

Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

VANTUS AND HAUBRICH.

By BELA KUN.

So be it! Better to break than to tolerate the confusion which hinders the ideal, the theoretical revolutionary growth.

It is better to perish than to tolerate and condone mediocrity and irresolution.

LENIN.

We know that what we are about to say will arouse the bitter resentment of those, who, hide-bound in their middle-class prejudices, are incapable of ever becoming true revolutionaries. It will enrage the revolutionary defeatists, whose fickleness and instability leads them to perpetual moralising, and whose petty dilettantism betrays itself in constant vacillation. No doubt they will say that it is easy to talk boldly from a safe distance. Let them.

They will launch their fiery denunciations at our heads. Let them. Denunciations have become their daily bread. They will accuse us of attacking men who are helpers in Horthy's power. Let them. It is part of their aimless demagoguery to do so.

What we are about to say must be said. It must be said, because we must make good our own errors. We have to make good what we lost through sentimental weakness, and through miscalculation. We have to make reparation for having only vaguely warned, and not sufficiently impressed upon the proletarian masses, that among their leaders, were men who were sabotaging their cause; who, from malevolent intention, or from weakness and inconstancy, were supporting the counter-revolution, and betraying the power of the workers. We must make reparation, or at least do penance for the sin of having tolerated men, who gave the impression that they were leading the march of revolution, when, in reality, they were limping in the rear; men, who by their evil example and counter-revolutionary conduct, were tripping up and opposing the onrush of revolution. By delaying to speak, we should become their accomplices.

Crime to Tolerate Revolutionaries.

We shall shock the senile dodderers; the morphia-slaves and the degenerates who, plagued with an evil conscience, and who can never come to any resolute decision, will be outraged. They will say we are aiding Horthy and his gang in their hangman's work. Nevertheless, we must speak—it is our duty as revolutionary Communists. If what the bourgeois press is telling the world about the utterances of these two former Peoples' Commissaries corresponds with the truth—and from our experiences of the Dictatorship, we know that it does—we must guiltily acknowledge that it was a crime to have tolerated them in our ranks, and above all to have tolerated them in the ranks of the Communists. The sin is ours, we must acknowledge it, and we shall have to labour long in the cause of the proletarian revolution before that sin is expiated.

We shall be told that it is easy to talk from the security of a foreign country, and that those who sought safety in flight have no right to question the courage of others. These admonitions do not perturb us. Our conscience is clear. Nevertheless, all our sympathy—our active sympathy, as far as it lies in our power—is with the revolutionary proletarians, who are languishing in Horthy's dungeons, planning how best to escape the gallows and their ruthless inquisitors. When the Dictatorship fell, we fled from Hungary, refusing to allow

ourselves to be imprisoned by Piel's government, which incarcerated Otto Korvin and so many of our martyred brothers. Every proletarian knows that by fleeing the country, we are not renouncing or betraying the revolution. They fled—or stayed at home—so that they might sell the Bolshevik cause to which they had professed allegiance; so that they might call those who had fulfilled their revolutionary task *Red hangmen*; so that they might sell the skin of the working-class to the bourgeoisie—who, nevertheless, acquired it, not by purchase, but by armed violence, rejecting the aid of these social democratic accomplices.

Flight Not Cowardice.

In itself, flight is not cowardice; nor is it heroism to remain at home. The test is *why* one fled, or *why* one stayed at home. Was it to labour for the revolution and the emancipation of the workers, or to betray the revolution and the workers. Still further. Did he do it in the expectation that by staying at home he could go on working for the emancipation of the working-class, or to protect himself—that is the vital question—or to take service with the bourgeoisie?

Those who are labouring for the revival of the revolution and for the re-establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the only means of emancipation, the workers can safely affirm that the two men whose names form the title of this article, and who formerly figured amongst the fighters in the ranks of the working-class, must from henceforward be counted with the betrayers of the working-class. They are the Communist Vantus, and the Social-Democrat Haubrich. We do not wish to harm them through these lines. We cannot thus damage them in the eyes of Horthy's judges more than they have damaged themselves by their own declarations, in which they confessed to sabotage of the Dictatorship and to counter-revolutionary activities.

It would be sheer stupidity to expect a Communist, even the most heroic, to make his defence before his executioners an occasion for Communist propaganda, unless he had abandoned all hope. The virtue of consistent veracity becomes a criminal folly in the face of the declared enemy.

It may sound paradoxical, but these two men are to be counted betrayers of the working-class just because they did tell the truth while on their trial before Horthy's judges. They stated that they had sabotaged the proletarian revolution even in the days before the Dictatorship of the workers, by their intemperate habits, by slackness and indolence, by bad example, and total neglect of their duties. They were telling the truth when they asserted that they had accepted important posts in the Proletarian State, without conviction or enthusiasm, at a time when the conscientious execution of duty was a matter of life or death for the working-class. They accepted these posts, not from conviction, not because they felt they possessed superior political gifts, not from mistaken, but, nevertheless, honest intentions, but—why?

One of them publicly acknowledged that he had participated in the counter-revolution, which during the Dictatorship, as well as afterwards, was responsible for the lives of many heroic proletarians.

They are prepared to bring witnesses to prove their betrayal, and they will succeed.

This corroborates Haubrich's assertion, that

the reason why he did not flee after the fall of the Dictatorship, was because he did not feel in any way guilty. We, who fled because we did feel guilty towards the bourgeoisie, and, far from being repentant, were planning to add to our guilt the fresh offence of a new revolution, we ourselves, can stand witness on their behalf, and affirm that they are not guilty in the eyes of the tribunal which is preparing to send them to the gallows.

What is the White Terror?

That these men too should stand in fear—and justifiable fear—of death before their judges, reveals the true character and full significance of the White Terror. It proves that the White Terror is a *White Terror*. It proves that the White Terror aims at destroying, not merely the members of the working-class movement, who actively offended against the murderous capitalist régime, but the working-class in general, even those whose participation in the Revolution was of positive advantage to the bourgeoisie. That is why the White Terror is a *White Terror*. The feature, among others, which distinguished the White Terror from the Red, was that the working-class was magnanimous, and always will be magnanimous. They showed the bourgeoisie unlimited mercy; the Red Terror was extended only to those who sought deliberately, and by force of arms, to damage the supremacy and the future of the working-class.

The White Terror, the Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, will only permit so much of the working-class to live as is necessary for the continuance and security of its own parasitic existence.

We write this, to make reparation for our grievous offence, the offence of having, both before and during the Dictatorship, permitted the responsible posts of the Revolution to be filled by men, who, consciously or unconsciously, served the enemies of the proletariat, who, deliberately or from dereliction of duty, made it easy for the bourgeois counter-revolution to shed torrents of proletarian blood.

We write in the full conviction that we are not damaging these men in the eyes of Horthy's hangmen. We would willingly save them from their hands and preserve them until the time of a successful revolution, and then put them on their trial before the revolutionary tribunal of the triumphant proletariat.

INCREASED POSTAGE:

We regret to announce to our subscribers that owing to the increase in the postal rates, the subscription to the *Dreadnought* will be raised to 2s. 9d. a quarter, 5s. 5d. for six months, and 10s. 10d. for a year.

WELSH SUPPLEMENT POSTPONED.

Owing to unforeseen circumstances, the Welsh Supplement has had to be postponed.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA DEMONSTRATION.

IN

VICTORIA PARK.

POSTPONED.

3080 INTERNATIONAL BRANCH, COMMUNIST PARTY, MEETS EVERY WEDNESDAY, AT 9 P.M. PROMPT, AT 58, OLD COMPTON STREET, 3080, W.

Intending Members and Sympathisers Invited.

COMMUNAL PROVISIONING IN RUSSIA.

FREE FOOD FOR CHILDREN.

Immediately after the first realisation of the principles of the October Revolution, energetic measures were taken for the solution of the problem of the socialisation of popular provisioning at Petrograd. This problem each month acquired an increasingly greater importance, in view of the food crisis, which became steadily worse.

Under the pressure of circumstances, the solution of this problem proceeded so speedily that as early as the 1st of July, 1919, the working population of the Commune of Petrograd, more than a million in number, commenced to be fed by a single food commune. The infantile population had been, for more than a month, fed altogether without cost.

The advantages of communal provisioning, compared to individual provisioning in the home, are so evident as regards the economy of fuel effected in this fashion, the economy of products and of labour, and thus the diminution of the price of foods, that from the first moment of the appearance of the food crisis, communal food organisations began to arise as if created by the forces of nature.

Towards the beginning of the month of December, 1918, the number of refectories under the jurisdiction of the Central Section of Communal Provisioning of the Commissariat of Provisions of the Commune of Petrograd, reached fifty-seven, the general number of consumers was about 108,578, and that of the personnel was about 4,011.

Parallel to the refectories dependent upon the centre, communal refectories of another type were operating, such as the section refectories and the refectories near various institutions.

Increased Communal Consumers.

In view of the continuation of the critical state of provisioning, the number of consumers in the communal refectories naturally increased a great deal. Considering this circumstance, the Commissariat of Provisioning took energetic measures for the proper operation of communal provisioning. The Commissariat attracted to an active participation in this work, on the basis of autonomy, principally the workers of the union of popular provisioning, the workers of the syndicates of employees of provisioning, the organisers of factories and shops, and the workers taken from the large masses of proletarian workers.

Thanks to these measures, an increase in the number of refectories and consumers was observed in the first half of the year 1919.

Parallel to the central refectories, there arose spontaneously in different quarters of the city, various organisations for communal provisioning, of lesser size. These organisations were under the jurisdiction of the Provisioning Committees of the districts and were calculated for a special number of consumers united by the place of their service, their work, or their occupations. The organisations mentioned served a relatively limited number of consumers who had attached themselves to them.

Simultaneously with the sectional refectories a great number of refectories operated, which were closed to general consumption, as well as provisioning stations near institutions, as: hospitals, asylums, prisons, refuges, schools, etc., where the provisioning proceeded by lists. All these stations reached in the month of August, 1919, the number of 550.

If one calculates the number of refectories of all kinds which operated at the moment when the whole population of Petrograd began to receive communal provisioning, one arrives at the important number of 679 refectories with 480,423 consumers.

Rapid Organisation.

This reform, realised the 1st of July, was effected very rapidly and energetically, despite the enormous difficulties encountered in the course of this realisation, because of the necessity of promptly increasing the capacity of the refectories to meet the increased needs.

From the moment of this reform, the need naturally arose to concentrate the number of consumers in separate refectories with the purpose of economising products and fuel. This resulted in a subsequent increase in the number of central refectories, among which arose several refectories of another type.

In the month of July, 1919, in keeping with the introduction of communal provisioning of the whole population, a very marked increase was observed in the number of consumers receiving provisions by card. The number of consumers rose to 825,363. In this manner almost the whole population of Petrograd was fed by the food commune and of ten persons an average of two children were fed without cost.

Simultaneously, a concentration of the food stations was effected, by the increase in the capacity of the best-provided refectories and the decrease in the number of the refectories having few consumers.

These results were attained in the course of but one year, and under conditions very unfavourable to the development of communal provisioning; these conditions became especially difficult in the month of July, at the very moment of the realisation of communal provisioning for the whole population.

