

# Workers' Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

VOL. VII. No. 45.

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## SHALL A CABINET MINISTER'S WORD MAINTAIN.

PRISON REGULATION NUMBER 243A.

"In the case of any offender of the Second or Third Division, whose previous character is good, and who has been convicted of, or committed to prison for, an offence not involving dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence, the Prison Commissioners may allow such amelioration of the conditions prescribed in the foregoing rules as the Secretary of State may approve in respect of the wearing of prison clothing, bathing, hair-cutting, cleaning of cells, employment, exercise, books, and otherwise. Provided that no such amelioration shall be greater than that granted under the rules for offenders of the First Division."

The effect of this was explained by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons, on July 20th, 1910. He said:

"That rule enables the Home Secretary, in virtue of the various Acts which he has to administer, to relieve certain prisoners not guilty of any acts involving moral turpitude. I propose to relieve them of the necessity of wearing prison clothing, of being specially searched, and of being compelled to take the regulation prison bath. I also propose to enable the offenders in the Second Division to be permitted, under certain circumstances, to obtain food from outside, to exercise freely, both in the morning and in the afternoon, to converse with other prisoners when taking exercise, and to have at their own expense, such books, not dealing with current events, and such literature as are in accordance with the public interests."

In answer to a supplementary question, he added:

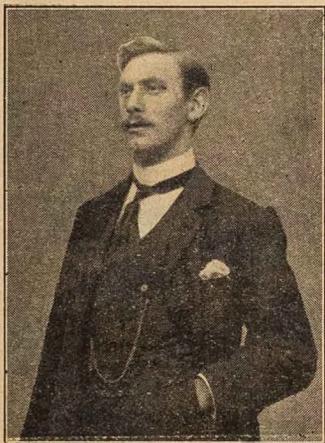
"By moral turpitude, I mean offences involving dishonesty, indecency, gross violations of morality, or cruelty."

The exact limits of the term "political prisoner" are hard to define. But it seems reasonable to claim that it includes any person who breaks the law not out of a general hostility towards society, but out of some desire to improve its constitution.

And here I cannot do better than quote a statement of Mr. A. P. Stanton. He points out:

"That sedition is a typical political offence,

and the Prison Act, 1877, Sec. 40, provides that a person convicted of sedition or seditious



R. V. HARVEY.

Serving four months in the Second Division.

libel must not (may not) be treated as a misdemeanour of the first class."

Unquestionably, then, the Law does recognise political offences.

In a letter to Professor George Sigerson, M.D., Member of the Royal Commission of Prisons, 1887, and referred to by Professor Sigerson, Mr. James Bryce, the Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, then Ambassador at Washington, says:

"We all feel the difference between the ordinary criminal and those whose treatment you describe... ordinary prison discipline is incomparably more severe and painful to the persons sentenced for offences of this nature than it is to the ordinary thief or forger."

\* \* \* \* \*

It is interesting also to note in this connection that in 1872, an International Prison Conference was held in the Hall of the Middle Temple, London. At that Conference, the representative of the Italian Government, Count A. de Foresta, proposed that persons guilty of political offences not implying great moral perversity, should be kept in simple detention, apart from common criminals. It was stated that Germany had already recognised this principle of *Custodia Honestas*. The resolution was carried unanimously.

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Speaking in the House of Commons on March 1st, 1889, Mr. Gladstone said:

"I know very well you cannot attempt to frame a legislative definition of political offences; but what you can do and what always has been done is this: You can say that in certain classes of the imprisoned, a person ought not to be treated as if he has been guilty of base and degrading crime... Though sensitiveness to indignities of this kind may be a matter on which men will differ according to their temperament and their ideas, yet such sensitiveness is rather to be encouraged than to be repressed, for it appertains to that lofty sentiment, that spirit which was described by Burke in animated language when he said: 'The spirit which feels a stain like a wound.'"

## EUROPE AND THE POWER OF THE RUSSIAN RED ARMY.

A MILITARY REVIEW by LIEUT. COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK.

Into 1921, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic enters strategically victorious, in Europe as well as in Asia. Politically, the Soviet Government may be considered very powerful because its diplomacy is strongly backed by the formidable force of the Red Army, which, in spite of the lull in the military operations on all engaged fronts, still holds very favourable strategical positions, and is reinforced by fresh reserves instead of being demobilised. The latter decision of the Soviet Government is due to the bitter lesson which it learned in 1919 when, after the defeat of Koltchak and Denikin, a part of the Red Army was demobilised as a fighting body, and turned into a labour organisation. The result of this transformation was the sudden attack of imperialistic Poland in March, 1920, when there were not sufficiently strong reserves at hand in Soviet Russia to prevent the invasion. It was therefore necessary to form a new fighting body in Russia, not only in order to meet the Western invaders, but also to put an end to their supporters in the south under the leadership of reactionary Wrangel. The lack of sufficiently strong reserves, fully equipped and supplied, caused the suffering which the population of Southern and Western Russia, as well as Ukraine, had to endure. Carefully watching events in Western Europe, and far from thinking that the present cessation of hostilities is a sign of an approaching permanent peace, the Soviet Government knows well that the capitalistic coalition of world capitalism is by no means prepared to establish sincere friendly relations with the victorious Soviet Government. It is also fully rea-

lised by the leaders of the Russian proletarian republic that the danger threatening the Russian Revolution is still in existence and will menace Russia as long as the Allies, directly or indirectly, support the reactionary adventurers who are very eager to make a new attack against the Soviet Republic. B. Bakmetiev, Balakhovich, Wrangel, Sazonov, Savinkov, Shkuro, and many similar to these usurpers and adventurers are still alive, and they are enjoying the sympathy of their mighty protectors who approve their plans to overthrow the Soviet Government; and as long as there will exist in Europe the present rulers of the imperialistic countries inspired by such men as Winston Churchill, as long as the great powers, instead of keeping their repeated promise to decrease their military and naval forces, but on the contrary strengthen and reinforce their army and navy, Soviet Russia must be and will be *en guard*.

### Militarism not destroyed by Great War.

The Great War, which, it was said, had to crush forever German militarism, in reality not only did not put an end to it, but on the contrary created a new militarism throughout Europe and Asia.

Those who believed, at the time of the armistice, that the formation of the League of Nations would be succeeded by a general disarmament, are now very much disappointed at the way the league itself is busily arming its own; a very amusing army from a military standpoint, but still an international "army." The small States of Europe are rapidly increasing their military forces, and are easily obtaining, for the purpose, from the

Allies any support for their fight against Bolshevism. The danger of Bolshevism which, as it is alleged, is menacing the whole world, is a very comfortable camouflage for the great imperialistic powers to mobilise a new coalition of smaller States which, as they suppose, will support a new attempt at a counter-revolutionary attack on Russia.

Mr. Paul Scott Mowyer, the correspondent of the New York "Globe," who recently finished a tour through eight States of Europe, firmly stated that "the military idea rules" in the south-western part of that continent. Being very frank in communicating his observations, Mr. Mowyer offers a military observer very interesting material in estimating the real military strength which the Allies undoubtedly tried to create in Europe for a new war against Soviet Russia.

### The Good Luck of the Bolsheviki.

Fortunately for the Bolsheviki, the leading powers are acting as usual without any harmony at all, and instead of consolidating the small states into one strong military coalition which might serve capitalistic imperialism as a powerful fighting body, they have produced such an atmosphere among the smaller nations of Europe that each of them has at last lost its faith in its protectors, and is looking with suspicion upon the others. For instance, in the Balkans, every country is armed against the possibility of attack from its neighbours. Such a situation rises from the fact that the larger powers can at present accord the smaller no real guarantee of safety, and, therefore, the latter have to look to themselves as best they can.

Studying the new military map of Europe with the change in the frontiers of the smaller States of Europe, as well as of Austria and Hungary, it is difficult to pass unnoticed the fact that only two countries, namely, Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, possess defensible frontiers, from a military standpoint, and still they are far from satisfied, and show their hostile attitude towards their neighbours. The other countries, Greece, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Austria are practically separated only by artificial frontier-lines, which were only preliminarily traced either by the Peace Conference or by the "League," and in several cases by the respective countries themselves, in accordance with the strength of their armies at the actual moment.

Consequently, as Mr. Mowyer points out very aptly, "they endeavour to conclude alliances with their neighbour's neighbour, and for the rest, they build up their armies, gathering arms and material wherever and however they can" (New York "Globe," December 9th, 1920).

#### Great Powers assisting Balkan Militarism.

There are two classes of States among the smaller nations of Europe. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia (Serbia), and Greece, considered members of the Entente, are allowed to develop whatever military system they choose, and are assisted materially in every way by the Great Powers, namely, Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States. France, from the military standpoint considered the leading power of the Entente, was entitled to organise the armies of these countries, and is practically guiding their strategy. This activity of French officers in Europe was very important for the French Government, which did not know what to do with demobilised troops after the great war, who sought employment. A great number of French officers and technicians are still serving with the Polish colours. The Polish army is purely a creation of the French who, after the inspection of the Polish volunteer forces raised during the Russian Revolution, finding this army too weak and imperfect to meet the Russian Red armies introduced, to the Poles, the conscript army suggested two years of service, a plan rejected by the conservative militarists of the French War Office. It was a rare opportunity for the French experts to test that method in Poland, and they did it. The Polish army numbers about 600,000 men perfectly equipped, and well supplied with ammunition, artillery, and other technical means for modern warfare, but suffers from a great lack of technicians, and, especially, of experienced superior officers, most of whom perished or became disabled during the Russian campaign. The superior Polish command, when left to themselves, always suffered most tragic defeats, and appealed to the French General Staff for help. There was never full harmony between the French superior officers and those of Poland. Most bitter jealousy and discordance ruled them, and, on each occasion, when the Poles attained considerable success in the field, the Polish high command claimed absolute independence, and asked the French generals to withdraw, while at dangerous moments, excuses were sent to Paris and they begged for new moral support from the French strategists. The officers of the Czar's army, of Polish origin, played the most important part in the Polish command, and these are the bitterest opponents of the French methods of warfare and organisation. The Polish officers of the German school are opposed to both French and Russian scholars, and there are a number of admirers of French military methods among the young Polish military elements. These three groups cannot agree with one another, and, consequently, cause great difficulty to the high command. Finally, the foremost military experts of the Entente came to the conclusion that the Polish army is far inferior to the Red Army of the Soviets, and that, in case of a new war between Poland and Soviet Russia, the Polish armies, if they were not supported by a powerful military alliance of certain bordering States, situated on the Russian frontier as, for instance, Roumania, they would be completely defeated by the Reds in spite of the moral and material support which Poland might expect from the Allies.

