E. V. Debs, from the prison of Atlanta, writes asking that the agitation for his freedom should cease and be directed to obtain the liberation of all political prisoners in America.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE ALLIES, RUSSIA, AND THE WORKERS.

The Allies will not openly declare war on Russia, but we must not therefore be deluded with the idea that all is well. Secret diplomacy has many methods of achieving the desired capitalist ends and of hoodwinking the unwary. The workers have taken to heart the lessons on Russia which the Communists of this country have been driving home for many months, and it is because of the knowledge possessed by the workers and their determination to act upon it, that the Labour leaders have at last come out openly against war with Russia and call upon the workers to prepare for a general strike. In France the workers are still suffering from the effects of the war, and have already refused to fight against Russia, so that the French Government realises that it cannot count upon its army to aid Poland. Hence the decision not to send troops to Poland. But what is the "action" which was agreed upon at the Hythe Conference, and will Parliament approve of it? Also will the decision of Parliament be adhered to? If so, this will be a new departure. But already we learn that a British fleet has arrived at Copenhagen, and it is believed that it will proceed to the Baltic. Has Parliament been asked to sanction this step? What are the miners and dockers going to do about coaling the men-of-war? If munitions, etc., are to be sent to Poland will the workers refuse to handle them, and thus prevent them reaching their destination? Are the workers prepared to contribute financial assistance to their class enemies in Poland? The workers in Poland appeal to you to help them against the Capitalists. Workers, realise your power and use it!

Besides the military assistance which may be afforded to Poland, there is the threat of the blockade being resumed. Of course, the blockade has never been removed, though it has been somewhat relaxed, neutral countries being allowed to trade with Russia. Are the workers going to permit this most diabolical of all war measures to be put into full effect once more? Will the Blockade Minister again take up his devil's work and drop his appeals for starving women and children?

Whatever terms the Russians and Poles agree to, we may be sure that the Allies will demand further concessions—probably quite impossible ones—from the Russians. But by what right do the Allies interfere? This is the war between the capitalists and the workers not only in Poland, but throughout the world, and the Allied Governments realise it. Whether war is declared upon Russia or not does not matter in the long run; the Soviet power cannot be conquered, the doom of the capitalist system is sealed, the international and revolutionary spirit of the workers is aroused, and no power on earth can stop the workers from coming into their inheritance. But the refusal of the workers to take action will prolong the misery and suffering now existing and will delay the substitution of the Communist for the Capitalist system.

THE SITUATION.

During the last fortnight the armies of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic have drawn near their objective, Warsaw, the capital of the Capitalist State that was attacking them, with the consent, assistance and guidance of the Allied Powers.

The rapid progress of the Red armies is due, mainly, to two reasons:—

First: Under external pressure, Soviet Russia has forged an army of no mean importance, just as the French Republic, under almost similar conditions, had created her victorious battalions. Secondly: The Polish armies had to fight all through a political rearward action, for the Polish town workers and peasants are smarting under the oppression of an arrogant aristocracy and of a growing and brutal industrialism, and are in no mood to assist military operations.

With the advance of the Red forces, the capitalist press passed alternately from a conciliatory to a threatening mood; last week-end—the Polish Government had been forced by them to quit Warsaw for Cracow—the London Press became quite sugared. Both Krassin and Kameff had developed amiable qualities unknown before, and were no longer the suspected persons of a fortnight ago. Whilst nearly all the Conservative Press had an optimistic tone, the Radical Press struck a note of alarm. Well-known Labour leaders signed a manifesto which the capitalist dailies printed quite complacently, and which fell rather flat, the great mass of the people being still in holiday mood.

Some with but a dim consciousness, others with a perception made sharper by the experience of the last few years, the rank and file felt the incongruity of the signatories of the manifesto riding a high horse; opposing a part only of the Foreign policy of the Government, which is only mildly fought on home questions. They also knew that the signatories are closely associated with persons and with a party that would at one side with the Government were the cry of "national necessity," to be raised.