FEEDING OF CHILDREN.

Solicitude for the children is always one of the principal problems of the Soviet power, and it marked with red ink all the enterprises of the latter. Free feeding of the children, realised from the beginning of the month of May, 1919, represents one of the gigantic historic events which mark the world progress of the general unique proletarian commune.

The decree for free infant feeding, promulgated on the 17th of May of last year, declared that all food products distributed to children by the local food organs, with the exception of the food shops, as well as the public refectories, must thereafter be furnished free, at the cost of the State.

All the feeding organs were to distribute food products primarily to children. The right to free food was granted to all children, independently of the class ration received by their parents.

The right to infantile feeding was established primarily for infants, it was then extended to children under fourteen years, and later to all children to the age of fifteen years inclusive.

This right proclaimed also one of the most important principles of the new life: all children are children of the Socialist State. The important and the historic rôle in the work of the organisation of the Soviet Republic, of the decree regarding infant feeding, obliging the Section of Feeding of the Commissariat of Provisioning of Petrograd to take all effective measures for its realisation—are evident.

For all that has just been mentioned, the Council of Direction of the Commissariat of Provisioning of Petrograd issued a detailed order for the distribution of dinners to children, anticipating a whole series of prescriptions concerning the hygienic phase of the preparation of the dinners, the possible variety in the preparation of the dishes, and the general attitude to be taken towards the children.

In practice, the realisation of the decree for free feeding of children in Petrograd was brought about very rapidly. Towards the 16th of June, that is, no less than one month after the promulgation of the decree, eighty per cent. of all the children from one to three years of age enjoyed free feeding in the communal refectories. It is almost exclusively women who direct the children's refectories; they bring to this work much gentleness and cordiality; the refectories are often decorated with flowers and greens, and are distinguished by perfect order. In the course of these few months, the children have become accustomed to their refectories, they love them, and to frequent them has become for them a necessity. The work of infantile feeding in the institutions is not limited to the distribution to the children by the Sectional Communal Feeding of food products according to established rations: a bond is established with the Commissariats of Public Assistance and of Public Instruction. This bond had a very special importance in the summer for the organisation of infant colonies, playgrounds, and excursion stations for children. The representatives of the institutions participate in the meetings of the communes; the preliminary lists of distribution and the menus are sent to them; for the control of the products dispensed, special persons are sent by the Section, etc.

DÉTACHMENTS OF PROPAGANDA FOR FEEDING, ORGANISED BY THE COMMUNE OF PETROGRAD.

In the month of July, 1918, the Petrograd Soviet resolved to form among the workers of Petrograd detachments to list and secure the results of the harvest. A difficult task then fell to the Soviet power. The state of provisioning in Petrograd became disastrous. Several times telegrams were sent to the places of harvest, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, with a prayer to increase to the maximum the shipments of food products for the famished northern centre. But that was unavailing. A certain measure had to be taken, very simple, but effective, a measure of internal organisation of the masses. This measure was the creation of detachments of conscious workers of Petrograd who went to the villages of the Red north to inventory and distribute in a just manner the small amount of food products to be found in the Northern provinces, as well as the little excess which might be found in separate places. In the month of August, these detachments, under the general direction of their creator, Comrade Badaiev, set out for the provinces, dividing themselves into organised groups, assigned to various provinces, districts, cantons, villages, communes, and hamlets. The workers of Petrograd were for the most part Communists. There has been described before the enormous work of organisation of the party, the work of construction and cultivation which fell to the workers of Petrograd, and which was, for the greater part, accomplished by them. Committees of the poor were created in the provinces by hundreds and thousands. It was the period when, by the iron will of the revolution, division of the peasant class took place in the north, separating it into two groups: that of the poor peasants, and that of the well-to-do peasants. History decided that an important part of this work should fall to the workers' detachments of Petrograd, sent to list and secure the results of the harvest.

In the late autumn, after the harvesting in all the provinces of the north, in the districts, the

cantons, the communes and villages, and after tens of thousands of pages of investigation were collected with exact figures, then only did the chiefs of the detachments of the cantons, the districts and provinces permit their detachments to return to Petrograd.

Inventories of Crops.

Those who took part in this campaign without precedent in the whole world, in its conception and its revolutionary character, assembled at Red Petrograd with their materials, their figures relating to their work, with interesting reports, a great acquired experience and revolutionary impressions.

The inventory of the crops and the realisation of the harvests were accomplished, and, incidentally, the organisation of the masses of the Red North was effected.

The surplus found in separate districts was sent to the places harassed by famine.

The reserves which could be divided between the cantons and villages, were distributed in small quantities, but with perfect equity.

The different committees of provisioning began to operate more spiritedly and energetically.

Then these detachments under their organiser, Comrade Badaiev, set out for the provinces of Viatka, Ufa and others. From the province of Viatka alone there were exported, according to the report of the Commissariat of Provisioning, as many as 8,000,000 poods of wheat.

A considerable quantity of wheat was exported from the Government of Ufa, etc.

Here the detachments, called Detachments of Propaganda for Provisioning, worked not only to make an inventory of the crops, but principally to prepare reserves of grain.

In the spring of the year 1919, the detachments, after their stay at Petrograd, with renewed spirit, and reinforced by hundreds of fresh communists, were sent to work: some in the Ukraine, some in the Don district. After a slight interruption in their work caused by the retreat of the Red troops, the detachments of provisioning propaganda of Petrograd were sent again to the provinces of Ufa, Viatka, Samara, Saratov, and to Siberia.

These detachments were again reinforced at Petrograd before being sent to solve new problems of provisioning. After the arrival at the places, as before, these detachments have their provincial general staffs supported by chiefs of districts, cantons and villages. They are scattered through every province, and, as before, there is going on without interruption, a work of organisation and reserve of the grain supply.

—From Soviet Russia, New York.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES.

Comrade Fred Tyler reports good meetings at Luton, Northampton, and small towns on the route. He has now reached Coventry, having covered 115 miles on foot in the first week of his tour. His route ahead is through Rugby, Leicester, and on to the Yorkshire towns, striking west in time for the Manchester Conference. To win adherents to Communism, and to the principles of Sovietism—to establish small groups of Communists in every centre, this missionary work of our comrades is invaluable.

Coventry for Communism.

Comrade B. Bishop reports splendid meetings from Coventry, where he has spent the last week. Sunday's meeting was a great rally, with the collection 27s. and literature sales 7s. On Monday, the Market Square was held against opposition from rival meetings of the People's League and Comrades of the Great War. The latter party, after talking to the desert air, soon packed up, and the former gathered a crowd of ten persons against the Communist platform of two or three hundred, who, on the close of the Communist meeting, went across and tackled the People's League on the increased production and miners' strike stunts they were running. Their meeting soon closed down with three hearty cheers for the miners and the singing of "The Red Flag." Comrade Bishop reports increasing unemployment, men being sacked by the hundred, and that Coventry is ready for anything.

QUAKERS AND THE IRISH PEOPLE.

[The following message to the people of Ireland has been issued by the All Friends' Conference, attended by over a thousand Quaker delegates from all parts of the world, which has been meeting in London during the past ten days. It is being translated into the Irish language.]

"This international Conference of members of the Society of Friends, gathered from all parts of the world, has been deeply moved by the present tragic situation in Ireland. Our hearts go out in prayer and sympathy for the Irish people, both North and South, in this time of trial.

"Without entering into the political issues involved, we desire to express our conviction that the withdrawal of all coercion and violence against Ireland, or against any part of Ireland, and the cessation of acts of violence by all sections of the Irish people are essential, if a lasting reconciliation with Britain and Ireland and between the peoples of Great Britain and Ireland, is to be secured. We believe such a reconciliation to be an urgent need, not only for the peoples of these two countries but for the world as a whole."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Russian Efforts for Peace with Poland.

At the end of 1918, the Soviet Government proposed to the Government of Moraczewski to start peace negotiations at once. Poland replied by assassinating some of the members of the Russian Red Cross Mission, which returned to Russia. In spite of this, Russia did not cease to make overtures for peace with Poland. It even seemed as if Paderewski's Government wanted peace, Alexander Wiechowski, having been sent to Moscow by the Polish Government, as plenipotentiary of the Polish Red Cross. The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherin, made him the following proposal:—"The questions relating to the prisoners of war can be settled quite easily, but we suggest that you sit at this table now and negotiate on all the questions concerning Russia and Poland. I can assure you in the name of the Soviet Government, that there is not a single point over which to shed blood. As to commercial relations, we shall come to terms easily; on territorial questions we will consult the populations, that is to say that the inhabitants of the districts under dispute will decide by a plebiscite whether they shall belong to Poland or Russia." Wiechowski assured him that the Polish Government would consider all he had said.

Renewed Peace Offer.

On December 22nd, 1919, the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs once more proposed (by wireless) to the Pilsudski Government to start peace negotiations. Replying to the declaration in the Diet by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Skwarczynski, that the Soviet Government had made no peace proposal to us, Tchitcherin sent a wireless message to all, in which he declared to the whole world:—"We have proposed peace to Poland several times and we repeat for the twelfth or fifteenth time: 'We recognise the independence of Poland, we do not intend to attack her, we propose to conclude an immediate armistice, and to start peace negotiations at once.'" No answer was received.

A Month Later.

On January 28th, 1920, that is to say a month later, the Soviet Government sent a wireless note to Warsaw, signed by the President of the Soviets, Lenin, the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherin, and the People's Commissary for War, Trotsky. In this note the Soviet Government declares: "Poland is on the eve of a grave decision between peace and war. Before allowing yourself to be dragged into war, consider it well. What do you want? The independence of Poland? We recognise it. Perhaps you fear that we wish to overthrow the bourgeois government in Warsaw? No, we will not meddle with the internal affairs of Poland. It is the Polish working-class population which will overthrow you in due course. You have occupied foreign countries: White Russia, Lithuania, Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, and you fear that we shall take these countries from you? We declare that we can come to an agreement on this point, because the Russian people are urgently in need of peace, an indispensable condition to a sincere and strenuous labour to restore its economic life. Perhaps you fear that we shall negotiate to your detriment with the German Government? We openly declare that we have not concluded, either with the German Government or with any other government, any treaties against Poland. We propose to you an immediate armistice in order to commence peace negotiations at once." Russia received no reply to this Note.

On February 2nd, the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress, the highest authority in Russia, met. It confirmed the Note sent to the Polish Government, and issued an appeal for peace to the Polish people.

Reply from Poland.

It was not until March 27th that a wireless from Warsaw reached Moscow, ordering Russia to send delegates to Borysov within ten days. Russia replied: We propose first of all an armistice on the whole front. Even if the Polish Government agrees that we shall be able to conclude peace, of what use is it to shed blood needlessly? The Polish Government would not consider an armistice. Therefore the Soviet Government gave way on this point; but it would not negotiate at Borysov, as that town is situated at the front. Instead of Borysov, it proposed Moscow, Petrograd, Warsaw, or even Esthonia, London, or Paris. In the night of April 2nd, the Soviets proposed Brest-Litovsk or Grodno, but they could not accept anywhere at the front, as, in case the negotiations failed, they wished to have full liberty of action for their strategic disposition. Then the Polish Government answered curtly: "We have mentioned Borysov as the place for the peace negotiations, and therefore for the armistice, and we shall fight where we please." It must be mentioned that the Soviet army was most strongly concentrated in the Borysov district. Therefore the staff of the Polish army wished, in case of an offensive on its part, which, it was evident, had already been fully decided upon, to cover this section of the front. Russia then appealed to the Paris and London Governments, but in vain! Stony silence. Immediately afterwards Poland started the offensive and occupied Kiev.