#### The Big Armies of the Small Entente States.

Czechoslovakia claims to be keeping a standing army of 150,000 men. This army arose under very exceptional circumstances, and its first deed was its unforgettable fight in Siberia before the victorious advance of the Russian Red Army during its dash on Kolchak. The part which the Czechoslovaks played in the Russian counter-revolution remained like a black spot in the history of the new republic, and is condemned by most of its population. We must not overlook the fact that the soldiers of Czechoslovakia are allowed to vote and that, in general, they are far from being extreme militarists. The Czechs and Slovaks are severely criticising the two year's military system of service introduced among them by the French, and they are looking forward to the organisation of a kind of people's militia. Present conditions in this republic indicate that it will not be long before events there will remove every possibility of any alliance with countries hostile to Soviet Russia.

Roumania also possesses a standing army of 150,000, but due to the necessity of keeping troops of occupation in Transylvania, the Banat, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, there are now about 350,000 Roumanians under arms. As an organised body,

the Roumanian army may be considered of very high standing. There exists the two year conscript method of service also, but the Roumanians are educated along the principles of so-called "easy wars." During the Russo-Turkish War, in 1877-78, their famous entry in Plevna was a result of the super-human sacrifices of the Russian army.

"The Roumanians," said the celebrated Turkish General, Osman-Pasha, "entered Plevna by the open gates." During the Balkan War in 1912, the Roumanians attacked Bulgaria, at the moment when Bulgaria was defeated by her allies, and without any resistance marched on Sofia. Their invasion of Hungary and occupation of Bessarabia were accomplished in the period when the Hungarians and the Russians were struggling against their own counter-revolution. There was no opportunity for the Roumanian army to show its military quality except that it put up very feeble resistance to the Austro-Germans during the Great War. As an ambitious country, entirely under the influence of the imperialistic coalition of the west, and very faithful to the Roumanian Catholic Church, Roumania may join the Poles in their further possible aggression against Soviet Russia.

The Greek army numbers about 250,000 at the present moment, and can be considered an able fighting organisation, well equipped and perfectly officered; but the interest which Greek policy took in Asia Minor enticed Greek strategy into such difficult positions that being confronted with its old enemies, Bulgaria, on one hand, and the Turks, on the other hand, the Greeks have to fight themselves and will scarcely be able to sacrifice their military strength for any country whose actual interests differ from their own. The internal reaction in Greece, which is far from being in the interest of the Allies, and will bring serious troubles upon Greece, prevents this country from joining a campaign which the Allies may organise in Europe against Soviet Russia. Greece has lost her game in Anatolia, and after her army evacuates Smyrna, the Greeks will be entirely preoccupied in organising their State. It must not be forgotten that the shadow of revolution is already threatening the newly-created Greek Empire.

#### The Danger of Jugo-Slavia.

The strongest and most dangerous nation among the smaller States of Europe is certainly Jugo-Slavia, under which name now is known the artificially enlarged Serbia. About eight years of continuous warfare created among the Serbians experienced military leaders, who, even before the Great War, thanks to the exceptional geographical and political conditions of Serbia, were of very high standing, from a purely military point of view. The quality of the Serbian soldier has been well proven. The well-trained, highly-disciplined and fully-equipped, permanent troops, led by excellent officers. The system of service is that of conscription for two years in the cavalry and artillery, and a year and a half in the infantry. In addition, in the new provinces, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Dalmatia, and the Banat, all men up to 33 years of age are being conscripted for two-month periods to accustom them to the Serbian method. Being disciplined on purely imperialistic lines, the Serbian farmers, like the German burghers and peasants, are extremely conservative and are entirely in the hands of their military leaders, who they believe have reconquered for them their lost motherland. Had Jugo-Slavia been in a different geographical situation instead of being surrounded by enemies, the Serbian army would have been the first sent to Poland in order to fight Soviet Russia. The Serbian troops have shamelessly supported Russian counter-revolution, and we have heard nothing about Serbian soldiers having joined the Reds. Barred from Poland by Hungary and Czechoslovakia, in the presence of the neutrality of Roumania, the Serbian imperialistic government was absolutely unable to support the Polish campaign against the Soviet Government. All the efforts of the Allies to force Roumania to enter the conflict ended in complete failure. But had the intrigues of the imperialistic coalition succeeded, and had the Serbian army, together with the Roumanians, supported the Polish advance, the situation of the Red Army would have been very critical. Summing up the old situation of the smaller States in Europe friendly to the Allies, I arrive at the conclusion that the Entente may try to repeat its attack on Soviet Russia in the near future, using for the purpose Poland, Roumania, and Jugo-Slavia, a military force representing about two and a half million men. But, fortunately for the Soviets, there exists the second group of smaller nations in Europe, namely Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary, which are considered enemy countries of the Entente. These countries, though they became the object of forcible disarmament and limitation of their military strength numerically, as well as by the method of volunteer enlistment, still represent a considerably strong fighting body in case of emergency.

#### Bulgarian Forces.

Bulgaria, which is allowed a maximum of 20,000 soldiers and 10,000 military police, Hungary with about 35,000 soldiers, and Austria also with 35,000, are practically in possession of armies of much larger size. Bulgaria, for instance, gradually becoming revolutionised, is putting into effect a scheme of universal labour, which is nothing more than a military organisation, stronger than was

in the past, and can mobilise a force equal in number to that of Serbia. Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary never have surrendered their surplus arms to the Entente. The Bulgars and Magyars, faithful to their old traditions, are still hiding arsenals and weapons throughout their mountainous and woody country.

During my sojourn in Bulgaria, when I fought the Turks in Macedonia, being a leader of a Macedonian "cheta" of "comitajes" in 1903, then later during the Balkan War, I had several opportunities to inspect some of these secret arsenals, and I am sure that the ablest detectives in the world would be unable to find them without the help of one who knows, and if he succeeded, his discovery would be useless—he would never return from the place. Jugo-Slavia and Roumania have to keep an eye on their neighbours who, though humiliated and vanquished, will have strength in case of emergency. More than half of their actual forces have to watch the frontiers of these neighbours, and, therefore, in joining the Poles, in case of a new war between Poland and Soviet Russia, both Jugo-Slavia and Roumania would scarcely be able to put in the field an army of one million men, which together with all the Polish military resources would present a force of two millions, a number scarcely to be compared with the five millions in the Red Army of the Russo-Ukrainian coalition.

On the other hand, in case of such a campaign in the west, Russian strategy would again be purely on the defensive, as it was in the past, with the difference that the rear of the Soviet Army is now in perfect order because the counter-revolution, which existed at the time of the Polish war of 1920, is now completely beaten in Russia, while the rear of our possible enemies cannot be considered in a perfect state and fully guaranteed from ferocity.

#### Russian Superiority.

In case of an unsuccessful campaign at the beginning, Russia can suffer only a series of tactical reverses, and finally would be strategically triumphant, first because of her numerical superiority over the enemy, and, secondly, because she can dispose of enormous space in order to accomplish great manoeuvres while retreating.

Quite the reverse can be said in regard to the enemies of Soviet Russia. A single tactical defeat inflicted upon them by the Reds would have fatal consequences for their imperialistic regime, namely, a revolutionary uprising in their respective countries which means a definite victory for the strategy of the Soviet Government.

In repeating their attack on Soviet Russia once again, imperialistic Poland, when in alliance with Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, would only hasten the establishment of the Soviet regime among the smaller States of Europe.

The Great War was the immediate cause of the Russian Revolution. The armed intervention of the Allied nations further strengthened the Soviets. The Polish war, backed by the powerful coalition of the leading imperialistic countries, increased the military force of the Russian proletariat.

Further intervention will leave Soviet Russia unshaken, and can only give impetus to the revolutionary movement throughout all Europe.

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## SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

(First appeared in LA SOCIETE NOUVELLE REVUE INTERNATIONALE, June, 1894.)

#### Socialist Problem in 1894.

International Socialism is to-day confronted by a problem of gravest importance. Wherever the modern spirit prevails, wherever the new conscience has come to life, are found the same divergence of opinion, the same lamentable schism. In the stream of thought that makes for the ocean of righteousness, two distinct currents flow side by side: they might be styled the Parliamentary and the anti-Parliamentary, or the Parliamentary and revolutionary, or better still, the authoritative and libertarian.

This remarkable difference of opinion was one of the chief topics discussed at the Zurich Congress, and although a resolution was adopted which was virtually a compromise, the question remained unsettled. The resolution brought forward by the Paris Central Revolutionary Committee was drafted as follows:—

#### The Congress decides:

"The continuous struggle for the possession of political power by the Socialist and Workers' Party, is our chief duty, for only when the proletariat has won political supremacy, will it be able by abolishing privileges and classes, and by expropriating the present ruling and possessing classes, to obtain a complete hold of that power and to found the Social Republic, firmly based on human equality and solidarity."

All must admit that the words run glibly, but that the task is by no means easy. Indeed, one must be very simple, not to say silly, to believe that political power can be used to abolish classes and privileges and to expropriate the possessing class. First, we must work long and hard till we have obtained a Parliamentary majority, and then, that difficult business accomplished, we must calmly and serenely proceed by legal enactments to expropriate the possessing class. *O sancta simplicitas!* As if the possessing class, having at its disposal all the "resources of civilization" would ever permit you to go so far.

A proposition of the same nature, but more cunningly formulated, was tabled by the German Social Democratic Party, and submitted for discussion by the Congress! In brief, it claimed that the struggle against the exploiting classes must be POLITICAL and have for its end THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

The object in view, then, is to be the possession of political power, and this programme is quite in harmony with the words of Bebel at the Conference of the Party held at Erfurt: "We have first to win and to use political power, so as to arrive simultaneously at economic power by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. Once let political power be in our hands, the rest will follow as a matter of course."