If something effective is done to oppose war, it will be by the action of the rank and file: we may even find some of the signatories of the manifesto, certainly persons of their party, counselling moderation should the rank and file action really endanger the Government. Why then, one may ask, this uncertainty on the part of the French and English ruling class to enter openly into war with Soviet Russia?

Capitalism, as an economic form of production—production for the profit of one class without any consideration as to the general welfare of the community—is far from being played out. There is money still to be made out of a new war—in munitions, contracts, food, etc. The slaughter of a few thousand more would not affect, either the industrial production as such, or the exploitation of the land and of the peasants.

The danger, which many of the political leaders of the ruling class see and dread, lies elsewhere. It is, that under the pressure of a war on a large scale, the social structure of the States, which happily came out top in the last war, may break down, under the influence of those subtle forces that make for Revolutions. Workers at home, under the incentive of high wages, may make munitions, but the conscripted workers may become—even if they quietly accept mobilisation—an army that will, by sheer lack of moral cohesion, be defeated. A defeat at the hand of Capitalist Germany would have meant a different set of people being put in high places, but no great danger to the security of invested capital, or of private ownership.

A defeat by the Red Army is a menace that goes deeper, that profoundly threatens the present industrial and commercial system: hence the indecisions of London and Paris during the last few days.

The question of the hour is not "Will there be war with Russia?" but rather "Will the state of war, that existed since the Russian Soviets came to power, be legalised, so to speak, by a formal declaration of war, or will there be the appearance of peace with Russia, whilst an insidious, covert warfare is going on?"

The decision is neither with Paris nor with London.

The decision rests with Warsaw.

The proclamation of a Soviet régime is evidently a question of days. A revolution necessarily follows immediately, given the large armies of to-day, upon a defeat on the field. A revolution in Poland will follow the lines of the Russian one, and radically change the economic structure of that country.

What weapons, then, can be used against victorious Russia? The purely military one presents difficulties both of international and internal character. Germany may hinder the passage of large forces of troops. The balance of power amongst the European Western States—almost a necessary condition for the exploitation of the workers, because it creates patriotism, and fosters the consequent easy submission of one set of workers to one set of exploiters—the balance of power, that had been the constant object of all the so-called peace negotiations, may be disturbed, and some capitalist states may even declare themselves neutral (Italy has already given a broad hint to that effect), although the war be against a Socialist community.

The other weapon is the blockade, a formidable arm if used against a highly industrialised State

such as Germany, where, therefore, the social relations are complex, and the needs of the people are at a high and almost artificial standard. A weapon that may become useless, except probably with regard to the production of an ultra-modern kind of munitions, against a country possessed of the resources of Russia, which has nearly reached the highest level of the privations that a blockade can inflict.

The problem is a serious one—not for the working-class, but for the capitalists.

That is the point where we Communists differ from the pacifist spirit that stands for radicalism and revolutionism amongst many of our Labour leaders.

Be it peace, be it war, the struggle between the master class and the exploited grows in intensity, assuming various forms as it goes on.

The time will necessarily come—and it may be nearer than many think—when, whatever the choice may be, it will be the wrong one.

The Russian Revolution, tenaciously defended by its Red army, is driving capitalism to the wall.

There cannot be settled frontiers between Communism and Capitalism.

The power of the Revolutionary armies is not wholly in their guns; it is in the spirit that carries on their onward march; the simple, unsophisticated appeal that goes forth from them: the land, not to the lord of the manor, but to the peasant; the workshop, not to the absentee shareholder, but to the worker.

Whether in a few months, after a military gamble that will bring more suffering to the youth and manhood of Europe, or in a few days, fratricide is inevitable on the Russo-Polish front.

Be peace with Russia to-day or in a few months—peace negotiated by contracting parties that can only temporarily keep to their word—the "question" for the workers of Western Europe is then, as now: "When shall our war begin?"

A.S.

ARGENTINA.