—Korespondencja Polska.

POLES STOP PRESS REPRESENTATIVES.

On August 22nd, according to the Polish paper *Naprzod*, the Press representatives who ought to have been present at the Minsk Conference, as a result of various machinations of the Polish Government, have not yet reached Minsk from Warsaw. They arrived at Miedzyrzeczka, which they were unable to leave owing to the lack of necessary transport. It was not until the British Government placed a motor-car at their disposal, that the British and American Press representatives could proceed. The cause of the delay lies in the fact that the Polish Government has an interest in keeping the foreign Press representatives away from the negotiations in Minsk.

MINSK NEGOTIATIONS.

Moscow, August 22nd.—At the end of the second sitting of the Peace Conference, the President of the Russian Delegation, Danischewski, declared that the Ukraine represented an independent Republic, which was in alliance with Russia, and he proposed that the Polish Delegation should ask for a mandate from the Polish Government for peace negotiations with the Ukraine.—(Rosta Wien.)

IN WRANGEL'S REAR.

News comes from the Crimea that the population remain hostile to Wrangel's troops. Even the appearance of the Whites fills the inhabitants with fear. The ordered mobilisation has failed, despite the wholesale hanging of the peasants.—(Rosta Wien.)

NEUTRALITY OF UPPER SILESIAN TROOPS.

Naprzod, August 23rd, reports that on Friday a passenger train reached Cracow under strong military protection, with about 1,200 deserters who had been arrested in Upper Silesia by the French Army of Occupation and the German Security Police. They were being sent to Poland. The deserters will be tried by a special Commission which has arrived from Warsaw, and, according to military law, the majority of the deserters will be shot.

ITALIAN RECOGNITION OF SOVIETS.

Despite the repeated declarations of Nitti and Giolitti in the Chamber of Deputies, political and trade relations with Soviet Russia have not been resumed. The Socialists now see the futility of trusting to Parliament, and other action to enforce the recognition of the Soviets may be expected.

PROLETARIAN CULTURE.

At the Second Congress of the Communist International, the Provisional International Bureau for Proletarian Culture was organised. The Executive Committee consists of seven members, with Lunatcharski as President. The members are: Polianski for Russia; MacLean for England; Lefevre for France; Herzog for Germany; Bombacci for Italy; and Humbert Droz for Switzerland. The aim of the Bureau is to spread the principles of proletarian culture, to raise the proletarian culture in all countries, and to make preparations for a universal congress. An appeal to the workers in all lands was drafted, urging them to arrange for national conferences on this subject.

GERMAN WORKERS ALERT.

In Germany the anti-Polish feeling is showing itself by the refusal of the workers to transport munitions and men to Poland. A climax was reached when a train of 28 trucks was held up at Stettiner Station, in Berlin. It contained mine-throwers, hand-grenades, small arm ammunition, boots, and uniforms. The trucks were uncoupled and distributed over various tracks, where each one was guarded by a few railwaymen. The Government then gave an assurance that the material was not meant for Poland but for the East Prussian Security Police. The railwaymen's representatives replied that they did not believe the Government, but even if what the Government had said was true, the Peace Treaty forbade the Security Police to have mine-throwers, and the trucks would therefore not be allowed to proceed.

Workers Win.

An agreement was reached, and the train was allowed to proceed minus the mine-throwers and hand-grenades. No trains carrying war material are henceforth allowed to travel without a permit from a special committee on which both the Ministry for War and organised Labour are represented.

The two Socialist Parties, the Amalgamated Trades Unions, Railwaymen's Union, Transport Union and the Chief Industrial Council of the Railways published a joint manifesto, urging Labour to prevent munitions from reaching not only the Poles but also German counter-revolutionary organisations like the Civil Guard. Committees of workmen are being formed to watch the line and hold up all doubtful trains.

This infringement of State sovereignty is condemned by the papers of the Right; for instance, the conservative *Deutsche Tageszeitung* writes: "For nearly a week a group of workmen has been permitted to paralyse the power of the German State. The Government is made to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world, and the authority of the law is completely undermined."

We would recommend the above to the special attention of the British Communists and organised workers.

EDUCATED RUSSIAN, thorough knowledge of Russian, French, German and English, seeks FULL or PART TIME EMPLOYMENT; experienced organiser and translator; gives lessons. — For terms, apply to Box 75.

International Young Communists' Day.

To the Communist Parties and Workers' Organisations of all Countries.

September 5th, 1920, is the International Young People's Day. On this day the International Young Communists and all their national sections will march through the streets of all the European towns, and demonstrate for the Communist International and for the triumph of the World Revolution. Just as hitherto, during the imperialist world-war, so now, the young proletarians of all countries will testify their adherence to Communist ideas.

The issue of the fight for the Soviets, their defence and Communist development, largely depends upon the Communist organisation of the rising generation of proletarians. The proletarian youth shows its determination in its revolutionary manifestations, and prepares for the decisive struggle for Communism. Therefore the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls upon all Communist Parties and revolutionary workers' organisations to devote themselves with all zeal and attention towards this new activity of the proletarian youth. On September 5th the Parties must help the Young Communists as far as they can with speakers, through their Press, etc. The Communist Parties should try to increase the importance of the International Young Communists' Day by their united intellectual support and by the participation of all their members in the Young Internationals' Day.—Executive Committee of the Communist International, Petrograd, 20th August, 1920.

DUTCH YOUNG COMMUNISTS.

In the *Workers' Dreadnought* of August 7th the position of the Dutch Communist Youth Movement is not well described. In Holland the party of Troelstra has, together with the reformist Trade Unions (N.V.V.), a reformist Young Socialist Movement, which closely resembles the German *Zentrale der Arbeitenden Jugend*, of Ebert, and has the same name (*Arbeiders Jeugd. Centrale*). It is quite petty-bourgeois. Quite independent of this organisation, we have the autonomous Communist Youth organisation, "De Zaaijer," which is in close contact with the Communist Party of Wynkoop, van Ravesteijn, Roland Holst, Gorter, Rutgers, etc. Its monthly organ is "De Jonge Communist" (The Young Communist), which, before the Congress of Utrecht, in May, 1920, was called "De Jonge Socialist" (The Young Socialist), with a circulation of between 2,000 and 4,000 copies. It is an active group of 300 young Communists.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

On August 26th, the Secretary of State issued a proclamation declaring Woman Suffrage to be established as the 19th Amendment to the Federal Constitution. After their long and strenuous fight for this reform, the American women will probably soon find, as their English sisters have already done, that it is useless.

AFGHAN TROOPS WANT SOVIETS.

A mutiny of the Northern Afghan garrisons has taken place at Maimara and Nazar-i-Sharif, and the troops demand the establishment of Soldiers' Councils on the Russian plan.

UNEMPLOYED IN NEW YORK.

Three of the largest clothing factories in New York have closed down. The failure is due to over-production in the garment industry, the slump in sales, and the impossibility of paying dividends and keeping to the trade union rate of wages. Over 40,000 workers have been thrown out of work.

DISCIPLINE IN THE I.W.W.

The Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World has expelled its Philadelphia Branch, M.T.W. No. 8, because the longshoremen in it loaded shrapnel shells consigned to Wrangel. It issued a supplement to the "Fellow Worker," from which we take the following extracts:—

"The I.W.W. views the accomplishment of the Soviet Government of Russia with breathless interest and intense admiration. Workers who load munitions of war at the behest of any Capitalist Government to help defeat any working-class revolution, are guilty of high treason to their class. The I.W.W. has stood for unqualified industrial solidarity to defeat such ignoble ends, and it stands for it now. The organisation would rather face death and dismemberment than stand the disgrace of having its members render any assistance in keeping its workers enslaved to the Moloch of Capitalism."

"The I.W.W. has always expelled members who were not true to the basic principles of the World Revolution; we would expel members for aid in the overthrow of a working-class government of Russia."

"The organisation was designed to make it impossible for one group of workers to be used against another group in the great struggle of the Classes."

"The I.W.W. has stood the brunt of the fury of Master-Class hatred in America. More of our members have been imprisoned, murdered and brutalised than all other revolutionary organisations combined. The reason is that we stand and have always stood for the use of militant Direct Action to overthrow the dictatorship of the Capitalist Class."

For three days the town of Leutini (Italy) was ruled by a Soviet organisation. During this time all the capitalist papers were burned.

When you have finished with this copy of the "Dreadnought," PLEASE PASS IT ON to a friend.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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BREAD PRICES.

The Government has decided to give the public the benefit of the present price of the loaf until the stocks of flour in the hands of retailers have been exhausted, so that the extra 3d. will not be added to the price of the loaf till four weeks after the increase. The present cost of living is so unbearably high, that 3d. more or less does not really matter. In the poorer districts, where unemployment is already rife, and the housewife has no reserve to fall back upon, she is already following the Government's example, and living on credit. But her credit will soon be exhausted, and then what will happen? She will not be content to starve at the behest of the Government; she has lost all faith in Parliament, and she has no other alternative but to have recourse to direct action, and that means revolution.

In Russia, the cry was, bread, peace, land, and history will repeat itself. But in this country, as in the French Revolution, it will be the women who will take the lead, and Heaven help those who are faced by infuriated women!

LABOUR UNREST.

The labour unrest in this country is spreading. An almost universal strike of harvesters is taking place in the Holderness area of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and has already spread to the West Riding. The men demand 46 a week. The printers, who are asking for 10s. increase, are out in Liverpool and Manchester, on a lightning strike. The miners have voted in favour of a strike. The electrical workers have been served with lock-out notices, which expire on Saturday. The road transport workers, who are asking for 44 7s. a week, have given the Transport Workers' Federation a mandate to call a strike. There are also many other smaller strikes. So we shall go on trying to obtain enough on which to exist, instead of tackling the matter at the root, and overthrowing the whole system and substituting for it one under which poverty will be abolished and everyone will be assured enough to live on.

Bishop Welldon, speaking at Cardiff against the miners' strike, said:

"If arbitration is the proper means of settling disputes among nations, it must be the proper means among classes too. If the hope of civilisation lies in the League of Nations, is there no hope, no need of a League of Classes?"

If civilisation depends upon the League of Nations, there is no hope for it, any more than there is any hope for the workers in a league of classes. Classes must be abolished, and we must all become workers. Communism is the only hope of the future, both for civilisation and the whole of humanity.

TRADE UNION BLACKLEGS.

A crisis has arisen in the printing trade in Manchester and Liverpool, these two branches of the Typographical Association having gone on strike in defiance to the decision of their Executive. Newspapers in these two towns have come to a standstill, with the exception of a few where the employers have granted the increase. Other matter for print has come to London shops to be executed, and is being done by L.S.C. members.