#### Out Marxing Marx.

Surely Marx must have turned in his grave when he heard such heresies defended by disciples who swear by his name. It seems to be with Marx as with Christ: many profess to worship him, the better to betray his principles. Observe the language used by Bebel. He seems to wish to have it inferred that economic power will follow political power as a kind of aftermath. Is it possible to imagine political omnipotence enthroned beside economic impotence? Up to now we have all been teaching, under the guidance of Marx and Engels, that it is economic power that determines political power, and that the political power of a class in the State is merely the shadow of its economic resources. Economic subjection is the cause of all manner of slavery and social inferiority, and now we hear it said by the little gods of the Social Democratic Party that political power must first be achieved, and that economic good things will follow; whereas it is exactly the opposite which is true.

Yes, they even went so far as to say:—

"So only he who will take an active part in the struggle, and will make use of all the political resources at the disposal of the proletariat, will be recognised as an active member

of the International Revolutionary Socialist Party."

#### Intolerance.

We all know the classical phrase of Germany, reserved for the expulsion of members of the Party: "*Hinausfliegen*" (to put him out). At the Congress at Erfurt, Bebel repeated what he had previously written (see "Protocol," p. 67): "We must make an end of this continual grumbling and of these firebrands of discord, who give the impression outside, that the Party is divided. I will take action at the next meeting of the Party, so that all misunderstanding between the Party and the opposition shall disappear, and so that if the opposition does not rally to the attitude and tactics of the Party, it shall have the opportunity to start a separate Party."

Quite in the tone of the Emperor William, is it not? Just like his impressive Majesty, when he says of dissatisfied subjects: "If that does not please them, they have only to leave Germany. I, William, I do not allow grumbling; thus saith the Emperor." "I, Bebel, do not permit grumbling in the Party: I, Bebel, have spoken." Touching analogy!

It is desired to apply internationally this peculiarly German drill. Were the proposal accepted, and were Marx still alive, he himself would have to be expelled from the Party he founded; that is, if the inquisitors dared, in his case, to be consistent. Once the heresy hunt were commenced, a creed would have to be imposed, and every member of the Party would have to declare, with his hand on his heart, that he believed implicitly in only one effective way of salvation—that through the possession of political power.

Opposed to both the French and the German resolutions on this subject at Zurich, was that of the Dutch Social Democratic Party, which formally declared that "the class war cannot be ended through Parliamentary action."

That this contention was not devoid of interest to thinkers, and would have had many supporters among independent men is proved by the comments of an influential writer in the English Socialist paper *Justice*, which were to the effect that the Dutch had raised a most effective and much needed protest, and that they led the way in which the Socialists of all countries would shortly have to follow.

We all know the fate of these varied notions. That of Holland was defeated, but not ingloriously, for the Germans surrendered the most objectionable points in their manifesto, and in a manner quite parliamentary, framed a feeble, half-and-half declaration in the spirit of compromise, which all nationalities might be expected to tolerate for the occasion. We are proud that Holland took no part in this travesty of union, preferring the honour of isolation and the dignity of silence.

However, it is a most remarkable thing, that Germany has been able to swallow a resolution of which the introductory words constitute a flat contradiction of the proposition brought forward in the Congress by her delegates. This freak of compromise can be proved by collating the two texts:—

#### Two Points of View.

**German Proposition.**—The war against class rule and exploitation must be POLITICAL, and have for its end THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

**Resolution Carried.**—Considering that political action is only a means of achieving the economic emancipation of the proletariat:

- (1) That the national and international organisation of the workers of all countries in Trade Unions and other associations to fight the exploiter is an absolute necessity;
- (2) That political action is necessary as much for the purpose of agitation and the consequent discussion of Socialist principles, as for the purpose of obtaining urgent reforms; to that end, it recommends the workers of all countries to struggle for the acquisition and exercise

of political rights, which may be made available to present as effectively as possible, the claims of the proletariat in all legislative and administrative bodies; to obtain possession of the means of political power and capitalist supremacy, and to change them into instruments for the emancipation of the worker;

(3) The choice of methods and the means of waging the economic and political war, must be left, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of each country, to the different nationalities;

Nevertheless, the Congress declares that it is necessary that, in this war, the revolutionary purpose of the Socialist movement be kept in the foreground, involving as it does, the complete overthrow in its economic, political and moral aspects of society as at present constituted. Political action must never be used as an excuse for compromises or alliances injurious to our principles and to our solidarity.

It is true that this resolution, itself the product of a compromise, does not as a whole, dazzle the reader by its logical consistency. The first section of it contained the bait which the Dutch contingent was expected to swallow, and whereby it was anticipated that their consent to the whole resolution would be secured. In the following sections, some concessions are made to the other side; for instance, where the acquisition and use of political rights are recommended to the workers; and finally, to satisfy both wings of Parliamentarians, and that each might give its approval, mention is made of political power as a means of agitation as well as an instrument for obtaining urgent reforms.

#### Conciliation confuses Thought.

In short, nothing has been effected by this resolution, constructed to conciliate both Parties, and to display at all hazards, an unbroken front to outsiders. To demonstrate the most complete international union was the purpose of the Congress, and that aim has certainly not been achieved. Not only was the Dutch delegation in direct opposition, but many of the Germans, too, could not possibly have approved the latter part of the proposition, for they openly declared themselves in favour of the principle of direct legislation by the people, of the initiative and referendum, and of the system of proportional representation. This is an open conflict with the views of the well-known Karl Kautsky, who writes as follows:—

"Partisans of direct legislation hunt the devil from one body into many; for to grant to all citizens the right of voting upon proposed legal enactments is nothing more nor less than to carry corruption from Parliament to people."

And here is his conclusion:—

"In fact, in Europe, to the East of the Rhine at all events, the bourgeoisie has become so enfeebled and cowardly that it seems as if the government of politicians armed with the sword will only be done away with when the proletariat will be able to exercise political power, as if the fall of military absolutism involved the immediate transference of authority to the workers. One thing is certain, that in Germany, in Austria, and in most European countries, the conditions indispensable to the progress of Socialist legislation, and above all, the democratic institutions needful to the triumph of the proletariat, will never come into existence. In the United States, in England, and in the English colonies, even perhaps in France, legislation by the people might reach a certain stage of development; but for us Eastern Europeans, it must be reckoned as one of the adjuncts of Utopia."

Is it possible that a practical people like the Germans, who pride themselves on their common sense and moderation, are at this time and day, going to wax enthusiastic over an "adjunct to Utopia," and become fanatics and dreamers? Forbid the thought!

(To be continued.)

# Workers' Dreadnought

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## UNEMPLOYMENT.

According to the official figures available at the Ministry of Labour, the number of the unemployed on the register of the Labour Exchanges shows an increase of 72,000 during the week.

The daily press informs us that the Government is still considering the problem; that Lloyd George dined on Friday evening with Sir Robert Horne, the President of the Board of Trade, and that the subject, it is understood, was discussed at great length before the Prime Minister left for Paris. The political sagacity of our leaders seems to have gone no further than that.

We are also faced, as a nation, with the problem of the greatest importance: the idleness of one-fortieth of the population. In an industrial country, one man for every forty cannot work, cannot produce.

What a conclusive proof this would be, of the fallacy of Soviet rule, if such a thing were happening in Russia!

To the individual, to the home, unemployment means less food, less comfort, lower morality and probably hunger.

Unemployment! And the greater part of Central Europe on the verge of starvation! The land is there to be tilled, and good Mother Earth awaiting to give up her produce. Factories everywhere around us, with tools and machinery to assist production. Raw materials in great quantities unreclaimed, needing only transportation. Willing hands everywhere. Unemployment! The State, complete in all its machinery; Parliament sitting to pass laws and all needful regulations; science, all powerful; conqueror of the air and of space; political parties in all their equipment of programmes and reforms; Trade Unions with a growing membership, a membership that was never higher; and yet there is unemployment! Unemployment, and the nation at peace—officially—everywhere. The war won!

What is the barrier that stands between useful work and production, and the willing hands ready to produce?

The barrier is the individual ownership of the means of production, and the consequent production of goods and of wealth for profit—individual profit.

Against this barrier even Trade Unionism is powerless. It can assist to alleviate the misery, not to solve the problem.

Unemployment is due to the fact that at recurrent periods, alike in a victorious country or a defeated one, for complex reasons, some of a political nature, some of a commercial one, production cannot be carried on at a profit by those who control the machines, the land, the means of transport, by which commodities are produced, manufactured and distributed.

In capitalist countries, where the means of production are individually owned, unemployment may even conduce to higher profits. Lower production—lower wages to pay at the factory, and less goods on the market may tend to keep prices up and to maintain the same percentage of profits.

The capitalists of a nation, competing against those of other countries for the sake of profit, may find it convenient to cause unemployment. Speedily, unemployment reduces wages. Goods may thus be produced at prices that can compete with those of other nations. The sufferings of unemployment are the casualties in the warfare that one national set of capitalists wages against another country.

Another of the causes of unemployment is the division of the world into nations, each dominated by a ruling class formed solely of the owners of the means of production.

Make the production of commodities, not on the basis of individual profit, but for use, for consumption; do away with the struggle between one set of capitalists against the others, and unemployment will disappear. Only then will it disappear. All other attempts to solve the problem are passing remedies, palliatives, that will leave the cause of the disease untouched, to reappear in a short time once more.

These are the reasons why certain people call themselves Communists; because, against the welfare of the individual—for that matter, of a few individuals—they set the welfare of the community. Communism implies besides the recognition of these essential truths, the desire to bring them about in the realm of reality.

The recognition that there will be an interested opposition to the application of these truths, imparts a revolutionary character to Communism.

To bring about a new society, organised for the welfare of the community, a struggle will take place between those so desirous, and those who benefit by the present organisation of society.

Since they who now suffer are those who, whilst producing, yet have not—at present—the means of regulating production, it follows that they have, by the assertion of their organised force, to gain and maintain that power to control production, which is now denied to them. This is what is meant by the phrase: "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Unemployment will always be with us till we remove the fundamental causes of it. Communism alone can do that.

## NOT A PERSONAL QUESTION.

For several months previous to her arrest, Comrade Pankhurst, finding that her health was not equal to the strain of public speaking and to the usual routine of propaganda work, had decided to devote the greater part of her time to the *Dreadnought*. From its columns, she could express her burning faith in a humanity regenerated through Communism. She wrote many of the unsigned articles in the paper, her aim being the making of propaganda; she cared little for renown, still less for "initials."

She went to Russia, to the Third International Congress, by underground ways, without a passport, which was a long journey, full of hardships. On her return to England, when she could have made use of the experiences gained by her visit to Soviet Russia, she was sent to prison for a purely technical offence; since not one of the incriminating articles was written by her.