First Communist Ship Arrives in Buenos Aires.

Juan de Garay, the Argentine revolutionary, must have turned in his grave yesterday, when the Italian steamer Belluno tied up in the Boca. Italian ships are quite common in these parts of the docks, but when that ship flies a red flag at her masthead and carries a Communist crew, it must be admitted that the occurrence is worthy of more than passing note.

The Belluno is a co-operative society, in which the whole of the crew, including the officers, are shareholders. She is a ship of 2,883 tons, and came here from Torrevieja. She left that port on the 27th May with a cargo of general merchandise, consigned to Messrs. Dodero Bros. It was not until she reached Montevideo that anyone was aware that something unusual was reported, i.e., that the Belluno was the first ship to reach the River Plate under the Communist flag.

All the salaries are fixed at a minimum of 500 lire a month, but there are special additions for the higher ratings. All the crew were on deck yesterday morning when she docked, red flags and streamers being apparent everywhere. The two "remoladores" (tugs) that brought her in also had quite a large quantity lying from their tiny masts. A tremendous crowd of dockers and casual onlookers gathered to watch her come down the South Channel, and her passage down the docks was greeted with salvos of applause, "vivas," and shrieks from hooters and foghorns.

She moored on the outside of the French steamer Lulu Bohlen, the latter ship being literally crammed with a swarming mass of spectators, who made their way across to the Belluno. The first man to reach her was Sr. Garcia, secretary of the Federación Obrera Maritima, who was much affected as he clasped the hand of Captain Rossi. Delegates from the Dockers, the Marine Transport Workers' Union, and the Officers' and Engineers' Union were also on board shaking hands with the sixty owners of the ship, who were on deck in their dungarees and sweat cloths. A big round of festivities is to be tendered to the Communist crew while they are in port, by the local unions.

The Belluno was first named the Gorjistan when she left the yards of W. Gray and Company, West Hartlepool, in 1906, and was later named the Prespolis after she was sold to the Hamburg-American Company. During the war she fell into the hands of the Italians, and is now the property of a branch of the Italian "Lavoratore del Mare" (the Italian Seamen's and Firemen's Union). She is now carrying grain to Italy. The ship's dimensions are: Tons (net), 2,883; length, 373.2 feet; beam, 50.2; depth, 27.4.

Commenting upon Nurse Cavell's monument, the Populaire remarks that her last words were not those inscribed on it, "For King and Country," but these: "I realise that patriotism is not everything; I have no hatred against any nation."

The French and Belgian governments have signed a "military agreement." Parliament may be able to deny the existence of the alliance under the cover of this smooth phrase. England was dragged into the war over a similar "military agreement."

THE COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM.

By MARY E. MARCY.

Now that we behold the collapse of one of the two great foundation pillars of capitalist society, we feel like soldiers in battle to whom has come inevitably the support. For we know that the failure or the collapse of capitalism means the seeds of revolution that no power on earth can check.

This is why, to us, the closing down of the Cripple Creek Mining Camp, the greatest and richest gold mine in America, is the momentous event of the year in what it signifies. It means that capitalism has become unworkable.

We do not imagine that the working class can fold its arms and inherit the revolution. But we do know that the collapse of the existing system will mean the whipping into revolutionary activity of the whole working class.

Gold Mines Closed Down.

The following is a quotation from an article on the financial page of the Chicago Daily News of February 19th:—

"According to a statement prepared by the American Mining Congress, it is no longer possible to produce gold at a profit in the United States. The present level of wages and commodity prices has got away from the gold standard; that is to say, the work which it takes to earn a dollar in industry is less than the effort required to produce a dollar in gold. The American Mining Congress statement says in part:—

"The purchasing power of the ounce of gold, which under statute cannot bring more than \$20.67, has, Harold N. Lawrie, nationally known economist, shows, shrunk through inflation of currency until it is no longer possible for gold to be profitably produced.