Harrison and Sons, Printers in Ordinary to His Majesty, have undertaken, with the consent of the London Society of Compositors, to print the weekly edition of the *Manchester Guardian*. It is rumoured that the men have been told that if they refuse they will be dismissed from the Union, and lose strike pay and all benefits. Although the Manchester and Liverpool men have struck without their Union's sanction, that is no reason why the Union should force their fellow-unionists to blackleg. Surely the solidarity of the men will be sufficient to bring their leaders to book or to turn them out, if this rumour is true.

It might be mentioned that the £14-a-week Secretary of the London Society of Compositors has recently been touring Canada for the good of his health, after having advised the members to accept their recent award "as an instalment of what was due," a similar decision of the Typographical Association having caused the present dispute at Manchester and Liverpool.

WHO ARE THE CRIMINALS?

The Labour News Service condemns the "criminal folly" of the Government's action in refusing to release the Lord Mayor of Cork, who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment by a Court-martial under D.O.R.A., but there is no suggestion that the Labour leaders intend to do anything but follow in the steps of the Government they condemn, though they have the power to put machinery into action at once, which would save Terence MacSwiney's life. Is it the red tape of constitutional and Parliamentary action which binds them, or fear of their own power?

SCIENCE FOR CAPITALISM.

Professor Karl Pearson, speaking at the British Association on Anthropology, deprecated the present system. He says: "The pulse-tracing, the reaction-time, the mental age of the men under his control are far more important to the commanding officer—nay, I will add, to the employer of labour—than any record of span, of head-measurement, or pigmentation categories." Once again, scientists only consider the interests of the capitalist class and how they may help to turn out efficient soldiers and workers for their benefit.

INCONSISTENCY OF THE "TIMES."

The *Times* of August 26th, publishes an article by a correspondent eulogising the Cossacks as the "Saviours of Russia." When we remember the campaign conducted by the *Times* against the Bolsheviks for their alleged nationalisation of women, it seems strange that it should be upholding the Cossacks, who, according to their correspondent, "in their treatment of women-folk, are quite Oriental and pagan."

RUSSIAN SITUATION IMPROVING.

The Polish reports of the war with Russia state that the army of the latter has been defeated all along the line and has lost 100,000 men. But from Moscow comes the news that these reports are false, and now we receive news of Russian victories. Reports reach us that large numbers of Poles are joining the Soviet army. This improvement in the Russian position will probably affect the peace negotiations, which are being delayed for a week, as the Polish delegates have gone to Warsaw to consult their Government. So far they have not accepted the Russian terms, but they have not put forward any programme of their own.

In the Crimea and Kuban, General Wrangel has been pushing forward rapidly, according to the Press accounts, but on Monday a telegram from Moscow announced that his landing forces in Kuban had been completely annihilated, his communications cut, and his headquarters destroyed. He is retreating towards the Crimea.

It is more necessary than ever that the workers should see that no arms or munitions are sent either to the Poles or to General Wrangel.

Treaty Between France and Wrangel.

The *Daily Herald* publishes the following agreement which comes from Stockholm:—

"For the promise of official recognition by France, and military and diplomatic support against the Soviet Government, General Wrangel engages himself: (1) To recognise with priority all debts due to France by the Russian State and municipalities, to be paid in compound interest.

"(2) The Soviet Government having been overthrown, France converts all Russian debts to a new loan, at a yearly interest of 6½ per cent. for 35 years, with partial yearly amortisation.

Huge Mortgages.

"(3) The paying of interests and the yearly amortisation of capital is to be guaranteed by:—

"(a) The handing over to France for exploitation of all railways of European Russia for — years.

"(b) The handing over to France of the right to draw customs and port charges at all ports on the Black and Azov Seas.

"(c) The placing at the disposal of France of the surplus of the corn of the Ukraine and Kuban districts during — years, the export before the war to be taken as the basis.

"(d) The placing at the disposal of France of three-fourths of the exported quantities of naphtha and benzine during — years, according to estimate of before the war.

"(e) The surrendering of one-fourth of the quantity of coal in the Don district during — years.

"Note: The number of years for points (a), (c), (d) and (e) to be settled by a special agreement, not yet drawn up.

To Take Effect at Once.

"Points (b), (c), and (e) take effect immediately after Wrangel's conquest of the corresponding territories. The sums obtained by the export of raw materials should be used for the payment of interest for old debts.

"(4) To the Russian financial, commercial, and industrial ministries shall be attached officials of the French financial and commercial Chancelleries, whose rights shall be settled by a special treaty.

"(5) RUSSIA ENGAGES ITSELF TO RESTORE LIABILITY TO MILITARY SERVICE UPON THE SAME BASIS AS BEFORE THE WAR.

"(6) France undertakes to restore the Russian rifle and munition factories and the primary equipping of the new army. France and Russia enter into a military offensive and defensive alliance for 20 years.

"By a secret treaty is settled the policy of France concerning the border States separated from Russia, and their mutual relations to Russia."

A TRIP TO RUSSIA.

Across the deserted quay we went in the pouring rain. Only the "duty man," a very informal customs officer in plain, every-day clothes, looked into our bags and came with us in the ferry boat to the Soviet steamer, of which we had been told.

And what a steamer! A tiny motor-boat, old and long unpainted, her deck black and greasy, scarce eight feet across. As a matter of fact, it was not a Soviet boat at all, but the property of a fisherman, who plies to and from Soviet Russia.

"You'd better have stayed in England than be going over to Russia," the customs officer told us.

We retorted: "Wouldn't you like to be going yourself?"

"I wouldn't mind if it were better weather," he answered.

And so from the low-lying Northern shore we went bounding over the waves away from Capitalism.

But the sky was grey and the wind cold. Three steps down the ladder to the tiny cabin below, with its two four-foot bunks, and its rusty stove that had never known blacking, and a strong smell of oil.

"If you're sick, it'll be bad for you."

We protested that we should not be sick, but who other than one inured to long years of the sea could have been anything else?

The boat pitched and tossed and plunged like a mad horse rearing! It was bitterly cold. The captain offered to "put some fire in her," but we groaned "No, no!" in fear that the battered old stove would fill the place with smoke.

Hours passed, hours that seemed endless. Then we found ourselves waking from sleep. The violent motion had ceased, and the noisy thud of the little engine that made the ship vibrate, as no larger craft would have done, had also stopped. There was only a slight soft motion, like the gentle rocking of a cradle. It was warm, and a sweet, comforting scent of burning wood filled the air. How we had maligned the good stove in our thoughts!

The ship had anchored. The captain told us it had been too stormy to proceed further. A passenger had to be picked up at Vaidagouba, and the waves were breaking so perilously over the shore, that one could not land there. So we had anchored beside a rocky, deserted coast to await the passing of the storm, and there we lay tranquil.

In Russian Waters at Last.

Presently the captain and mate made coffee in the old copper kettle, and fried Norwegian fish-cakes, and we breakfasted together.

Two brown-faced Finns from the shore clambered on deck, saw our captain's papers, and discussed with him the possibility of proceeding further.

They left us, and the day slipped by; we slept a little, read a little, talked a little. At eight o'clock at night the wind had somewhat fallen. Day and night are alike light at this season, in this far Northern clime. And now, to the thud, thud of the engine, and the creak and rumble of the old boat, we started off with the Red Flag flying. There was still a tremendous swell, and the great waves tossed our little craft unmercifully, and over and over again drenched the deck. The mate was often kept busy pumping.

Murmansk.

Having been stopped by the patrol boat in the Fjord, for the examination of our papers, some hours earlier, at four next afternoon, or nine in the evening by Russian time, we were nearing Murmansk, the sun high and the sky a splendid blue. Murmansk is a town two years old, built of wood. Ships of various sizes, mostly painted grey and red, lay in the harbour. A red flag or two were flying. There were railway lines along the greater part of the wide harbour, and a long line of railway carriages formed a sort of border. A few sailors watched us from the ships as we approached, some men and children watched us from the quay. Amongst the rest was a man in the khaki uniform of a British soldier. "Wearing clothes left by your people," we were told. Our captain and passengers seemed to be known to most of them, or, if they were not, at least they were all bound together by the Soviet comradeship, so there was a genial leisurely conversation at the landing.

Murmansk seemed to be a young place, brisk, vigorous, and determined to grow. Everyone had an air of happiness, hope and friendliness.

Then we went to the "Commercial Port Office," which serves also as a guest house. It is in a one-storied wooden bungalow, in which are the dwellings also of several families, opening from a long passage. The interior walls are covered with a sort of oil-cloth painted white, with clean uncovered wooden floors and electric light—a place of literature and typewriters, a place for work, with homely and informal ways. Supper of salt fish, bread, butter, and glasses of coffee, was served in one room with a desk and two typewriters. A charming girl dressed in white brought in the food, then shared it with us. Soon afterwards a curtain was drawn and that room was converted into a bedroom for one tired traveller.

The roads round about are unpaved, soft and sandy, and one sees many pigs of all sizes running about. This house is quite close to the sea, and the little

(Continued on page 7.)

ITALY TESTS HER STRENGTH.

By PAUL DE MOTT.

Paul De Mott, the writer of this article, is the American correspondent alluded to in brief newspaper dispatches this spring, as having been shot "while trying to escape" from the Junker military authorities during the Ruhr uprising, in which he was alleged to have taken part. He was said to have had on his person at the time of his capture letters to the Soviet leaders of Russia, from Pierre Monatte and other French revolutionary leaders, which are supposed to have been the evidence upon which these men were arrested during the recent railway strike in France.

Paul De Mott was 22 years old, a literary free-lance and a radical. There seems to have been no proof whatever that he was implicated in the Ruhr uprising except as an interested and enthusiastic spectator. "All the English correspondents," an American correspondent reports, "say that if he had been an Englishman the German Government would have been made to suffer. But our correspondents are so scared of the word Bolshevik that they daren't raise a protest. The fact that a man is a radical robs him of the right to protection by the American authorities, it seems."

He was arrested near Essen, on or about the date of April 4th, in the company of two radical leaders, tried by court martial and condemned to death. No executions, however, were supposed to take place without the chancellor's consent. A few days later he was shot. Exhumation showed that he had been shot through the back, and Gilbert Seldes of the "Chicago Tribune" asserts that the shot had burned the shoulder and was at close range. "Any of us," says the American correspondent above quoted, "might have been captured and shot as revolutionaries on evidence quite as convincing."

The present article is a vivid description of an incident of the general strike in Milan this spring.

I walked from the train to a hotel; the strike had started, and there was not a taxi or omnibus or street-car in sight, and only a few private cars threading their way through the thick crowds. I had barely finished dinner—the strikers permitted meals to be served—when I heard a tremendous uproar outside. There were cries of "Viva l'Internationale! Viva Soviet!" Rushing to the window while most of the other people in the dining room retired hastily to their rooms, I saw—The Rabble. The whole street was choked with people preserving a rather irregular order, all tremendously excited, shouting and waving red flags and scarfs, and here and there a huge red banner sticking out above the rest, and moving jerkily along, swept by the gusts of emotion which swayed the crowd back and forth. I fell in behind the column which numbered perhaps two thousand people, and we moved rapidly along, the tenements and houses adding their quotas as we passed, the crowd seeming to suck the houses and by-streets dry of every human being. Mothers dragged their broods, squalling and protesting. Urchins tore about excitedly. The men pressed forward eagerly, paying no attention to the women and talking quickly and tersely to their companions.