At the trial she discarded legal assistance, in order to be able to defend her principles and her faith.

In prison, she now demands treatment as a political prisoner, or the application of Regulation 243A, which grants small privileges such as reading and writing, to those who are convicted of offences not implying moral turpitude.

In Holloway, Comrade Pankhurst still carries on the fight.

The fight for the recognition of political rights must be won.

Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" was written in prison. It was not seized by the gaolers. Even in modern times in England, there are precedents for this. When W. T. Stead published his "Modern Babylon," he broke the law, technically, for indecency. Yet the honesty of his purpose was recognised, and he served his three months' of imprisonment in the First Division.

A civilised country cannot deny in 1921 what was permissible in an age of religious persecutions.

When women demanded the Vote and equal political rights, the rulers of the country, those on whose wisdom the welfare of the British nation depended, found endless arguments to prove such demands senseless and absurd.

These men were wrong. These men are still alive to see the utter stupidity of their former speeches and opinion.

These same men will say now, that to accord political prisoners the right of being treated as such is utter nonsense.

They must be proved wrong once more.

There are many former friends of Comrade Pankhurst who have not accepted Communism, but who still believe in political prisoners being accorded the treatment to which they are entitled, and we ask them to join the fight to secure this object.

It is evident that the more the class-struggle increases in intensity, the more severe will be the action of the law against those who advocate an economic change of society.

The ruling class will deny that this is a "political" question; it will assert that it is a crime against the institution of property.

Nevertheless, freedom of thought, even on economic questions, must be maintained. For this reason, prisoners whose offence is simply the expression of an opinion, however that opinion may be at variance with accepted views, must be treated as political prisoners.

There are many ways in which those who believe in the elementary question of justice can assist.

The simplest—that which is open to everyone—is the public expression of such a belief.

It is the act of testimony which conquers the world.

Express your opinion on this question as soon as you can, in the best way you can, as often as possible, amongst those with whom you work, in your family, and in the press.

The lonely person in Holloway is fighting for a right that is indisputable. It is the fight for the dignity of human thought.

To the righteousness of the fight, bring the powerful assistance of your public testimony.

## TAKING A HAND.

What's wrong with the country? Ah, that is a question;

Seems everything's wrong before and behind. To look at the future gives ME indigestion, But the chap as won't see, that chap is twice blind.

Now you know, if you ask for a rise of a tanner, Then prices go up quite a bob, mebbe more, And it's plain as the nose on your face, in this manner

We *won't* never be better off nor before, And it's clear as the hole in your boots, if not clearer,

That takin' less wages won't help pay the rent, Cos we ain't got no guarantee grub won't be dearer, And we ain't paid for everything but our wages is spent.

Seems a stiff 'un, eh what? What's a bloke to be doing?

Now none of your talk of revolution for me; I'm a peaceable chap, though I use to be screwing Through a few hundred Huns there over the sea.

However, it strikes me there's plenty of clobber, And houses and grub in this land of the free; And since each kind boss seems some sort of a robber,

Then things must be settled by workers like me.

Hey, that's revolution? Well, the odds they don't matter,

If they won't have it peaceable, they'll have it the same;

They've run things so flat, they couldn't be flatter, And if someone gets squashed, who's the blighter to blame?

M.

# SHOULD COMMUNISTS PARTICIPATE IN REACTIONARY TRADE UNIONS?

By N. LENIN.

(Continued from last week.)

During a period of 25 years, from illegal, underground, small circles, the Proletarian State Power grew to its present proportions. All the talk as to whether control should be exercised from above or from below, or as to whether there should be a dictatorship of the leaders or of the masses, etc., is as ridiculous as to ask whether a man's left foot is more essential to his body than his right arm.

It seems to us that the German Lefts are also involved in ridiculous childish absurdities in their grave and very learned and terrifically revolutionary chatter, as to the advisability of Communists carrying on their work within the reactionary trade unions, or of their refusal to so participate and to withdraw from them entirely and form obligatory, brand new, Simon pure industrial unions. These workingmen's unions are very youthful and are the inventions of the "Left" Communists.

While Capitalism transmits a heritage to Socialism of century old craft and trade distinctions among the workers, it, at the same time, brings out the Trade Unions which in time can and will develop broader industrial forms embracing whole industries and which will abolish all trade and craft distinctions and eventually bridging the gulf between intellectual and manual labour. The workers then become universally educated, trained and equipped to accomplish all their necessary tasks. Communism tends toward and must accomplish this, but through a long process of development. To go into raptures over this inevitable growth and to expect these industrial unions of themselves to grow into a full-fledged and perfect Communist society is as criminally foolish as to expect a four year old girl to become a mother. At the best, this is ridiculous and puerile, and at worst, a nasty crime.

We should and must begin to construct Communist society, not out of fantastic notions nor from artificially and man-created materials, but from such materials as are at hand and inherited from Capitalist society. It is self-evident that this is a difficult task to accomplish, but any other means to achieve this end is pure circumvention and unworthy of serious consideration.

The Trade Unions in the early period of Capitalism represented a great advance by the working class, during the transition from their helpless and unorganised condition to the beginning of class unity. When a higher form of class unity of the proletariat begins to develop the revolutionary political party of the proletariat would be unworthy of its name if it failed to understand how to connect their leaders with the working class and the masses in one integral whole.

It is inevitable that the Trade Unions will show reactionary craft narrowness and conservative pure and simple characteristics. But there could be no other process of development of the proletariat than through the Trade Unions and the reciprocal influence of the working-class party.

The conquest of political power by the proletariat is a tremendous step forward. The mission of the Party is to educate the Trade Unions to use new tactics instead of old ones to lead them, and at the same time to remember that the unions are and will be for a long time "schools of Communism" and preparatory schools for the realisation of the Proletarian Dictatorship. These unions are necessary to achieve the solidarity of the workers in order to take over the administration of all the industries of

the entire country by the working class as a whole and not by the individual trade or industrial unions.

Even under the Proletarian Dictatorship some forms of reaction are unavoidable within the Trade Unions. Not to understand this means not to have the slightest conception of the fundamental conditions obtaining in the transition period from Capitalism to Communism. To fear this backwardness of the Trade Unions, to attempt to circumvent it, to try to escape it, is nonsensical, and indicates a lack of faith in the role which the proletarian vanguard must assume as the instructor, the leader, and the beacon which attracts to the new life the lowest strata and the backward elements of the masses, the working class and peasantry. To postpone, however, the realisation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, until the last reactionary Trade Unions or workingmen relinquishes his craft or Trade Union bias, would be a profound mistake.

The art of politics, the proper understanding by Communists of their problems, consist in correctly considering and discounting the conditions and the moment when the proletarian vanguard may successfully conquer political power; to be able to immediately obtain sufficient support from all strata of the working class and from the non-proletarian elements of the labouring masses; and afterward to be able to safeguard and maintain their power and to extend it, educating, leading and attracting the whole labouring masses.

Furthermore, in countries more advanced than in Russia, the reactionary tendencies in the Trade Unions are naturally more pronounced, more conspicuous, than in our country. In Russia, the Mensheviks had (and to some extent still have in a very few Trade Unions) the support of the Trade Unions due to trade narrowness and opportunism and craft exclusiveness. The Mensheviks of the Western countries have a far greater influence in the ranks of the Trade Unions because these unions are dominated by a more powerful element of labour aristocracy, who uphold Trade Union narrowness and the self-interest and sordidness of these petty bourgeois inspired imperialistic Trade Unions, whose leaders are corrupted and bribed by the capitalist imperialists. These statements cannot be successfully contradicted. The struggle with men like Gompers, Henderson, Jouhaux, Merheim, Legiens, etc., is much severer than is the case with our own Mensheviks, who represent a more homogeneous social and political type.

The struggle must be carried on without compromise, and these reactionary and incorrigible social patriotic, opportunist leaders must be exposed, discredited and expelled in disgrace from the Trade Unions. It is impossible to conquer political power, nor should we attempt to take over political power until this fight has been waged up to a certain degree. In different countries and in different circumstances, the degree to which the fight should be carried is not always identical. These conditions can be carefully appraised only by trained, thoughtful and experienced political leaders of the proletariat of each country.

In Russia, for example, the criterion of success in this conflict was determined by the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November, 1917—a few days after the proletarian uprising of October 25th, 1917. In these elections, the Mensheviks were

overwhelmingly defeated, receiving 700,000 votes (including trans-Caucasia—1,400,000 votes) as against 9,000,000 votes received by the Bolsheviks.

The struggle with the "labour aristocracy" we carry on in the name of the working masses and for the purpose of winning them over to our side. This struggle with the social-chauvinist and opportunist leaders must be carried on in order to attract the working class to us. It would be sheer folly to ignore this most elementary and self-evident truth. And it is precisely this folly that is being committed by the "Left" German Communists, who, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the leaders of the Trade Unions, jump at conclusion and withdraw from the unions, refusing to work within them; evolving new and fantastic forms of labour organisations. In persisting in this unpardonable folly, the Communists are rendering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie. For the Mensheviks, the social-chauvinist and Kautskian leaders of the Trade Unions are nothing less than agents of the capitalists within the working class movement (just as we have always said of our own Mensheviks) or, in the beautiful and profoundly truthful expression used by DeLeon in America, "the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class."

To refuse to take part in the reactionary Trade Unions means to abandon the undeveloped or backward masses to the tender mercies of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, and to the "aristocrats of labour," the capitalist minded workers. (See a letter written by Engels to Marx in 1852, referring to the English workers.)

The silly "theory" of non-participation in the reactionary Trade Unions discloses in a most striking manner the superficial attitude of the "Left" Communists toward the question of reaching and influencing the masses. Their ravings about the "masses" become abusive and worthless.

In order to be in a position to assist the masses, and win their sympathy, goodwill and active support, we must fear neither insults, hardships, or persecution at the hands of the reactionary leaders, who, being social-patriots, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the capitalist government and the police powers of the State. IT IS INCUMBENT UPON US TO WORK WHERE THE MASSES ARE!

We must school ourselves to make any sacrifices, to be able to overcome the greatest obstacles, in order to carry on, systematically, and with indomitable determination, our propaganda and agitation in all these unions, societies, etc., even though they are the most frankly reactionary, provided always that they are composed of proletarian or semi-proletarian working masses. The Trade Unions and Workers' Co-operatives (the latter only to a certain extent) are just the kind of organisation which take in the working masses. According to data cited in a Swedish newspaper, of March 10th, 1919, the membership of the British Trade Unions increased from 5.5 million in 1917, to 6.5 millions in 1918, a 19 per cent. increase. At the end of 1919 this figure had jumped to 7.5 millions. I do not happen to have at hand corresponding figures for France or Germany, but it is incontestable that the membership of the Trade Unions in these countries has also increased enormously.