"Gold mines of the United States are being closed down at an alarming rate. Many of these can never be re-opened owing to the prohibitive cost of re-mining and unwatering. Cripple Creek, the greatest American gold camp, is taking on the appearance of a city of dead hopes."

The capitalist system is based on the buying and selling of commodities, including the commodity, human labour power. The capitalist buys the labour power of the worker at wages that will enable the worker to subsist. He keeps the products of the worker for himself. And the capitalist gets about four times as much as the worker receives out of the products of the worker.

Perhaps the worker produces every day commodities represented by—say—\$50.00 in value. And he receives \$10 in wages.

Currency Dilution.

But in order for the capitalist to realise on the surplus value he has extracted from the workers, the capitalist class must have a standard money—means of exchange, measure of value. So far as anybody has been able to discover, gold is the only medium that fulfils all the requirements for the exchange or circulation of commodities, EXCEPT a medium based OPENLY UPON LABOUR ALONE.

During the war the need for vastly increased credits and an increased currency, forced the modern industrial countries to print millions upon millions of paper notes behind which there was no corresponding increase in gold. This meant currency inflation, or currency DILUTION. It means that every dollar bill represents less and less active value, and, since commodities tend to exchange at their value, it means the constantly increasing prices of all other commodities which we have experienced ever since.

It means that the diluted dollar has depreciated so much to-day that it is now unprofitable to operate the greatest gold mining camp in America! It means that after the wages of the miners are paid, and after the expenses of operating the gold mines are deducted, there is no profit left for the mine owners. It means the end of the reign of Gold, and it will write FINIS across the page of the capitalist.

As we suggested above, society might resort to a new medium of exchange and measure of value based upon labour and upon labour alone. One bill, for example would represent, say ten hours of necessary labour, another would stand for five hours of necessary labour, and so on. But such a medium cannot be adopted by the capitalist class without stripping off, from their supply of social wealth, all the parasitical members of society. Besides, the capitalist class insists that capital produces wealth as well as labour.

No scientist has yet suggested any possible substitute for the gold basis, and if such a substitute were discovered the various capitalist groups could never be persuaded to agree on a new monetary system because of conflicting national and international, capitalist INTERESTS.

The debtor nation, like the individual debtor, for example, desires to meet his obligations with inflated currency. The creditor, whether it be an individual or nation, on the contrary, will fight till his last gasp for payment in "dear" or valuable, money.

Depreciation of Value of Money.

The Guaranty Trust Company of New York suggests that an embargo should be placed on the shipment of coal and expresses grave alarm at the prospect of gold production at a time when the bankers of the United States desire to extend credit to the nations of Europe. For, it says, "gold is the foundation of our monetary and credit struc-

ture." The following paragraph from the statement issued by the Guaranty Trust Company explains how to-day the Federal Reserve Banking system has permitted the printing of unbacked paper money until one gold dollar is made to do the work of many dollars. Not, however, we might easily slow, without depreciating the currency of the United States so that in response to the law of value, prices have risen sky high:

"A gold dollar in the vaults of a federal reserve bank serves, or may serve, as the basis of deposit liabilities of \$2.50, and those deposits to the credit of a member bank may in turn serve to enable credit extension by the bank of anywhere from seven and a half to fourteen times that amount, or say \$19 to \$35. With reserves close to the legal minimum, therefore, every million dollar of gold lost (by export) practically means forced credit contraction of perhaps twenty millions, unless contraction come about by normal industrial liquidation."

Thus it would appear that the bankers of this and other modern industrial countries which are all in a similar predicament, will be unable to extend to the chaotic countries of Europe the credit they so desperately need unless they go in for a further debase of currency dilution which will lift prices here another hundred or two hundred per cent. Capitalism is speedily choking itself to death. Cripple Creek is symbolic. Gold is vitally needed to save the existing system; but it is impossible to secure gold without allowing a profit on gold to the mine owners. No bank and no government can credit a mine owner with two dollars on its books for one dollar in gold, and survive. So that supplying the NEEDS of the system has become incompatible with the EXISTENCE of the system.