Soon we poured into an open plaza before the

Cathedral. We were hardly there when another street ejected its quota of humming, buzzing people, and then another, and another, until at last the whole great square was jammed with a huge crowd milling back and forth. The air snapped with tension, men's faces were drawn seriously and groups continually circulated—watching, watching.

A sinister trade went on about the edge of the crowd. Dozens of quiet men were passing back and forth, selling for a cent, or two, not refreshments, but good, hard, round, throwable stones. They came and went continually, emptying the baskets which they carried strapped in front of them and returning again. I felt an irresistible impulse to buy one myself, and did so; I felt better with it dragging down in my pocket and, anyway, who could tell? It was in the air.

Around the edge of the crowd, men climbed onto the walls and balconies and fastened the red banners. Speakers appeared and began to speak, seeming to create flashes and whiffs of emotion in that agitated atmosphere below, which pushed and surged through the crowd. It looked as though something were bound to happen, especially when you thought of all those hard, round, shiny stones.

Suddenly, from high up in the Arcade, bordering on the plaza, a bugle sounded, giving a peculiar run and cutting through to every heart like a knife. The crowd began to writhe and twist and then huge clumps of panic-stricken people surged over and went tearing down the boulevard away from the plaza. I clung desperately to the lee-side of an iron awning support in order not to be carried away by the stream of stampeding people which swept down upon me.

However, these were only the women and children, practically all the men remained. One man, evidently seeing that I was an American, and therefore unused to the customs of revolution, rushed up and explained to me that the bugle was a well-understood signal and that it would blow three times, after which every one was on his own responsibility. I thanked him and said I thought I'd stay. Whoever was operating the bugle, however, didn't play up to the game, for about three minutes afterwards, a shot rang out from the window, and echoed to instant silence, for everyone stopped. I strained my eyes over the throng to see if anyone were hit, or if it had been just a warning shot in the air—but, no, a little farther down a knot gathered around something writhing and twisting on the ground and bore it hastily away. Realisation of it swept through the crowd and in a moment the storm broke. Out came the smooth, round stones, and the face of the Arcade was smashed in a twinkling, the broken window yawning darkly. Then the crowd began to tear frantically at the pavement, and in a few moments had succeeded in taking up a good many strips in the broad Plaza.

But the window on the fifth story where the bugle had sounded, started again, and this time it betokened a machine-gun. They began to drop now, faster than they could be picked up, and still the thing droned on and on, toppling them over as its swift beam singled out the groups around the red banners. It seemed as if it would never stop; you

wanted to shriek out, "Enough, they are breaking now! Stop, give them a chance!" The Plaza was soon cleared, the crowds were fading into the side streets when a company of infantry appeared and stationed itself carefully around the Plaza at points of vantage. A few ambulances came crawling down into the square to clean up the scattered bundles lying about, and then whisk away. The square was empty, dead, sun-baked, where a few moments before it had been teeming with life. Now a platoon of cavalry came clattering down the side street. Drawing rein for a moment, as if to observe the state of affairs, they gave a loud yell, then riding in the stirrups they galloped around in a body, circling the edge of the Plaza at break-neck speed, waving their sabres, and shooting at anything that moved. It looked as if the military had conquered and as if it was only a question of a little sword-waving and tearing about now, to give vent to excitement aroused, and then the town would settle down. I felt relieved that, at least, there would be no more useless killing, but the crowd had not given in yet, for I could soon hear a confused murmur from behind the church. In a few moments the head of a column appeared around the end of the church following a number of flapping red banners, and singing the "Internationale." The cavalry was just in the midst of a victorious swoop down the Plaza towards them, and as one man they reined up and let drive. It was by order, for the whole platoon fired at once, "Bang," and again, "Bang." The head of the column melted away, the banners were down or flapping helplessly on the ground, and as the cavalry charged, hooting and yelling, through the fallen, there was none to oppose them—the street was cleared—the military had triumphed. Again the ambulances crept down—more of them this time—and hurried off with their loads.

I waited a bit longer, having taken advantage of a deep-set basement window which looked out on the Plaza, but nothing more happened—the troops soberly prepared for the night and some firemen appeared with a hose and began washing down the streets. The demonstrations were over. The Italian worker, relieved of excitement and nervousness, settled down to await orders from the committee. He was resolved, now that he realised the grimness of the fight, that the general strike was important and should be supported to the end.

It was with disappointment that at six o'clock that night, Milan received the order to return to work in the morning. The events of the afternoon had steeled the workers for a fight to a finish, but the Central Committee, with its finger on the pulse of the whole Italian Labour world, decided differently. They had demonstrated their strength, the industrial system of Italy had been paralysed at their order. The deputies had repudiated the king, they had turned to Labour for support, and Labour had stepped forward to a man. Not by resolutions—but by action. Not by words—but by deeds in blood. It was this that made the thing such a sinister lesson to the Masters: that short six hours cried the warning, "The War is on—the Class Struggle is Here."

—The Liberator.

FROM THE LOWER DECK.

By R. 000 (STOKER), H.M.S. RELIANCE.

In the summer of 1918, we weighed anchor and steamed out of Rosyth, and while we were at sea, we were ordered to proceed to the Baltic. We were told off for patrol duty between Libau and Windau and we transported hundreds of Lettish troops from the former to the latter place. Conditions were terrible at Windau. The population was in a state of semi-starvation. When we entered the port, children, barefooted and half naked, with pinched faces, crowded on deck, asking for pieces of stale bread and meat. The Captain felt very sorry for them and ordered the cooks to make many gallons of soup for the people. The crew was very discontented. There were no canteen supplies and the canned food was very bad. We bartered some of it for peas and vegetables, but the population had very little to exchange. Just when we were all agreed upon demanding to be sent home or relieved, the turbine shaft of our ship was injured in Riga and we were towed home. We didn't come in contact with any Reds. At Copenhagen we were warned about associating with strange people and we never thought whether the blockade was right or wrong.

We returned to England early last year, when the Jerram Commission was sitting. I was transferred to another ship and thus got into touch with comrades—some were discharged men—engaged in propaganda activities. The wonderful change that the late war has wrought in the mass mind of the rank and file in the Navy is not fully realised by our civilian comrades. Conscription brought into our ranks hundreds of the finest young men in the country—men, who, unwilling to go through the ordeals of the conscientious objectors, preferred the Navy to the Army as the easiest way out. We had artists, musicians, and many others of a rebellious nature among us. They disliked the routine life; to them, the strict discipline was unbearable, and the agitation they carried on against petty restrictions

placed on our personal liberty, was very effective. Inasmuch that the rules relating to saluting and other minor matters are now widely disregarded. The old tradition of the happy-go-lucky sailor caring for nothing but rum, cards and prostitutes is gone for ever. On several ships, I have noticed the new spirit among the men. Many slight incidents have contributed to the craving of the rank and file for Socialist literature. At one barracks, charges were preferred against a seaman for reading the *Daily Herald*. The case was dismissed and other men wanted to know what sort of a paper it was that caused the trouble. Since then, there has been quite a demand for the *Herald*.

It is not necessary for enthusiastic civilian comrades to put themselves in the power of Dora by carelessly distributing literature to the men of the Fleet in naval ports. One intelligent worker or one good pamphlet is worth a public meeting. Once the stuff gets down in the crew's quarters, there are a few men who will listen and read. Many might disagree, but none will report to the officers. The class solidarity among the rank and file of the Navy is greater than in any other branch of the Government service. It is looked upon as a most despicable act for one man to give away another of his class to our "superiors."

The men are sympathetic to propaganda that touches upon their material welfare. It is the best way to get at them. They know that the German revolution began in the Navy, and that the rank and file of the Russian navy themselves determine under what conditions they shall serve. The findings of the German Commission increased rather than lessened our grievances. The concessions were notably of a minor nature. The larger demands relating to widows' pensions, orphans' allowances, free travelling warrants, and free conveyance of men's families when they are appointed to harbour

billets, were not granted. And the chief and general demand—an increase, of a flat rate of 4s. per day for all ratings—was used by the Government to divide and create further class difference among the men. The petty officers were given the average increase of 4s., while the lower ratings were only conceded an average 2s. per day. There was no real unity among the lower deck, and so no pressure could be brought to bear upon the Government. The Benefit Societies functioned a little, but they are mostly benevolent and somewhat reactionary in make-up and outlook. Recently, Col. Malone, in a letter to the *Herald*, said that these various lower deck organisations were in existence and the men could make them what they will. But this is more easily said than done. We are not efficiently organised as Trade Unionists, and we have less freedom and scope to carry on our work; in the matter of choosing our officials, however, we might be a little better off. The Welfare Organisation is controlled by the Admiralty—it reserves the right to choose the delegates from the three home ports of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Devonport. As the delegates are not chosen on a proportional occupational basis, the body cannot be rated as representative.

We still put up with many unnecessary hardships, some of a decidedly insanitary nature. Some ships are terribly overcrowded, and we sleep and mess in the same compartment. Boys up to the age of 18 are caned for smoking and other minor offences. When I was in the Australian Navy, this ugly caning business was abolished. The older men of the rank and file stood up for the boys against corporal punishment. The result was that the authorities had to give in and abolish it. But the English Navy is so steeped in traditions, that many glaring evils are passed over without a protest or concerted action by the rank and file.

COMMUNISTS IN COUNCIL.

It is difficult to imagine anything more completely and hopelessly futile than a "Unity" convention, especially when its avowed purpose is the reconciliation of completely antithetical modes of thought. Yet such a convention found great support in the Socialist movement, and it was hailed as the possible melting-pot of sectarianism. However, it has failed to accomplish anything of revolutionary value, and its impotency was a foregone conclusion.

Observation surely shows us that it is simply impossible that unity could be established between principles so diametrically opposed as are those of the B.S.P. and Communists. We are as far apart as the poles. It was, in my opinion, ridiculous on our part to consider the convention at all. Could there be the slightest foundation for believing that Communists (without being introduced to any real validity in the contention that parliamentary action is necessary or useful), would, at the behest of a packed majority, bury all their formidable and unanswerable indictment of parliamentarism? Is it not an unsurpassed simplicity that takes for granted the notion that a vote can turn error into truth? Do those who accepted the Convention imagine that a whole body of criticism can be destroyed, not by scientific analyses, not by exposure of its inherent contradictions and errors, but by the simple and ridiculous process of registering a ready-made negative opinion? If not, they had no right to accept the convention. Those meetings serve but one purpose, and that is to establish the irreconcilable character of the opposing groups in the Socialist movement. They make it clear that the chasm separating the different aspects of Socialist thought is indeed unbridgeable: their revolutionary conceptions will not mix. This is bound to nullify the work of these conventions and render them stupidly futile.