(To be continued)

## IX Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

### The Immediate Problems of Economic Construction.

(Continued from last week.)

#### XI.—Specialists in Industry.

Being of opinion that without a scientific organisation of industry even the widest application of compulsory labour service and the greatest labour heroism of the working class will not only fail to secure the establishment of a powerful Socialist production, but will also fail to assist the country to free itself from the clutches of poverty—the congress considers it imperative to register all able specialists of the various departments of public economy and widely to utilise them for the purposes of industrial organisation.

Without altogether abolishing the further necessary control over and severe punishment of all counter-revolutionary elements striving to utilise their offices for purposes of hindering and undermining the economic regime—the Congress at the same time reminds all the members of the party and in the most categorical form of the necessity of ideologically interesting and attracting all specialists into the sphere of the industrial interests of the Soviet Republic. The Congress makes it incumbent upon all party members to strive, in strict correspondence with the spirit and the letter of our programme, to establish an atmosphere of comradely collaboration between workers and specialists whom the proletarian regime has inherited from the bourgeois system.

The Congress considers the elucidation to the wide masses of the workers of the tremendous character of the economic problems of the country to be one of the chief problems of industrial and general political agitation and propaganda; of equal importance is technical education, administrative and scientific technical experience. The Congress makes it obligatory to all the members of the Party to mercilessly fight that particularly abnoxious form of ignorant conceit which deems the working-class capable of solving all problems without the assistance in the most responsible cases of specialists of the bourgeois school. The demagogic elements who speculate on this kind of prejudice of the more backward section of our working classes can have no place in the ranks of the party of scientific Socialism.

Registration of individual output or productivity of labour and the granting of corresponding individual premiums must also be carried out in a way suitable to administrative technical staff. Better conditions must be secured for our best administrators and engineers to enable them to make full use of their capacities in the interests of Socialist economy.

A special system of premiums is to be established for those specialist under whose guidance the workers can attain the necessary qualifications to make them capable to accept further independent posts.

The prejudice against joining Trade Unions still held by the higher technical staff of our concerns and institutions must be completely eradicated. By including in their organisations doctors, engineers, surveyors, etc., the Trade Unions will, with the comradely collaboration of the organised proletariat, assist these elements to take an active part in the work of Soviet construction, and will, at the same time, acquire the specific training and scientific knowledge and experience necessary to the workers.

#### XII.—Chief Section of Political Propaganda of Ways and Communications.

For the most immediate future transport

remains the centre of the attention and efforts of the Soviet Government. The improvement of transport is the indispensable basis upon which even the most moderate success in all other spheres of production and first of all in the food question can be gained.

The chief difficulty with regard to the improvement of transport is the fragility of the Transport Workers' Union, which is due in the first case to the heterogeneity of the personnel of the railways, amongst whom there are still a number of those who belong to the period of disorganisation; and, secondly, to the fact that the most class-conscious and best elements of the railway workers were at the various fronts of the civil war.

Considering wide Trade Union assistance of the railway workers to be one of the principal tasks of the party, which is the only condition under which transport can be raised to its due height—the Congress at the same time recognises the inflexible necessity of employing exclusive and extraordinary measures (martial law and so forth). Such necessity is the result of the terrible collapse of the transport and of the railway system and is to introduce measures which cannot be delayed and which are to obviate the complete paralysis of the railway system and together with this the ruin of the Soviet Republic.

Appreciating the Chief Section of Political Propaganda of Ways and Communications from this aspect the Congress looks upon this section as a temporary organ of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government, pursuing simultaneously two inseparable aims, viz. the immediate improvement of the state of our transport by means of the organised activity of our trusted Communists, the best representatives of the working class, and enlarging the Trade Union railway organisation by infusing in it the best workers whom the above section despatches to various railway points, as well as by assisting the Trade Union itself to establish in its organisation an iron discipline, thus changing the railway union into an indispensable instrument for effecting an improvement in the railway transport.

Upon the execution of this work the Chief Section for Political Propaganda of Ways and Communications and its local organs should in the shortest time possible be merged with the Trade Union organisation of the railway proletariat on the one hand and on the other hand with the normal institutions of the Peoples' Commissariat for Ways and Communications.

#### XIII.—Food Problems.

The following are the prominent problems of the food policy:—

1. To collect at the cost of the greatest possible exertion of our forces a food reserve of a few hundred million poods.

2. To distribute this reserve to the food bases of the principal districts of industrial concentration.

3. Closely and strictly to subject the Food policy, especially as far as distribution is concerned, to the interests of the revival of industry and transport. (It is necessary in the first place to supply the most important industrial enterprises and the transport apparatus; a more flexible manœuvring must be employed in connection with the changes arising in industrial undertakings, the introduction of a system of premiums in kind and so on). One of the most important problems both as regards

the re-establishment of industry as well as in the interests of foreign commercial exchange is the formation of a reserve of raw material. The supply of raw material must be based on the system of government levy and the obligatory delivery of raw material in accordance with the government rules. At the same time wherever raw material is supplied a system for the payment of goods thus supplied should be introduced by products and semi-manufactures to the extent and in a form to be established in each individual case, as that is already being practised with regard to hemp, flax and so forth.

#### XIV.—The Labour Armies

The utilisation of military detachments for labour is of equal importance from a practical economic and Socialist educational aspect. The following are the conditions for a beneficial and extensive application of military labour:—

(a) Simple character of work, for which all the Red Army soldiers are equally fit;

(b) The application of a system of allotted tasks, the non-fulfilment of which leads to a decrease of rations;

(c) The introduction of the premium system;

(d) The participation in the work in the same labour district of a number of Communists whose example is to influence the Red Army detachments.

The drafting into the labour army of larger military units will inevitably result in a higher percentage of Red Army men not being engaged in production. Therefore the utilisation of entire labour armies under conditions of preservation of the military apparatus is justifiable only where it is necessary for military purposes to preserve the army in its entirety. But as soon as necessity disappears in this direction the usual large staffs and administrations are to be dismissed and its best elements consisting of skilled workers to be utilised for the formation of small pioneer labour detachments to be sent to the most important industrial enterprises.

#### XV.—Labour Desertion.

Owing to the fact that a considerable part of the workers either in search of better conditions or often for purposes of speculation voluntarily leave their places of employment or change from place to place, which inevitably impairs production and deteriorates the general position of the working class—the Congress considers one of the most important problems of the Soviet Government and of the Trade Union organisations to be the establishment of a firm, systematic and insistent struggle against labour desertion. The way to fight this is to publish a column of desertion fines, the formation of labour detachments, of deserters under fine, and finally, internment in concentration camps.

#### XVI.—Subbotniki.

More attention should be given to the free labour (Subbotniki) Saturdays taking place in the provinces. Such work should be selected for the Subbotniki as is of greater interest to the local population; this work should be given the character of a collective labour effort for widely understood aims, and attempts should be made not only to attract non-party men to this work, but even the general local population, men and women. A carefully elaborated technical plan of every Subbotniki is of equal importance, as well as a strict and most advantageous distribution of forces and an essentially economical utilisation of such forces.

(To be continued.)

### WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS SOVIETS OF WORKERS DEPUTIES SHOULD BE FORMED.

1. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies appeared for the first time in Russia in 1905, at a moment when the revolutionary movement of Russian workmen was at its height. Already in 1905, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies was taking the first instinctive steps towards the seizure of power. And at that time, the Petrograd Soviet was strong only as far as it had a chance of acquiring political power. As soon as the Imperial counter-revolution rallied its forces and the Labour movement slackened, the Soviet, after a short vegetation, ceased to exist.

2. When in 1916, at the beginning of a new strong revolutionary wave, the idea began to awaken in Russia regarding the immediate organisation of Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the Bolshevik Party warned the workmen against the immediate formation of the Soviets, and pointed out that such a formation would be well-timed only at the moment when the revolution would have already begun and when the turn would have come for the direct struggle for power.

3. At the beginning of the February revolution of 1917, when the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were transformed into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, they drew into the sphere of their influence the widest circles of the masses and at once acquired a tremendous authority, because the real force was on their side, in their hands. But when the liberal bourgeoisie recovered from the suddenness of the first revolutionary blows, and when the social traitors, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks helped the Russian bourgeoisie to take the power into its own hands, the importance of the Soviets began to dwindle. Only after the July days and after the failure of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary campaign, when the wider masses began to move, and when the threat of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois government came quite near, then the Soviets began to flourish again; and they soon acquired a prominent importance in the country.

4. The history of the German and the Austrian revolutions shows the same. When the masses revolted, when the revolutionary wave rose so high that it washed away the strongholds of the monarchies of the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs, in Germany and in Austria, the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were formed with gigantic rapidity. At first the real force was on their side, and the Soviets were well on the way to become practically the power. But owing to a whole series of historical conditions, as soon as the power began to pass to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, then the Soviets began to decline and lose all importance. During the days of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary revolt of Kapp Lüttwitz in Germany, the Soviets again resumed their activity, but when the struggle ended again in the victory of bourgeoisie and the social traitors, the Soviets, which had just begun to revive, once more died away.

5. The above facts prove that for the formation of Soviets, certain definite premises are necessary. To organise Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the following conditions are necessary:—

(a) A great revolutionary impulse among the widest circles of workmen and workwomen, the soldiers and the labouring people in general.

(b) A political and economical crisis attaining such a degree that the power begins to slip out of the hands of the government.

(c) When in the ranks of considerable masses of the workmen, and first of all when in the ranks of the Communist Party a serious determination to begin a systematic and regular struggle for the power has become ripe.

6. In the absence of these conditions, the Communists may and should systematically and insistently propagate the idea of Soviets, popularise it among the masses, demonstrate to the widest circles of the population that the Soviets

are the only efficient form of government during the transition to complete Communism. But to proceed to a direct organisation of Soviets in the absence of the above three conditions is impossible.