The days of the old régime are fast passing away, but they are bound to be periods of great unemployment, much suffering, untold brutalities on the part of the ruling classes, and what may seem like a miraculous awakening on the part of labour.

The PROFIT-SYSTEM has closed the Cripple Creek Mine Camp upon which the Profit-System subsists.

Be of good cheer, Fellow Workers! The ENEMY is the strongest force making for revolution to-day. They may put every Bolshevik, every member of the I.W.W., Communist, Socialist, Trade Unionist—all of us in prison; they may destroy and stop our voices, but the COLLAPSING CAPITALIST SYSTEM and the CAPITALIST CLASS are MANUFACTURING NEW REVOLUTIONISTS faster than any society can build goals in which to incarcerate them.

Cripple Creek, the one-time symbol of the rule of Capitalism, has become an emblem of the ruin and chaos being wrought by that same system!

—From the One Big Union Monthly.

THE RUSSIAN REFUGEES.

After the Soviets came into power in Russia, a large number of British patriots in that country wrapped themselves in the Union Jack, scorning the Red Flag of the Workers' Republic. The Communists did not mind their attitude, but they did mind their voices, but the COLLAPSING CAPITALIST SYSTEM and the CAPITALIST CLASS are MANUFACTURING NEW REVOLUTIONISTS faster than any society can build goals in which to incarcerate them.

Cripple Creek, the one-time symbol of the rule of Capitalism, has become an emblem of the ruin and chaos being wrought by that same system!

After certain overtures with the British Government, the Russians allowed their unwelcome guests to proceed to England. They were each given a sum of money by the Soviet Government. On their arrival here the experiences of these exiles were exploited by the Capitalist Press in its brazen campaign against the Soviets. Mr. North was received at Buckingham Palace and decorated by George V., and a few prominent individuals were singled out and employed to make anti-Bolshevik speeches.

The rest of the four hundred or more "repatriates" dropped completely out of the English newspaper world. Now what has become of these people who came to England to seek protection under the Union Jack? We understand that they are nearly all roughly and inadequately housed in an "Institution." Three-quarters of them have no knowledge of English and cannot obtain any work, the Treasury will not cash their paper roubles, and the officials of the "Institution" have gently hinted to them that their room is more desirable than their company! Now that the agitation against the Soviets is not so great, they are no longer needed to help in the work of "White" propaganda, their experiences are now stale, and they are literally starving in England under the Union Jack.

No Use for Parliament.

It is interesting to notice that only 57 per cent. of the electors voted in the South Norfolk election.

As the result of the military insurrection in Ancona, the Italian Government signed at Tirana (Albania) an agreement with the Albanian Government to evacuate Valona.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

By G. ZINOVIEV.

Zinoviev begins by examining the events which have taken place within the International since the Third International was founded in March, 1919, at Moscow.

No Opportunists.

During these fifteen months a number of parties have left the Yellow International of Huysmans, which is represented to-day by three names—Pilsudski, Branting, and Noske.

The Communist International has, to a certain extent, become the "fashion." Very many organisations have voted for affiliation to Moscow. In so far as these organisations are proletarian and are resolved to fight the capitalists to the end, their resolutions deserve to be warmly welcomed. But we must beware of the opportunists who knock at the door of the Communist International. This must remain an International of action.

What ought our attitude to be towards the Central Parties, which have left the Second International and have not yet joined the Third?

We must now that the workers who are members of these Parties are with us, and that they sincerely desire to fight in our ranks against the capitalists and the social-traitors. But we are convinced that they will escape all the quicker from the ill-omened influence of these bad shepherds the more thoroughly we unmask all these gentlemen—Kautsky, Hilferding, Hilquit and Co.

While the First Congress at Moscow was only able to put forward the Communist Programme, this one must define the tactics of the Communist movement throughout the world.

Diversity of Tactics.