But it clears the ground for the Communist: he knows where he stands. He finds he must concentrate on the strenuous work which is left to us, and which only we can do. And we can do it much more effectively without the help of false Allies. It is a disastrous mistake to imagine that "unity" with any Socialist or Labour party is essential to our revolutionary strength. In fact, it must of necessity weaken us. The very process and acceptance of "unity" with an incompatible unit means compromise and a consequent vitiation of our revolutionary conception.

We must keep in touch with our analyses of Capitalist Society, and that completely negatives the notion that revolutions are made to intellectual order. It shows us that ordered development of the forces of capitalist production will create the circumstances of revolution and not the development of a false unity between Socialist parties (which in all likelihood would sidetrack and betray the revolution, owing to the heterogeneous character it must develop when face to face with practical revolution). It shows us that our revolutionary mission is to organise such of the proletariat in whom we can create a revolutionary interest. To see to it that our organisations are such that they are practically capable of adapting themselves to the social and economic exigencies of the revolutionary crisis which we know to be inevitable.

It is pathetic to think that there are revolutionaries who place their confidence in vote-snatching organisations. They can never function as revolutionary organs. We know how helpless the worker will be when confronted with a desperate capitalism fighting a cut-throat battle for existence if the worker is entrenched in nothing more formidable than a parliamentary organisation.

We can see clearly that the worker's salvation lies in his readiness to take over control of the social and productive agencies, and initiate commodity distribution for themselves, while withholding the material factors without which the reactionary forces of Capitalism cannot operate.

The Communist Party has developed that form of revolutionary plan in theoretical detail. It stands unchallenged as a revolutionary conception. It remains for us to give it a real existence. Can we do this by coquetting with "Unity" groups? Can we do it by trying to convert ready-made Socialists whose hatred of the whole of our programme is at once comical and tragic? Emphatically no.

Fortunately we are independent of the allegiance of so-called Socialists. We know that sooner or later the revolution will expose their bankruptcy. We know that under the mighty pressure of economic events they will ultimately be forced either to line up against us with the Master Class or come under our fighting banner. We will welcome them then as Communists!

So then it is patent that no intellectual battering-ram can knock out those pseudo-revolutionary parliamentarians. Our plan should be to leave their moulding to the developing forces of Capitalism. We should have no more time left to engage in the futile task of trying to segregate unlike Socialist thought. After all, the parliamentarians are a minority of no consequence; it is the great body of the proletariat that demands our attention. The unsophisticated worker can be reasoned with successfully. Let us get to him. We have everything on our side helping us. The actual events in society substantiate us in every respect and make our task easy. It is for us to see to it that the organisation takes place on the actual battle-ground of the revolution. It will be easy for us to make the worker understand how it is that the floor of the House of Commons will not be the arena of the struggle for economic power and proletarian dictatorship. Revolutions don't wait for intellectual development; they don't wait for the regimentation of majorities. Majorities cer-

tainly are enlisted to consolidate the victory, but for them it is generally Hobson's choice!

It is easy for us to expose to the worker how the parliamentarian seeks to dress his utopia in a semblance of reality, by his asserting that there is a ready-made political machine, wielding political and economic power, ready to be taken over whenever the worker so desires. We can expose that confidence trick. We can show that this takes for granted that we can have under the present dominant class an electorate of the necessary character: that it takes for granted that revolutionary representatives can take over the House of Commons unchallenged: it takes for granted that the permanent State officials operating on behalf of the master class will be rendered helpless by the newspaper returns of the election victory: it takes for granted that the Master Class will acquiesce quietly in the expropriation and humbly start looking for jobs. But it takes no cognisance of the fact that is historical (we can point out), that the Master Class will immediately throw down the gauntlet, and under the stock clarion calls will rally under the flag the thousands that they have so carefully organised for this eventuality. And the workers, armed only with their vote, will indeed be a contemptible little army!

But we only heap one absurdity on the top of another by considering the question on those lines. All the foregoing, even as parliamentary arguments, depend upon what we have already laughed out of court, viz., the possibility of the forces of capitalist production marking time until the political organisation is developed: that the contention that Parliament can function as a revolutionary organ has either a scientific or an historical basis.

These have first got to be established, before any details can be legitimately discussed, and as it is patent that those basic contentions of the parliamentarians can have nothing but a metaphysical and imaginary warrant, the whole case for Parliamentary Action is fictitious.

This truth is just what governs Communist tactics. With us the question of Parliamentary Action does not arise. It is a delusion. So we concentrate on the questions that we can foresee will push themselves in front in time of revolutionary crisis. And these are: What form of organisation is necessary to meet the material needs of the people during the revolutionary period? How must we organise to resist the inevitable onslaught of the forces controlled by the Master Class? What kind of organisation will meet the requirements of, and make possible, the new economic and political structure replacing Capitalism?

Just so far as we have definite answers to these questions, and have organisations developed in conformity with the answers, in so far will we have robbed the Capitalist class of the power to act.

The issue is clear, then. The breakdown of Capitalism is taking place NOT on the parliamentary field, but on the industrial field. It is here where the opposing forces will find themselves in conflict, and so it follows that it is here where proletarian organisation is of paramount necessity and importance.

The Communist Party is the Party that understands the issue, and it is the Party that the workers will have to link up with, if they hope to come out of the conflict victoriously; the Communist form of organisation will guarantee to the revolution the minimum of chaos, misery, desolation, and bloodshed, which class conflicts generally entail.

JOHN NICHOLSON.

LABOUR AND THE NEW WAR.

The ever-greedy and bloodthirsty International Imperialists are not yet satiated with war and slaughter, as is witnessed by the fact that they are desperately, but hopelessly, striving to embroil the workers of Europe in another bloody conflict against their fellow workers in Soviet Russia. What, then, is the object of this new war? Is Russia setting out with an aggressive militarist policy, or is the independence of "little Poland" threatened? No, it is to safeguard the capitalist and commercial interests of the "Entente." There is an old saying, "once bitten, twice shy." The workers of Europe have been bitten once, and now the second time they are shy. The cry of war has gone forth; once more the workers are asked to spill their blood for Capitalist Imperialism—this time against our noble Russian comrades, who have successfully throttled the demon—Capitalism. When the "Entente"—the defenders of small nations—saw that little Imperialist Poland was about to be wiped off the map, the imperialists received a chill of terror—not so much terror for "little Poland," as for the progress of the Workers' Army, and they found it their duty to help "little Poland" in her defeat by the Red Army. Why, the Allied governments as recently as the middle of last July, intended to support "little Poland," because they are prepared to support anyone and everyone who aims at the overthrow of Socialist Russia. Let me quote a statement by the French Premier in the French Chamber on July 20th, 1920:—"The British Government, at the time when it opened negotiations with Russia, made it clear that if a peaceful solution was not arrived at, it would join with its Allies in defending Poland with all its forces and with every means." At this very moment the republican Government of France is still sending military missions to Poland, and has sent General Joffre to Roumania and Serbia. Russia desires peace, and for many months past, she has spared no efforts to bring about peace. She has considered peace with this country, and is now negotiating with "little Poland." Russia's policy is not an aggressive one, but a defensive one. The

Poles are deliberately delaying the peace negotiations, evidently in order to give France time to re-organise, and to supply munitions to the Polish Army. The Warsaw correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says "that every means, legitimate or illegitimate, at the command of the French agents, are being employed to keep Poland at war."

Fellow-Workers! These murderers do not desire peace; for when the Poles attacked Soviet Russia and invaded the Ukraine, the Allies did not interfere. But, when Russia was victorious, the Allies threatened Russia with war if she does not stop attacking Poland. Russia has made repeated proposals for peace, and has even offered Poland far better and more generous peace terms than ever the Allies suggested. Soviet Russia has committed the unpardonable crime—it has destroyed the holy god of Capitalism—Private Property. Remember, and always remember, that it is from this god that they draw their power. Destroy this holy god, and you destroy their power.

The workers are not to be so easily tricked this time, and they are determined that the bloody dogs of war shall not be turned loose. Labour has been alert and has rung out to the soulless imperialists its challenge to fight; at last it is prepared to use the almighty weapon, the *General Strike*. In response to the militant spirit of Labour, the Labour Council of Action has been formed. It represents the Trade Union and Labour Movement in this democratic land, and is acting in conjunction with the organised workers in other countries. The desire of the Trade Union and Labour movement for peace, is clearly demonstrated, when 1,044 delegates representing the above, voted unanimously for peace with Socialist Russia.

The workers of Europe want peace, and are taking drastic action. The *Morning Post* spoke the truth for once, when it said, "The movement is international." In France the General Confederation of Labour is taking similar action to us; it has also issued a manifesto protesting against the expulsion of the delegates of the British Council of Action by the French Government. In Germany train loads of supplies for Poland from France have been held up; also a joint meeting was held in Berlin on August 8th, of Majority Socialists, Independent Socialists, and Communists, who have resolved to resist every and any attempt to send French troops or munitions through Germany to Poland. The Trade Unions in Belgium, according to the *Times* of August 18th, have refused to handle train loads of French munitions for shipment to Poland, and the Belgian Government has now been forced to refuse to let any ammunition pass through Belgium to Poland. The Trade Union International has met and has decided to take action. The Miners' International has unanimously resolved to try and carry out an International General Strike in the event of any governments adopting a policy of military aggression. Also the Transport Workers' International has issued an appeal to its members in every country, to refuse to handle any kind of war material intended for use against Russia. Such, then, is the attitude of International Labour. Labour has shown its power, by the fact that the imperialists of Britain have had to alter their course in regard to Russia; in plain English, the Labour Council of Action is the Government behind the Government, dictating to King, Lords, and Commons.

Fellow-workers, one word of warning. Do not leave matters in the hands of your leaders, they are not to be trusted and do not count. Don't wait till your Union Executive meets to discuss the matter, the time for action is now, if we hope to save the first Workers' Republic. Remember that your weakness is your master's strength! Make it your business to make the Council of Action, national and local, a living reality, and not a dummy Council. Let your strength demonstrate the weakness of your masters.

Down with Capitalist Slavery!

Hail the Workers' Communist Republic!

T. ISLWYN NICHOLAS

(Gen. Sec. International Proletarian School Movement).

Dear Comrade,—It should be evident that the majority (if the so-called "Council of Action" do not mean action, but the side-tracking and sabotaging of action. Lloyd George showed that when his resort to the threat of a strike for Russia was the adjournment of Parliament; thus saying: "You have no guts; the situation is not serious." That adjournment was the deadliest insult Labour has ever received, and the Council of Jaw-jaw took it lying down. Beware of sham unity with anti-Direct Actionists like Thomas and Clynes, who exploit and nullify popular enthusiasm. Soviet Russia is in danger of being smashed at last by French generalship. Why does not the "Council of Action" fix a date for a strike against the anti-Russian war, or the strike against the supply of coal to France? Why does not the Council act about Ireland? Or about MacSwiney? Let action then be from the bottom upwards. What we need is that every Trade Union branch bombard the Council with demands for the fixing of a date for the strike against the anti-Russian war and the supply of coal to France, or of a time limit before which the strike must be called, and to stir up their Executives similarly to move for a date or a time-limit. Let Trade Union branches note Robert Williams' warning on Sunday, August 22nd, and enable the minority of the Council to force direct action on the majority of it.