7. The attempt of the social traitors in Germany to introduce the Soviets into the general bourgeois democratic constitutional system, is treason to the workers' cause and deceit of the workmen. Real Soviets are possible only as a form of state organisation, relieving bourgeois democracy, breaking it up and replacing it by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. The propaganda of the right leaders of the Independents (Hilferding, Kautsky and others), proving the compatibility of the "Soviet system" with the bourgeois Constituent Assembly, is either a complete misunderstanding of the laws of development of a proletarian revolution, or a conscious deceiving of the working class. The Soviets are the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Constituent Assembly is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To unite and reconcile the dictatorship of the working-class with that of the bourgeoisie is impossible.

9. The propaganda of some representatives of the Left Independents of Germany presenting workers with a ready-made, literary plan of a "Soviet system," which has no relation whatever to the concrete process of the civil war, is



The poor, my dear, are necessary, to keep us charitable!

a doctrinaire pastime which draws the workers away from their essential tasks of the real struggle for power.

10. The attempts to separate Communist groups in France, Italy, America and England to form Soviets not embracing the larger working masses and unable therefore to enter into a direct struggle for the power, are only prejudicial to the actual preparation of a Soviet revolution. Such artificial, hot-house "Soviets" soon become transformed in the best of cases into small associations for propaganda of the idea of a Soviet power, and in the worst case, such miserable "Soviets" are capable only of compromising the idea of the power of "Soviets" in the eyes of the popular masses.

11. At the present time, there exists a special condition in Austria, where the working-class has succeeded in preserving its Soviets, which unite large masses of workers. Here the situation resembles the period between February and October, 1917, in Russia. The Soviets in Austria represent a considerable political force, and appear to be the embryo of a new power.

It must be understood that in such a situation, the Communists ought to participate in these Soviets, help the Soviets to penetrate into all

phases of the social, economic and political life of the country; they should create Communist factions within these Soviets, and by all means aid their development.

12. Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution inevitably become a parody of Soviets. The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically revealed form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sincere and serious partisans of the power of Soviets should deal cautiously with the idea of Soviets, and while indefatigably propagating it among the masses, proceed to the direct realisation of such Soviets only under the conditions mentioned above.

### TENTH CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Central Committee decided to convene the Tenth Congress of the Party early in February. This Congress will have to make a summary of the last three years of incessant bloody strife, and enormous strenuous efforts in the field of economic construction. The Congress will have to mark out the course to be taken by the Party in the new conditions, when there is more or less "calm" at the fronts, and when indefatigable and uninterrupted work must be carried on in the rear.

The first question to be considered is that of Russian mutual relations with the external capitalistic world. Only now does this question receive a practical significance. Commercial treaties, foreign trade concessions—all these give rise to a number of new problems. There is a natural fear lest capitalists manage to break Soviet Russia up from within, lest they disintegrate her and multiply the speculative markets.

A subject for heated discussion will be the question of the role of the Trade Unions in industry. This question has already been frequently discussed, but life progresses at a rapid pace; the old formulae soon become inadequate, and the increasing role played by the Trade Unions in economic construction calls for this process. Party thought is working hard in that direction.

The Party itself and Party construction will probably become an object of the most passionate discussion. The Party is the decisive power, the most vital, mobile, and directing organisation of the working-class. The construction of the Party, its methods of work, its inner life, must inevitably undergo certain changes when it has to pass from the period of war to the period of peace.

The question of the nationalities, and especially the policy in the former colonies, which have now become parts of the Soviet Federation, will be given the most serious attention for the first time at this Congress. This problem is assuming great importance, as, on the one hand, Russia is actually passing over to the single economic plan, and on the other, she is coming into contact with the East.

Finally, the problems of the international come under discussion, after the Congress of the Communist International and the organisation of the Centre of the Red Trade Unions.

### SUBSIDISING THE PRESS.

Particularly during election campaigns, we hear scandalous stories of how politicians and political parties buy up the press. During strikes, we are told stories, and facts are shown proving that capitalists bribe and buy up the press to hurt the strikers. And we know how capitalists control the press, generally by direct management, mortgages, loans, and various other ways, all of which are known as "subsidising" the press.

To be sure, it is regarded as perfectly legitimate. Whoever has money can buy the goods—there are newspapers for sale on the market, and capitalists and bankers have plenty of loose change.

But, occasionally, workers take it into their heads to "subsidise" the press. This means that they decide to give their pennies—hard earned and hard stored—to THEIR press.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN JAPAN.

A Congress of women teachers took place in Tokio; 260 delegates attended. The teachers have organised their own Trade Union.

In a report of the Chief Secretary of the Department of Education, he comments upon the growth of Socialist literature. In 1919, there were 194 periodicals, and in 1920, nearly 300. It is noticeable that Japanese Socialist literature is no longer confined to translations, but now has native writers.

News from Tokio draws attention to the aggravated class war in Japan. The country is going through a great crisis. Its products cannot be exported, and big European orders have been cancelled. The huge profits of the Japanese industries during the war, brought about a great increase in prices, especially of food. This caused the unrest of 1918, known as the "rice-troubles." With great brutality, the Government was able then to crush these revolts, but they have again broken out.

When the Japanese soldiers and sailors came home from Siberia, they became the best of propagandists of the Revolution. Great advances towards helping the Revolution have been made among the occupying troops. Big mutinies have taken place and thousands of Communist pamphlets have been printed and distributed. In Japan, too, the revolutionary ideas have spread, in spite of the brutal reaction of the Japanese bourgeoisie. In Tokio, big demonstrations in sympathy with Soviet Russia were held, and when, in Hirokajevsk, Russian proletarians were murdered by the machine guns of the Japanese military, the Japanese proletariat protested against these murders by organising great demonstrations throughout the country. Strike followed strike, in spite of the new law by which every striker was liable to be punished by six months' hard labour. The Japanese Socialist Party has adhered to the Third International. It has, at the present moment, to work illegally, but nevertheless it is already a strong organisation.

COMMUNIST PERSECUTIONS IN GEORGIA.

According to the *Kommunisten Georgians*, the arrested Communists were most cruelly tortured. On December 11th, a second party of 60 persons, the Communists arrested in Tiflis, were shipped off to a labour prison. In many districts, the Communist Party has been completely destroyed.

THE "LL.R. REPUBLIC" OF GEORGIA.

The persecution of the Communists in Georgia increases. The legal work of the Party has been made almost impossible, and more than 200 have been imprisoned.

FRANCE, BARBUSSE, AND SEVERINE FOR COMMUNISM.

Anatole France, Henry Barbusse, the author of *Le Feu*, and the well-known authoress Severine, have declared themselves to be Communists. They have joined the French section of the Third International.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL TO THE FRENCH PROLETARIAT.

The following wireless was sent by Zinoviev to the French Socialist Party:—

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends its warmest greetings to the French proletariat for the victory which they have achieved in Tours. The victory of the Communists over the Reformists and the followers of Longuet, is the victory of the proletarian idea over the bourgeois idea. The class-conscious workers of the whole world see with pleasure that their French brothers have broken loose from their bourgeois comrades and that they are forming a proletarian Communist Party. The cutting out of Longuet and Renaudel from the Conference, signifies their passing over to the camp of the bourgeoisie, where the Reformist and such like have, for a long time, been more or less at home. Dear comrades, the Executive Committee of the Communist International requests you to send your representatives, in order to arrange the details of your union. Long live the Communist Party of France!

ZINOVIEV.

(President of the Executive Committee of the Third International).

ATTITUDE OF THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE RETURN OF KING CONSTANTINE.

The Greek Socialist Party (Communists) declined to take part in the plebiscite which was held over the return of King Constantine. They declared in their manifesto, that the Government, in order to get the King back, was once again ready to sacrifice the liberty of the Greek people and put them at the disposal of the Entente. When they gave Venizelos his walking-ticket, they did it as a mark of criticism of the pro-Entente policy which he wished to carry out by force. If the new Government declares that they are prepared to carry out the policy of their predecessors and to continue the war so that they may maintain the dynasty, it is not very difficult to expose

their evil intentions, namely, making a false use of the will of the people which was so clearly expressed at the Parliamentary elections, and to subjugate the land once more.

Many ballot-papers of soldiers who were Communists, who were forced to take part in the plebiscite, on whatever front they were serving, contained the words: "Lenin and Soviets."

The Secretaries of the Party in two Greek towns were arrested by the authorities because they called upon the workers not to take part in the plebiscite.

COMMUNISTS IN PARLIAMENT.

Forty Communists have been elected to the Greek Parliament. The Bulgarian paper *Zornia* reports that the Macedonians have voted for the Communists.

THE FATE OF WRANGEL'S ARMY.

The situation of the 24,000 men of Wrangel's army who were brought to Gallipoli is daily becoming more difficult. As a result of the lack of food and sanitary conditions, about a hundred soldiers are dying daily. After the defeat of Wrangel, 1,000 reactionary Russians fled to Greece. Many of them succeeded in getting help from the Greek National Bank, under the guarantee of the Government. 900 officers of the Wrangel army landed in Piræus. In Gallipoli and Lemnos, where Wrangel himself will stay, there is a reactionary army of about 40,000, who came from the Crimea. The Greek Government have placed sanitary supplies at their disposal. It is said that this army is destined for Asia-Minor or Poland.

RETURN OF THE ROUMANIAN SOCIALISTS FROM RUSSIA.

The Roumanian Socialist Party Delegation which was sent to Russia to study the situation there, has arrived in Vienna, on their way home. The representative of the Right Wing of the Party, formerly Minister of Welfare Siebenburgen, has related some of their experiences to a reporter of the *Besi Magyar Urasag*: "The delegation consisted of six people, Deputies Kristesku and Dobrasanu, the Secretary of the Roumanian Trade Union Council, Popovits, the Editor of the *Lupia de Clasa*, and myself. We passed two months in Russia. We visited Petrograd, Moscow and Charkow, and we had an interview with Tchitcherin, Trotsky, and Bukharin. There is complete order in Russia; theatre and cinema performances take place; the food situation, in comparison with the previous year, shows a great improvement. The chief policy of Soviet Russia is the economic reconstruction of the country."

After their return, the delegation will submit its report to the Roumanian Socialist Party, which will then decide the question of affiliation to the Third International. It can safely be said already that a split in the Party cannot be avoided.

PERSECUTION OF SOCIALISTS IN ROUMANIA.

It is reported from Hermannstadt that the following sentences were passed by a court-martial: Rudolf Mayer (Secretary of the Socialist Party), Wilhelm Rot (Editor), and Marguerite Rohr, ten years imprisonment; Goldstein, five years, and several others to terms varying from one to three years.