It is certainly quite impossible to cast all the Communist Parties in the same mould.

The Communist International knows very well that the workers in the different countries have to reckon with extremely diverse social conditions, and to adapt their tactics to these conditions. If we pass in review all these countries where Communism has already taken deep root, we can divide them into four categories:—

- 1.—Russia, where the proletarian revolution is an accomplished fact.
2.—Germany, Austria, and, to a certain extent, the Baltic Provinces, where the revolution has begun, and where the proletarian revolution is being born under painfully difficult circumstances.
3.—England, France and Italy, countries of victorious capitalism, with very old parliamentary traditions, where at the present time a deep discontent amongst the working-class.
4.—The oppressed nationalities and the colonies, Ireland, India, part of Turkey, etc., where the movement for liberty cannot fail to take on a nationalist complexion, and where consequently special problems confront the Communists.

The Second Congress will have to weigh this diversity of conditions. It will concentrate the whole of its attention upon these tactical questions which confront the principal European countries.

Parliamentarism.

Zinoviev then speaks of parliamentarism. As long as the workers have not seized control, the Communists should use bourgeois parliamentarism in the interests of the fight for the Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. There should be no split amongst Communists upon this point. The Bolsheviks entered into the Fourth Czarist Duma; after the revolution they went into the Municipal Councils of Petrograd, Moscow, and other towns; they sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, and "there is no doubt that the presence of a considerable communistic section in that Assembly enabled it to be dispersed at the given moment in the march of the workers' revolution."

Communists and the "Yellow" Industrial Unions.

Concerning the question of the Industrial Unions, Zinoviev advises the Communists not to leave the "yellow" unions, as certain ultra-Left Wing Communists suggest. One must admit that these Unions comprise millions of workers. In Germany they include seven million members, whilst the Arbeiter Union of the German Communists only has about 100,000 members. We must fight inside these Unions and organise Communist centres in them. The Communists must be everywhere where there are organised workers.

At the end of his article, Zinoviev writes that the Second Congress should ask all the Parties affiliated to the Communist International to accept in its entirety the Communist Programme, and to change between the Communists supporting the workers' revolution and the Social-Democrats who help the capitalists to suffocate the working-class.

These Parties must turn out the leaders, who only remain with them in order to sabotage.

Two worlds are in conflict: one class against another class; the workers against the capitalists. No compromise, no equivocation is admissible.

This Second Congress will be "the general call to the working life of the world before the decisive struggles. The Communists of all countries must do all that lies in their power to enable the present Congress to write the page which it should write in the history of the movement for the liberation of the workers."



## BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

It is not always, of course, that the debates in the Plate Room end in anything satisfactorily. It is not so easy as a Communist Convention, for instance. We have no chairman with an executive committee to arrange beforehand how the votes should go, or to let out dark hints as to what would happen if the votes should go in a certain direction. It would be an enormous advantage if all who entered into debate in the Plate Room were called on to swear to a certain course of action before the debate began. But this sort of shoot-first-and-enquire-after idea seems to be confined to the Connaught Rooms. (Another injustice to Ireland!)

Henry did not turn up the Tuesday after Bank Holiday until the afternoon—and when he did appear there was what appears in Parliamentary news as "Uproar." Somebody dropped a cylinder (which is made of steel and weighs over a stone) and nearly let daylight into the floor. Jack banged on the table with his mallet, and all the Union men thought it was the Father of the Chapel calling a shop meeting within hours. However it was only the gorgeous royal purple on Henry's left eye. "Knocked out in the seventh round," said young Bert.

"What did they say when they took the forty shillings?" queried Jim Crow, who takes snuff and the *Daily Express*.

"Well done, Bombardier! Better luck next time," interjected Casey, who walked in with the final remnant of his lunch in his mouth. Casey always played cards in the lunch hour, and he took it so seriously that his lunch had to wait for the odd moments when the cards were shuffled and dealt. Sometimes when the game was pontoon, necessitating much shouting, he sent the "lad" round the corner for a jug of "milk."