Yours fraternally,

E. E. SWIFT,

Camberwell Branch, C. P.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "A WAGE SLAVE"

To use Mr. J. H. Thomas's phrase at the Labour Conference: "A challenge to the Constitution" was made by the action of the Ogmores Valley workers in adopting a "down tools" policy against the decision of the Bridgend Bench of Magistrates, in granting an ejectment order against a workman who had no place whatever to go to. The order was to come into effect on Monday, the 16th inst., between the hours of 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. A special meeting of the Miners' Joint Committee was called on Sunday the 15th, to deal with the matter. After a full discussion, it was decided to appoint a deputation to approach the landlord, with a view to getting him to agree to a suspension of the order. This reasonable request was met with an adamant refusal, in consequence of which, the Committee was faced with the question, as to whether they were going to allow a fellow worker to be deprived of his shelter, and thrown on the road? Without hesitation, it was decided to convene a mass meeting, in order to place the position before them, also with a recommendation for a "down tools policy," not merely as a protest against the magistrate's decision, but also to prevent it being put into operation, whatever the consequences.

Decision of Mass Meeting.

The Chairman, in his opening remarks, explained the position, and the steps taken by the Committee to meet it, which were entirely endorsed by the rank and file. After some revolutionary speeches upon the housing question in general, the Committee's recommendation was carried unanimously. It was also decided to have a demonstration, to be headed by the Ogmores Valley Temperance Band. A comrade then suggested that an Organising Committee be set up, to discuss ways and means whereby the decision of the meeting could be effectively carried out, i.e. to prevent, by all means, the execution of the magistrate's order; this was agreed to. Advantage was also taken of a sitting of the Court on Monday morning, by sending a deputation with a view to getting the case reconsidered, with the result that the order was suspended for two months.

The Demonstration.

On Monday morning, at 10 a.m., the largest demonstration ever seen in the valley—headed by the band—proceeded to the Park, where speeches were made by local comrades, ending up in an address on the "Philosophy of Direct Action," by Comrade E. Serrell, N.U.R., now of the Labour College, London. During the speeches, the Chairman of the Bench was seen proceeding to the Court, there to decide whether the striking solidarity of the workers—which he witnessed—should be repeated the following day. Undoubtedly, the wilful spectacle of a whole valley taking "French Leave" of production, sacrificing a day's wage, which a large number could not afford to do, in order to protect one of their members from being affected by the order of "property rights" ideologists, was, in our opinion, the dominating factor that influenced the Bench's decision in granting a suspension. Following the speeches, we had a display of ball kicking, accompanied by musical airs from the band. However, while all this was going on, there could be seen, parading backwards and forwards, in front of the premises concerned, a patrol of twenty men (which had been instructed to do so by the Organising Committee) divided into two sections of ten each, to guard against any eventualities that might arise in the meantime. At noon, the news came through of the magistrate's decision; while not being the decision the men desired, it was, nevertheless, a far-reaching compromise forced by the policy of direct action. If, however, at the end of two months, our member cannot find adequate accommodation for him and his family, the workers must strongly and firmly put before those gentlemen in whose hands our member's destiny seems to lie, two alternatives, either they must suspend their order for an indefinite period until such time as reasonable accommodation can be found, or they themselves must provide the necessary accommodation convenient to the man's present employment, if they want their order to be executed.

Rank and File Unity.

The unity and solidarity displayed by the rank and file on this issue, is sufficient indication to the powers that be, that awe and reverence to law and order is losing its influence upon the mentality of the workers. The decision of the magistrates is based upon the fact that another individual having bought the house, the tenant is obliged to provide rooms, irrespective of the accommodation in the house. Whether that is the position under the "New Rents Act" or not, the Ogmores Valley workers, having examined the whole of the facts, i.e., the size of the house, number of rooms, etc., the number of persons and their age who at present occupy the house, the number in family of those who are claiming possession; they considered it was absolutely impossible from a health, moral and convenient standpoint, for these two families to be crowded into such a house. Therefore, law and order in its relation to this dispute, was challenged and defied by the workers, they acted, not in accordance with the wisdom of the authorities, but in accordance with what they conceived to be practical common-sense and fair dealing between man and man.

A Capitalist Game.

A peculiar feature of this case is that the landlord and tenant are both ex-service men, there-

fore, the Government's trickery to ex-servicemen introduced, not so much from sympathy for these men but in order to grasp some advantage, which the shortage of houses gives them to create a division among the workers, based upon the distinction between civilians and ex-service men provided for under the "Rents Act"—could not be applied here. The whole incident is the result of the shortage of houses, and the working-class are trying to solve the problem by fighting for rooms among themselves; the only solution in the meantime is for a rationing of rooms in all localities of all residents, rich and poor alike; let the ex-service men show their magnanimity by ignoring that privileged clause in the "Rents Act" and follow the precedent laid down in this case, of looking at the issue from a worker's view only, and not from an ex-service man's. If the Government is so much in sympathy with these men, let them emulate the Russian Workers' representatives in one of their clauses laid down in their Armistice conditions to Poland, i.e., to guarantee that land shall be given free to the dependants of those of the Poles killed and wounded as a consequence of their wanton attack upon the Russian Workers' Republic, by a similar act towards those here who defended their property for them against the "horrible Boche."

The Power of Industrial Action.

That, however, is too much to expect from these generous democrats; hence the workers must do things for themselves; they must first of all know what they want, and then set to work to do it; irrespective of whether it is compatible with the interests of our so-called superiors; that's what has happened in Ogmores Valley. As the Labour Council of Action's Industrial Power compelled the Government to change its policy, so the solidarity manifested by the Ogmores Valley workers influenced the Bridgend Bench of Magistrates. These results will strengthen the hands of those who have propagated the judicious use of industrial action as a restraining influence upon the decisions of Governmental Authorities. If it can be used to prevent wars, and reverse the absurd decisions of magistrates, can it be logically argued that it cannot be used to uproot the present system, subject, of course, to the workers realising their social status. So far as one can see, developments seem to be tending towards a period when nothing will be conceded to the workers until they resort to industrial force. Is it too much to anticipate, that as a consequence of such a struggle, the social revolution will be achieved? The industrial barometer in the mining world seems to indicate that we are on the verge of a national crisis; let the workers of the country, of whatever industry, take heed lest they are unconsciously the means of defeating the miners; their duty is to support their class and ignore the "divide and conquer" policy that may be attempted by the Government; the miners' victory is their victory; and their victory is the miners' victory, all embodied in the class victory. Therefore, workers! concentrate your mind on the issues that involve the interest of your class, divert your energies towards their achievement, continue to do so until your class—the working class—will be the dominant class, thus ending once and for all the class struggle.

NOTES FROM THE MIDLANDS.

BY A COMMUNIST TRAMP.

St. Albans is a semi-industrial and agricultural centre, the residence of the "black-coated class." On the industrial side we find a straw hat industry and a small engineering trade, the manufacture of boring implements for well-sinking. Socialism has not yet penetrated so far, and as the Labourites assured me it was impossible to hold a "Hands Off Russia" meeting, I decided to leave it to the coming revolutionary war, and set out for Luton.

Luton.

Here the straw hat industry, run on a system of out-work and piece rates, is almost entirely a women's industry. The building of great motor factories, of national fame, has changed Luton from a tiny city in a valley to a nest of working-class centres, with long monotonous streets climbing the slopes to high ground. The war quickened the local industry, and the security of labour established for the moment the Unofficial Shop Steward movement as a local weapon of industrial struggle. The recognition of the Shop Steward Movement by the salaried officials of Trades Unionism, together with the slump in trade, has broken the morale of the workers and driven local Socialism underground. Nevertheless, there are many fine men and women in Luton who are waiting for the trumpet of the Social Revolution.

Northampton.

Northampton is steeped in Liberal tradition, and its Labour movement has much headway to make up, but a revolutionary movement is slowly appearing. Here, as at Luton, the local trade slump stifles the local movement, fear of victimisation affecting the outdoor propaganda, but the minority elements are present.

Comrade Tyler has covered 100 miles on his walking tour for Communism. St. Albans and Luton are not yet ready for advanced propaganda, but he did good work at Northampton, holding a meeting, selling 7s. worth of literature, getting supporters for the *Dreadnought*, and talking to the local Communists.

BOOKS REVIEWED.

WHAT IS THE SHOP-STEWARDS' MOVEMENT?

A good idea of what the Shop-Stewards' Movement means to the rank and file workers may be gained from this little pamphlet, which is well-illustrated with diagrams. It will do much to clear the minds of some American I.W.W. members, who imagine that the Workers' Committee is really the English equivalent of the I.W.W. masquerading under another name. For while the I.W.W. stands outside the Trade Unions, the Workers' Committee is essentially a movement within the Unions. A hopeful sign of the English movement is that it does not possess the elaborate central machinery that is the outstanding feature of the American organisation—and thus it will easily adapt itself to the ever fluctuating conditions in the industrial world.

The ultimate power of the movement may be gauged by following its small beginning in the shop committees to the formation of (1) District Councils of a single industry, (2) Central District Councils of all industries, (3) National Councils of a single industry, and finally (4) National Council of all industries.

Here in rough outline one sees the strength of the movement and its future possibilities. But what I regard as its great weakness is not touched upon, the apparent inability of the movement to give shop stewards security and the immunity from open and covert victimisation that Trade Union officials enjoy.

C.M.

"What is this Shop-Stewards' Movement," by Tom Walsh, Secretary National Federation of Shop Stewards (Building Industry), 6, Dorset Street, Fleet Street, price 3d., post free; 13 copies, 2s. 3d.

PROLETARIAN PARODIES.

By A. E. ELSBURY.

(The Proletarian Press, 28, East Road, City Road: 6d. net.)

These ditties are clothed in flaunting orange covers, on the front of which is a man, representing Labour, bound by Competition, Starvation and other bands not quite easy to make out, breaking his chains. The sub-title reads: "Labour songs for the street, works, and home," and there is no reason why the words should not be substituted for those of the ridiculous sacred and secular tunes that the proletariat delight in. Even as the Salvation Army's "music" "converts" some workers to Christianity when sermons, mass, the Scriptures, pictorial art and all other devices fail, so may these "songs of rebellion to every-day tunes" get Socialism a hearing with some solid British workers when all other means prove of no avail. The versification is on the same level with that of the rhymes that should be supplanted, and the words and general idea running through the twenty-nine pieces are similar to some of the amazing things hurled at a poor listener by a red-hot Socialist from some warm street corner. They are not much worse than "The Red Flag" and the "Internationale," and thousands of cultured Communists shout these words and hum the tunes without feeling ashamed of themselves.

I would rather hear Elsbury's parodies than "The old-fashioned mother of mine" that the drunks belch from their bellies as they go reeling home at night. They are written to such tunes as "Glory for me," "Tipperary," "Rule Britannia," and "Count Your Blessings."

C.M.

THE LITTLE ALLIANCE.

Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Roumania have formed an alliance against the aggressiveness of Horthy's Government. This is a blow to France, as she virtually controls the Hungarian Government. The people of these countries are opposed to war on Soviet Russia, and this alliance will strengthen them in their refusal to take part in it, or to allow men and munitions to pass through their territory. There are also strong Communist sections in these three countries, and we shall probably soon see Communism established in them.