POLAND.

Warsaw is in an uproar owing to the want of bread. The Post Office workers are on strike, and the Postal Ministry as well as the Central Post Office have been occupied by the military.

FERMENT IN POLAND.

In Lemberg, on January 7th, a mass meeting of railway workers took place, in which more than 2,000 took part. The meeting was a very stormy one. The representative of the Polish Socialist Party tried to pacify the meeting. The result was a huge storm of resentment. A delegation is going to Warsaw, to inform the Government that in order to realise their demands, the railway workers are prepared to adopt the most extreme measures.

REACTION IN JUGO-SLAVIA.

The Radicals of Bosnia and Herzegovina are forming so-called "Citizen Guards" in all districts, and the State is supplying them with arms and munitions. In place of the strikers, the State is employing the "Russian Guests" of Wrangel's army. The workers prevented this, and the Russians were forced to withdraw. Many workers' organisations have been searched and closed by the authorities. The leaders of the Communist workers have been arrested. The dissolution of the railway workers' organisation, which is based on Communist principles, will shortly take place.

DENMARK.

The number of unemployed in Denmark has risen by 7,841. At the present moment, the total number of unemployed, according to official figures is 60,000.

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS.

Trade Union Organs and Education.

Official organs of Trade Unions usually make dull reading. Branch reports, correspondence, answers to correspondents, announcements of meetings, balance-sheets, appeals for funds, and similar matters are the outstanding features of journals devoted to the interests of Trade Unions. Of course, accounts of trade disputes are of real interest to the class-conscious worker, whether relating to his own trade or not. But, generally speaking, such journals are not of a very inspiring or interesting nature.

It is very necessary, of course, to keep the members of Trade Unions well posted with regard to the actions of their officials. Balance-sheets ought to be forthcoming regularly, branch reports do serve to sustain interest between groups of workers in the same trade scattered all over the country, and correspondence on technical details concerning special union trades has a value all its own. But a trade union organ surely exists for something more than the mere recording of dry official facts which concern only its own members. As it is, however, matter of a real educational value—from a working-class point of view—is usually conspicuous by its absence in Trade Union organs.

Some Trade Union organs are, on the other hand, very educational. Of course, there is education and education. Some weeks ago I picked up a copy of the "London Typographical Journal." Now, it has often been remarked that compositors are among the most intelligent of workers. Indeed, in the very journal I refer to there appeared the following flattering statement clipped from "Towns Topics": "The most intelligent Trade Union in the world, and I do not except the Nation Union of Journalists, is the London Society of Compositors." Such a eulogy, from a paper like "Towns Topics," sounds rather suspicious; probably, however, the writer based his opinion on his experience of the kind of propaganda used in the "Typographical Journal." Such might well be the case for the very issue I refer to contained an article, "Efficiency of Operators," clipped from a masters' journal, "The Inland Printer." This article, which occupied an imposing position in the "Typographical Journal," advocated more efficiency for the operator, and expressed the beautiful sentiment that "an operator who by persistent study and effort overcomes the various physical troubles of the machine and furnishes an improved product has made a direct acquisition of mental qualities which he should value more highly than *money consideration*." (The italics are mine, the Journal editor not having had enough sense of humour to use them.)

Very few will disagree with such a statement, but, coming as it does from the columns of a journal which is primarily interested in profits for the masters, and not in the acquisition, either by the masters or the men of mental qualities—except in so far as these qualities help to swell the dividends of the masters—it leaves a very nasty taste in the mouth. And reporting in a Trade Union journal, which is supposed to exist for the purpose of assisting its members to gain more economic freedom, and leisure and opportunity to attain by their own way the mental qualities which will increase their usefulness to society and develop the highest and best that is in them, this sort of hypocritical, audacious advice comes as a shock. It is not an astonishing thing that the "intelligent" editorial staff of the "London Typographical Journal," which is supposed to go to their masters' journal in order to seek "inspiration" as padding for their Trade Union organ.

It is refreshing to find that all Trade Union organs are not of this "type." No doubt many members of the London Society of Compositors would maintain their "intelligence" was of a higher order than that of the members of a union like the United Vehicle Workers. A glance at the current issue of the official organ of that union, "The Record," clearly indicates that the editorial staff of that journal, at least, has quite a different standard of intelligence. Rather coincidentally, I think, the editorial of that journal lays it down that "the need was never greater than to-day for the workers to own and control the means of production"; and adds that "the workers out of whom hard-earned pennies their Press has been built up have a right to demand that their publications should be conducted in a manner consistent with the principles for the expression of which they were established." And this editorial goes on to criticise its contemporary, the "Vehicle Worker," appealing to it to "come into the only light that matters—the light for the overthrow of wage-slavery."

But "The Record" does not stop at criticism. It contains articles of a really class-conscious nature, dealing with problems of industry in general, and not only those which concern vehicle workers. Good luck to such a journal, and may the whole high privilege and responsibility it is to devote Trade Union journals—especially the "London Typographical Journal"—go and do likewise. It is up to class-conscious Trade Unionists to see that the organ of their union does not stand for the sectional interests of that union, but regularly contains some features of educational value to the working classes as a whole.

WARD NEWTON.

A MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN ANTI-PARLIAMENTARIANS.

To the Proletariat of the World.

Comrades! Proletarians! On December 5th, 1920, the Communist Labour Party of Germany was recognised as a sympathising Party by the Third International.

The K.A.P.D. (Communist Labour Party) and its programme is in direct opposition to the V.K.P.D. (United Communist Party of Germany), which was formed in November, 1920, from the Left U.S.P.D. and the former Spartakusbund (K.P.D.), and which belongs to the Third International as a fully recognised section. The K.A.P.D. is also in complete opposition to the tactics of the Third International, as laid down in the Theses of the Second Congress. It sees in these tactics the terrible danger of opportunism pure and simple; the danger of an opportunism which will lead the Revolution into a morass, and will thus prove disastrous to Russia herself.

The K.A.P.D. has arisen out of the former opposition in the Spartakusbund. The Executive of the K.P.D., with Russia's help, thrives. It is the strongest and largest section of the Party, and the spirit of parliamentarianism has gained head in their leaders, Levi, Thanheimer, Kickert and others, under the influence of Radek and Bronski.

Every means has been used to destroy the K.A.P.D. Nevertheless, it has gained in strength and had to be perforce recognised by the Third International as a sympathising Party, with the right of having a permanent advisory representative on the Executive.

The Greatness of the III International.

The K.A.P.D., which had always recognised the fundamental greatness of the idea underlying the Third International, and the necessity for unity with Soviet Russia, is determined to fight opportunism by uniting all the forces of the opposition for a persistent struggle inside the Third International, coupled with a thorough revision of the Theses in a Marxist revolutionary sense as its next aim.

Its full views are laid down in an "Open Letter to Comrade Lenin" ("An Open Letter to Comrade Lenin: An Answer to Lenin's Pamphlet: 'Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism,'" published by the K.A.P.D., Berlin).

We must also at this juncture raise the following essential point, which, however, cannot be discussed and justified in detail:—

In Western Europe we have, in contradistinction to the overwhelmingly agrarian East, other production conditions, hence other class conditions, and also a different spiritual structure. Western Europe is dominated by banking interests and capital which keep the gigantic proletariat in spiritual and material slavery, and which unite all the bourgeois and petty bourgeois classes. This forces the proletarian masses to independent action, which, in the revolution, can only be achieved by industrial organisation and by the abolition of parliamentarianism.

The Points of Difference.

The Third International believes that the revolution in Western Europe will follow the lines of the Russian Revolution.

The K.A.P.D. believes that the revolution in Western Europe will lay down and follow its own laws.

The Third International believes that the revolution in Western Europe will be able to follow a policy of compromise and alliance with petty-bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and even with bourgeois parties.

The K.A.P.D. believes this to be impossible.

The Third International believes in the inevitability (during the revolution) of splits and discussions between the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the petty-peasantry.

The K.A.P.D. believes that the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie will form a united front right up to the end of the revolution.

The Third International under-estimates the power of North American and West European capital.

The K.A.P.D. formulates its tactics according to those of that great power.

The Third International does not recognise the power of the Banks and of Big Business, which unites all the bourgeois classes.

The K.A.P.D., on the other hand, builds up its tactics on this unifying power of capital.

Not believing in the capacity of the West European proletariat to stand alone, the Third International neglects the spiritual and intellectual development of this proletariat, which in every sphere is, after all, still imbued with bourgeois ideology, and chooses tactics which allow the slavery and subordination to bourgeois ideas to be maintained.

The K.A.P.D. chooses its tactics with the main object of setting free the spirit of the proletariat. Owing to the fact that the Third International does not base its tactics on the liberation of the spirit, nor in the unity of all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, but on compromises and "allies," it allows the old Trade Unions to exist and endeavours to receive them into the Third International.

The K.A.P.D., whose first aim is liberation of the spirit, and which believes in the unity of the bourgeoisie, recognises that the Trade Unions must be destroyed, and that the proletariat requires better weapons than the General Workers' Union in Germany.

For the same reasons the Third International allows parliamentarianism to remain. For these very reasons the K.A.P.D. abolishes parliamentarianism.

It pulls the evil up by the root.

Owing to the fact that the Third International does not believe that liberation of the spirit is the first essential in Western Europe, and does not believe the bourgeoisie has a united front in the revolution, it takes within its fold masses without ascertaining whether they are really communistic, without demanding from them tactics which would prove that they are Communists, and not only masses.

The K.A.P.D. wishes to form parties in every country which consists of Communists only, and formulates its tactics accordingly. Through the example of these parties, small at the beginning, it will turn the majority of the proletariat, viz. the masses, into Communists.

Thus the masses of Western Europe are to the Third International the means; to the K.A.P.D. they are the end.

Through these tactics (which were the right ones in Russia), the Third International has adopted a leaders' policy.

The K.A.P.D., on the other hand, conducts a masses' policy. Comrades! Proletarians! The K.A.P.D. holds the belief that all of these are vital questions of the proletarian revolution.

In the middle of February they will take place a Party meeting of the K.A.P.D., at which special attention will be paid to the tactics of the Third International.

You are cordially invited to take part in it, and we beg of you to communicate this invitation to your members.

With Communist Greetings,  
THE COMMUNIST LABOUR PARTY OF GERMANY.

GET ON THE JOB.