Henry told Casey to shut his mouth and he wouldn't put his foot in it; then he went on to explain how he got the black eye. It was a perfectly plausible story he told, but nobody was much interested—at least, not ferociously so—because they didn't believe a word of it; of course Henry was bound to out with a story of some sort, and one as good as another these days, when gaffers are as inquisitive as the Special Branch of the C.I.D.

"I was just gettin' on the brake, sort of holding on by one hand with my foot on the whatyou-callit, when a chap ups and says—and you needn't sneeze so much, young Bert. Just wait till I've finished this story; just you wait till I've finished and you'll not look so spiry as you use to. And the chap ups and says to me—well, I don't exactly remember, but I says to him, 'Look here, young 'un,' same age as young Bert he was—"

"Now look here, granddad—" began young Bert, mimicking Henry's tone; but he suddenly went out of the door when Henry made a feint move in his direction. Finding that Henry did not follow, he stood outside with his head round the door and a very insistent guffaw making explosive noises in his throat as Henry's narrative proceeded.

"So I said to him 'Do you take me for a brasted Bolshevik, 'cos if you do I don't want any of your lot hanging round; if it wasn't for this being Benkoleday, I'd fetch you a swipe that your missus couldn't wash off.' And, would you believe it, Casey, he grips me by the arm like this—"

"Here, leggo me arm!" yelled Casey suddenly, as Henry gripped him, to the huge delight of young Bert, who let out a roar that matched Casey's and threatened to bring the gaffer round. Henry let go, and took hold of the mallet that Jack had put down. Jack backed away in an unobtrusive fashion.

"—and he says to me in that educated voice these Socialist spotters take up to show how supper they are to the working man, 'Take my advice, old man, and get into that sharabang before it starts without you,' and he pushed me in, he did. And if there is anything more what riles me," he said, banging the mallet down, and causing everybody to retire out of striking distance, "that is being pushed. 'Who are ye a-shoving of, you bloated son of a brasted Bolshevik—'"

"The question before the meeting," interrupted Mac, who had been listening for Henry to come to a point, "is, whether this boulder who pushed friend Henry was or was not a Bolshevik within the meaning of the Act."

"Well, he had a red tie, for one thing," snapped Henry, "and if there's anything that riles me more than anything else, it's a red tie."

"Railwaymen wear red ties," Mac put in patiently, "and there's a story attached to it. You can't tell a Bolshevik from the colour of his tie or the colour of his nose." ["That's you, Henry," yelled young Bert from the doorway.] "A Bolshevik is one who believes in certain principles, and if you read Communist literature you would not be running about parading your ignorance. You don't go to the *Sunday School Guardian* to read about form in racing, do you?"

But Henry only sneered "Bolshevik yourself," and made for the door after young Bert like a Unity Conventioneer after an anti-Parliamentary heckler.

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.

# 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 Thursday 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.

**New Branch: Porth.**

A new Branch of the Party was opened at Porth, Rhondda, South Wales, last week. The Secretary is Comrade D. A. Davies, 38, Cemetery Road, Porth. Meetings held Sundays at 3 p.m.

**New Branch Forming: City of London.**

A Branch is being formed in the City for the purpose of collecting together the many unattached Communists in that district. Its headquarters will be at the International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1. Will all interested comrades kindly communicate with Comrade R. Bishop at this address. The inaugural meeting will be held at the I.S.C. on Monday, August 16th, at 8.30 p.m.

**National Inaugural Conference.**

The National Inaugural Conference of the Party will be held at Gore Brook Hall, William Street, Gorton, Manchester, September 25th and 26th. Comrades Frank Sanders, J. Thurgood, P. Wallis, and E. T. Whitehead constitute the agenda committee for this conference. Branches are requested to send all resolutions, amendments and addendums to provisional programme, and other conference suggestions to the Agenda Committee, c/o Party Secretary.

**GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.**

Gorton Comrades, £2 4s.; Porth Comrades, £1; Exeter Comrades, 9s.; American Communist, 12s. 6d.; E. Collins, 5s.

**"HANDS OFF RUSSIA."**

## DEMONSTRATION IN VICTORIA PARK.

On SUNDAY, AUGUST 22nd, at 4 p.m.

Procession from East India Dock Gates at 3 p.m. Organisations are asked to bring their bands and banners. Well-known Trade Union and Socialist Speakers. For full list, see next week's *Dreadnought*.

**LONDON MEETING.**

**LEYTON.**

**"Why I Joined the Communist Party."**

**SPEAKER:** EX-COLONEL MALONE, M.P.

To be held in the Town Hall, Leyton, On Sunday, August 15th, at 7 p.m.

Admission Free. No Tickets Required.

**THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT**

Can be obtained from the following Newsagents:—MITFORD, Enston Road.

COPPING, 9, Penton Street, Pentonville Road.  
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THOMAS, 414, Caledonian Road, N.  
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OWEN, 135, Copenhagen Street, N.  
PAYTON, 186, Caledonian Road, N.  
BINEY, 129, Caledonian Road, N.  
COPPING, 9, Penton Street, Pentonville Road, N.  
FARRINGTON ROAD BOOKSHOP, 123, Farrington Road, E.C.

FELLERMAN, 311, St. John Street, E.C.  
COMPTON, 93, Commercial Road, Peckham.  
WREN, Evelina Road, Nunhead Lane.  
TOLEMAN, 54, Battersea Rise.  
O'ROURKE, 53, Orville Road, High Street, Battersea.

ROGERS, 34, Museum Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.  
BANKS, 1, Carmarthen Street, Caunton, Cardiff.

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## 1,000 GUARANTORS WANTED.

Funds are absolutely essential for our present needs and for the proper organisation of our September Conference.

You can help the Party with ideas; you can help by organising local branches; you can help in various other ways.

This, however, is an appeal for money.

The Organising Council asks for 1,000 Comrades, each of whom will guarantee to contribute ONE SHILLING per week for three months to the organising fund.

Do not delay the matter, but send in your name now, with as many shillings as you can spare, in advance, in order that the Party that stands for clear-cut Communism may be placed on a solid foundation. He gives twice who gives quickly.

For the Provisional Organising Council,

PERCY WALLIS, Treas.  
18, Angel Road, Hammersmith,  
London, W.6.

## AN OPEN TRIBUNE.

Dear Comrade,—Comrade Lenin draws from the present position in England several wrong conclusions. First: He thinks because it was necessary for Russian workers to experience a Kerensky régime before being ready for the Bolshevik position, it is also necessary for English workers to go through a similar political education. But does not Comrade Lenin overlook the fact that the English worker has had before him for nearly three years the Russian Revolution? The average English worker, whether class-conscious or not, expects from all he has heard of Russia, that a change from the present régime is bound to be towards Communism. In the workshop and outside one always hears "There's bound to be a Revolution." Those who are most opposed to Revolution expect it; whenever there is discontent over cost of living or unemployment, one never hears "We want a Labour Government," but "We want a bloody good revolution." Candidly, this is my real experience—"We want a bloody good revolution" is the form discontent always expresses itself in.

Secondly: I seriously doubt if a Henderson-Snowden débacle would bring a reaction towards Communism. In England it would, with equal if not greater possibility, tend to create a reaction towards the opposite. Comrade Lenin should remember that the Russian proletariat had not its Bottomleys, British Empire Unionists and Reconstructionists to turn to.

In my opinion, given a Labour Party Government, there would be a reaction towards the Labour and Capital hand-in-hand stunt; then, perhaps, Communism.

But, considering the possibility of an early revolutionary crisis, and the experience and lessons of the Russian Revolution that the English worker has had, I think the "evolutionary" steps to Communism may be jumped in England.

Coventry,

H. W. EMERY.