(Continued from page 4.)

pigs are playing about like children on the sands and round about the houses.

Visitors to Soviet Russia are expected to fill up a form giving particulars as to their nationality, reason for visiting the country, and so on.

Going around the town on Sunday morning, one sees how much is to be done, and how battered and war-worn are many things. Murmansk was built for warfare, and has known little else hitherto. There are many battered and rusty vessels that evidently have been brought up from under the sea. There are many broken cranes and railway trucks, and here and there an old British sentry-box.

But over everything there is an air of Sunday peace. People are strolling happily about, men are fishing by the quay-side, bringing up fish that look like plaice and strange black and yellow monsters we do not see in England.

* * *

As we are talking to some of the boatmen, a man in British khaki comes up in a fawning, obsequious way and says, "I have been in the British Army." "How was that?" we asked. "I was attached both to the French and British forces as interpreter."

"But how came you to help the French and British against your Comrades?"

(To be continued.)

BUILDING A COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Basis of Organisation.

Building up a Communist Party to agitate, educate, and mobilise for Communism is a process that should follow the principles of natural growth. Certain definite principles, however, may be enunciated.

The main business of the Party Centre, as a Party, is to foster and develop the Branches and Groups. The main business of the Group is to add to and develop the membership of the Group.

On this basic principle depends the success and triumph of all organisation for Communism.

The first duty of the individual member is to gain one more adherent for Communism. If the Party membership was able to fulfil this duty every three months, in less than four years the whole world would be Communist. Taking one thousand as the present membership, in one year by this process the growth would be to eight thousand, in two years to 128,000, in three years 2,048,000, and in four years 32,768,000. And the same for Communist Parties for other countries.

This is no mathematical dream, Comrades. If the ideals of Communism are worth anything, if we understand the principles of Communism and the principles of Sovietism for which we stand, it should be no hard task to gain one individual convert every three months and equally inspire them with the ideals of the new world order.

Working in Team.

But Communism, which stands all the time for co-operation and combination, does not rest at gaining individual converts. Experience teaches that groups of members co-operating are able to achieve group results for Communism. Whether it is a group of industrial comrades, who confine their Communist activities to the industrial field, whether it be a propaganda group which holds street corner meetings once or twice a week, whether it be a Social Soviet Group operating through the house-to-house visits, whichever tactics is adopted—and all tactics are good—there again the group activity should be directed to its own growth.

In propaganda meetings of the Party, it should be the first principle that at every meeting a clear explanation is given of what Communism is—how it stands for economic equality, for the elimination of the parasite, for the dictatorship of the workers—what are the principles of Sovietism: the question of recall of delegates, only workers voting—all these main principles of Communism should be made clear every time. The need for organisation should be touched on—the need for all those who believe in these principles to link up for organised achievement within a strong Party machine. If these points are borne in mind there ought not to be a single propaganda meeting without gaining new adherents to Communist philosophy, and new workers for the Party.

Dissipation of Energy is Unorganised Effort.

It is especially here that the Communists of the Bolshevik type differ from the Anarchist Communists, with their free propaganda and diffused efforts. Bolshevism stands primarily for close organisation or power, and for all groups being closely linked in one solid party. If you believe in the methods of Moscow and the principles that have led to Bolshevik triumph, then you believe in close organisation and Party discipline. It is the first duty of every genuine Communist to combine by joining up in a genuine Communist Party.

Self-Government of the Party Machine.

If we believe in Sovietism, naturally Soviet principles must operate in the self-government of the Party itself. Authority must be completely decentralised and rest in the hands of the membership. Power must be completely centralised and rest in the hands of the body of delegates (liable to instant recall), chosen from the District Councils of branch delegates (equally liable to instant recall). Initiative in crisis must rest absolutely on the membership. Personal responsibility for action and achievement is the keystone of all revolutionary triumph.

Again in the Communist Party—the workers' party—all members entrusted with Party work as full time agents, must, in accord with Communist principles, receive no more than the workers' wage, so that they share on the economic plane the workers' class interests and class position. All on a level on the economic plane is the bedrock of Communism, and Communists not only in their own party government, but also in all working-class organisations, such as Trade Unions, should ceaselessly work for this bedrock principle.

Work in Industrial Organisations.

The principles of Communism can be gained throughout the working-class organisations. With an increased number of Communists there is no reason why, in the near future, every Trade Union official should not be brought to the workers' wage. There is no reason why in every Trade Union the National Executive should not be composed of a body of delegates, each liable to recall, chosen from district committees of branch delegates, equally liable to recall by the Branch membership, so that genuine Soviet principles operate throughout the Trade Union, and rotten bourgeois principles of permanent officials, overpaid officials (Mullins, of the Cotton Operatives, just died worth £11,000), and no control of Executives and officials.

Once these Soviet principles are widely understood, there is no reason why they should not be forced on to every Trades and Labour Council, Council of Action, Parish Council, Town Council—every-

(Continued at bottom of next column.)

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: Soho International.

This branch was opened on Wednesday, 25th August, at 58, Old Compton Street, W. A good muster of comrades gathered, and many applications for membership to the Party were received. Meetings will be held at this address each Wednesday, at 9 p.m. prompt, when all intending members and sympathisers are heartily invited.

Hammersmith.

The Thursday weekly meeting, for propaganda, at the Grove, Hammersmith, is invariably well attended. Communist Party speakers will find this weekly meeting a good field for their efforts.

Richmond.

Comrades D. E. and H. F. Fisher, 3, Defoe Avenue, Kew, wish to get into touch with all Richmond Communists, to start a branch of the Party in Richmond.

Exeter.

Comrade Lucy, the only speaker for the Exeter Branch, is having a very lively time. The local press has devoted a column and a quarter to a description of our comrade's propaganda meetings.

COMRADES!

In order that it may be possible to found a genuine, uncompromising Communist Party in Britain, all unattached groups of Communists have been invited to attend a Conference convened by the Communist Party—the **DIRECT ACTION** Communist Party—to be held in Manchester, September 25th and 26th. To make this Conference a success and, therefore, to make a real, live Communist Party—or call it whatever you will—an established fact, funds are urgently needed NOW.

We ask for 1,000 Communists who will be willing to subscribe one shilling per week from when this meets the eye until the date of the Conference. Whatever the September Conference decides in the way of a Communist Party will be your concern—a strong body of earnest Communists in the country will have an effect in shaping revolutionary action. Make it your concern to provide the necessary wherewithal—in the shape of contributions—without delay, to:—

PERCY WALLIS: Hon. Treasurer.
18, Angel Road, Hammersmith, W.6.

BUILDING A COMMUNIST PARTY.—Continued.

where, in fact. Such principles cannot do any harm: they can only strengthen the control by the rank and file and the loyal service to the rank and file of the entrusted delegates.

It is for such principles that Communism stands, and it is in sticking out for these principles that the Communist is distinguished from all his fellows. Popularise them, propagate them, introduce them—force them into every Trade Union rule-book, into every Trades and Labour Council Constitution. Until that is done, such organisations can never have the chance of faithfully functioning to mirror the will and desires of the rank and file. Communism is the gospel and the hope of the rank and file—it is not for ambitious or superior persons. It makes for COMMON-ISM, where nothing exists save rank and file, where all classes are absorbed into the Class of the Workers, where the wage-slaves are emancipated to free citizens, winning to true freedom through equality.

These are the basic principles of the Communist Party. If you believe in Communism and you are not a Party member, your first duty is to join the Party and become an integral part of the organised push for Communism. If you fail to respond to the call, and remain isolated and aloof, you are false to the spirit of the Moscow International. Communism is a great Ideal, a Religion, a Philosophy, a Science, a system for Human Society—it is the grandest hope of the world since the dawn of time. It is worth more than a mere threepence per week. It is worth work and effort, persuasion, education, agitation—no price can be too high to secure its attainment. Fellow Worker, IT'S UP TO YOU TO DO YOUR BIT.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

All Communists and Party members finding themselves near Exeter, are asked to give the branch, in this stronghold of reaction, a helping hand in their propaganda efforts. Secretary's address: C. Lucy, 8, Okehampton Road, Exeter.

Bow.

Branch meeting held every Thursday, at 400, Old Ford Road, at 7.30 p.m. All members and sympathisers are asked to attend.

Camberwell.

Branch meeting, 16, Peckham Road, Monday, at 7.45 p.m.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Holt Communists 11s., Pembroke Dockyard 10s., Soho Communists 19s. 4d., Camberwell Guarantors 10s., Gorton Guarantors 16s., Hammersmith Comrades 5s. 4d., Kingston Comrades 1s.

LIABLE TO RECALL.

The recommendations of the Agenda Committee for the September Conference, include a scheme to be submitted to the delegates, whereby the Central Governing Body of the Party shall consist of delegates liable to recall at any time, from District Councils; each District Council being similarly composed of delegates, equally liable to recall at any time, from Party branches in the area, on the basis of proportional representation. This will give a true Soviet Constitution to the Party, and make the government of the Party, in real fact, a true reflection of the membership. Official position for a long period is not good for any man or any movement. The evils of this system in the case of Trade Union officials is too apparent.

Under Communism, or COMMON-ISM, as I prefer to spell it, where all are on a common basis, sharing necessary work at a common level, and sharing food, clothing, housing, and all amenities, all opportunities for culture and education likewise at a common level—there ought to be the opportunity for everybody to have a change of occupation. No matter how good and brilliant a man is, there are always plenty more in the movement who could do his job just as well, if they had the opportunity. Hero-worship and the dazzle of acquired reputation has not in the past given the others a chance.

Communist Missionaries

Meanwhile, whilst the rank and file of the British Revolutionary Movement are beating out a path to a real unity, the present Party nucleus is making very healthy growth. Each week sees the formation of new branches.

Comrade R. Bishop is undertaking a tour through the Midlands, and reports enthusiastic meetings from Coventry, where he is at present.

Comrade Fred Tyler of Willesden, is similarly on his way on a Missionary Tour to the North. This comrade has given up a good job, and is tramping his way in true missionary style, preaching the gospel and message of Communism to all workers, wherever he finds himself. His example and his faith in Communism, his religion, his philosophy and his science, is an inspiration to the Movement.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Peckham Rye. Sunday, September 5th, at 11 a.m. Mrs. Cole.
Whitechapel. Osborn Street. Every Sunday at 11.45 a.m.
Poplar. Dock Gates. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.
Camberwell. Grove Lane. Every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m.
Hanover Park, Rye Lane. Saturday, September 4th, at 7.30 p.m.
Hammersmith. The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.
Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station. Every Friday at 7.30 p.m.
Bow. St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 5 p.m.

INDOOR.

Soho International Branch, 58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 9 p.m. prompt.
Bow Branch, 400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

COMMUNIST PARTY.

(British Section of the Third International).

A Conference will be held at Gorebrook Hall, Gorton, Manchester, on September 25th and 26th. All Communist Groups wishing to participate are asked to notify the Secretary, E. T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W.6, stating the strength of the Group for a card vote.

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