YOU understand Communism, of course. Does your benchmate? Perhaps you haven't time to talk things over with him.

But it is necessary for him to understand. A do-nothing working class will only hinder the revolution.

You cannot convert all your mates to Communism. But you can at least make them sympathetic, you can help make them understand.

And if they understand, they are more likely to help.

To help you in this we issue literature for the workers—small plain, simple, straightforward pamphlets, not heavy, beefy books.

Send up for a dozen and put them right into the hands of your mates.

Here are a few suggestions:—"To British Workers," "The Soviets of the Streets," by E. S. Pankhurst.

"The Coming Revolution in Britain," by H. M. Emery.

"The Revolution To-morrow," by L. A. Motler.

"An Appeal to the Young," by James Stewart.

UP THE REVOLUTION.

The masters have been running this country for ages. And look what a mess they have made of things.

Look at the Unemployment Question, the Housing Question, the High Prices, the Profiteering. These are questions which have baffled our brainy ruling classes, our university-educated masters.

These questions have never baffled the Communists.

The Communists say it is about time the workers ran their own country and settled their own questions.

The workers cannot make a worse hash of it than the masters have done.

But unless the workers tackle these problems now, they won't have much time in the revolution.

The time to learn is now.

The Communists offer suggestions for helping the workers.

These suggestions are the most valuable to the workers, because the Communists look at things from a working-class point of view, THE WORKING CLASS BEING THE LARGEST CLASS IN ANY COUNTRY OF THE WORLD.

If you are a Communist, you will not need to be kicked into doing your share of propaganda.

Help your fellow workers to understand now, help them to tackle these problems now.

Then the revolution won't be a massacre.

The Coming Revolution in Britain.

By H. M. EMERY. Post free 11d.

To be obtained from the Workers' Dreadnought Office, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.



NEWS FROM SOVIET RUSSIA.

A JOURNALISTIC INSTITUTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

According to a report of the *Krasnaja Gazeta*, a Journalistic Institute has been opened in Petrograd, in connection with the "Rosta Bureau," at the end of December. Its curriculum will contain all subjects of value to journalists. In this curriculum is the political history of Europe for the last three centuries, the history of the natural sciences, and its social political evolution during the last century. Moreover, political economy and statistics will be taught, as well as the most important tendencies in social science, history of Socialism, Marxism, European State law, commercial geography, etc. As extensions of these courses, the elements of the natural sciences of the twentieth century and philosophy will be taught. Subjects of actual interest such as the policy of the Entente, Imperialism, War, Revolution and the Organisation of the Russian Soviet Republic. Besides these theoretical courses, there will be a practical course on the technical editing of newspapers and administration.

THE FIRST CREMATORIUM IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The *Izvestia* states that: "A Crematorium has been opened in Petrograd. Cremation can only take place with the consent of relatives of the deceased."

ELECTRIFICATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

The progress in the electrification of the country is proved by the fact that Russia now possesses 395 electricity stations as against 250 in 1916. A large number of these new stations are situated in agricultural areas.

THE LEFT SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES SUPPORT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

An All-Russian Conference of the International Party of the Left Social Revolutionaries, which was called in accordance of a declaration of the Central District Office of the Party, dealt with the task of the Party in connection with the Inner and Foreign position of Soviet Russia. The Party recognised unreservedly, the cessation of the activity of the platform, as resolved in the Conferences of April 29th and October 23th, and adopted these resolutions as the basis of further activity. The Party will take part in the elections in order to exercise sound criticism of the Communist policies. The Party will co-operate in the productive efforts, and will resist all attempts to bring the Left Social Revolutionaries into conflict with the Communist Party.

AN EXHIBITION OF THE WHITE TERROR.

In the former Winter Palace at Petrograd, an Exhibition of examples of the White Terror will be held. The pictures show acts of terrorism not only against the inhabitants, but to White soldiers who sympathised with the Reds. Amongst other exhibits is the fire-tree from Yamburg, upon which Yudenitch used to hang Communists.

THE NEXT WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Polish Foreign Minister, Sapieha, has arrived in Bucharest to discuss the attitude of both States towards Soviet Russia. His visit is an official step towards bringing about an alliance between Roumania, Poland and Hungary for concerted action against Soviet Russia.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ROUMANIAN AMBASSADOR IN PARIS HAS INFORMED MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT THAT ROUMANIA HAS NO INTENTION OF MAKING WAR ON SOVIET RUSSIA.

Discussing this statement, the papers say that Soviet Russia has gained a great political victory. Roumanian journals say that the Government is prepared to conduct negotiations with Soviet Russia.

ENGLISH IMPORTS INTO SOVIET RUSSIA.

The English Government still puts difficulties in the way of resuming commercial relations with Soviet Russia. At present, it will allow no new export licences; but, however, is putting no obstacles in the way of the export of textiles and medicine already bought by Russia.

THE LATEST CAMPAIGN OF LIES.

Russian reactionary emigrants continue to spread rumours of arrests, risings, etc., in Soviet Russia. These are quite false. Wassmars, Lettish ambassador in Soviet Russia, has recently given an interview in which he states that people abroad do not realise the significance of the opposition in Russia. This opposition of the Left Communists is not political, but one with the Administrative methods. Lenin himself shares many of the views upon administrative reform, and many of the ideas of the opposition are being put into practice.

TCHITCHERIN'S NOTE TO LORD CURZON.

Tchitcherin has sent a note to Lord Curzon, in which he states that the delay in negotiations over commercial relations is entirely due to the fault of the British Government in having demanded a thorough broadening of the trade agreement. Such political changes cannot be allowed without a political conference, which the Soviet Government has wished for a long time.

## BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Having been inspired by one of the Graces, I took the Soglashatelist by the hand and together we flew towards that part of London known as the Docks. To be exact, Henry, my lad, we went there by Underground. If I had gone there sometimes I would have found myself packed tightly into such lack of room that a sardine would have perished of suffocation therein. The average docker, not being a sardine, survives.

Therefore I went at about the time when Fido accompanies his mistress on the daily labour of shopping. And so I was able to regale the Soglashatelist with stories of the railways in Bolshevik Russia, which I had picked from "The Monster, Lenin." If I had told these tales to the Dock men crammed in an early morning "Workman's," somebody else would have had to write this article.

I had promised the Soggie a pleasant view of the Eden which Dockland was now, owing to the combined efforts of Bevin and an impartial tribunal. So, of course, he was surprised when he found the dockers lining up in the old fashion to be called in. There was the same old clever, brainy capitalist organisation as of yore. And this organisation is so perfect that if a revolution were to come to-morrow, the whole scheme would fall to pieces. I pointed this out to the Soggie. He said:—

"I doubt if the Dockers could organise the Docks any the better if they got the chance. What we want is to get some class-conscious Socialists into Parliament, and then nationalise the docks. After that things can easily be set straight."

"But you'll still have to depend on the goodwill of the dockers," I suggested.

"Perhaps," he replied. "But we can easily discipline them. Just tell them it is for the good of the community and they'll obey any decrees of the new Socialist Government."

"Wouldn't it be better to convert them right now to Socialism?"

"Oh," he said impatiently, "that idea is all right, but it would take too long. All that is needed is to get them to vote the Socialist ticket. We do the rest."

"Who are 'we,' if I may ask?" I enquired.

"Why, the Soglashatelist Industrial Party, of course," he said, with a sniff. "Who else?"

"You don't seem to consider the workers at all," I replied. "Your idea appears to use them for your own ends."

"Why not?" he demanded. "Isn't it all for their own good? The end justifies the means, you know."

I was about to remind him that that was exactly what Lloyd George, Gladstone, Napoleon, Churchill and a few other rogues and tyrants had said. But I thought better of it. I decided to keep the discussion close down to earth or rather to the docks; and remarked:—

"You said that it would be a good idea to convert the Dockers to Socialism. It would enable a revolutionary Government or the Soviets or whatever they may be to have the active work and help of the Dockers to count upon. Otherwise bureaucratic officials and inspectors would have to be relied on, and it is notorious that petty officials are worse than big ones. Formen and gaffers are worse than the actual boss. Now—"

"You forget I said it would take too long," interrupted the Soglashatelist. "And time is precious. If all the dockers are to know Karl Marx before we start the revolution, then we might as well be Liberals."

"Look on the bright side," I urged. "It isn't necessary for a man to have read Karl Marx or to belong to the Soglashatelist Industrial Party in order to be a Socialist. What we want is revolutionaries. Now the business of a revolutionary is first the revolution, second the revolution, and third the revolution. We have missed that, the biggest point, so far. Let's get on the job."

"Well, seeing you are so thundering clever and seem to know all about it," said the Soggie, getting at the edge of his patience, "what do you suggest?"

"In my humble opinion," I said modestly, "we should get down on the job. Now what is the job?"

"Go on!"

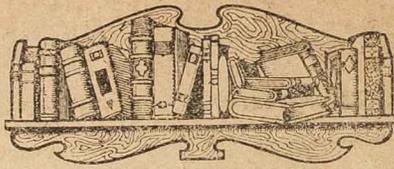
"The job," I said firmly, "the job before us is the revolution. Why don't we get on to it?"

"You make me tired."

"We don't get on with it, I proceeded, "because we want to do it ourselves. We want to bring in the revolution somehow, and to make the masses follow us into the glorious sunrise of revolution. We have no time to explain to the masses all about it, so they must take it all for granted. We have been educating them for forty years, but they don't understand. Some of us say they won't. But that is because we have been thrusting on 'em huge beefy extracts from Marx, Engels, Morris, Pax, and Mike knows who. We have been giving 'em a Standard Six book before they have gone through their grammar. All we have to do is quite simple

"Well, what is it?" asked the Soglashatelist, impatiently.

"If we begin at the beginning," I suggested, "instead of trying to work backwards, it might succeed. If we start with a grammar, we'll get on faster. If we put in their hands a 'Guide to Revolution and How to Do It,' instead of leading, the Soglashatelist Party will more likely find itself having to run hard to keep up with the dirty, ignorant, apathetic masses."



## OUR BOOKSHELF.

## THE PLEBS.

(January, 1921. By the Plebs League, 11a, Penywern Road, London, S.W. 5. Monthly. 32 pp. Sixpence.)

This month's issue is well up to the usual standard, which is very high. We specially liked "When J. H. Thomas Rules," by Harry Martyn. The circulation of "The Plebs" is six thousand. It should be ten times that figure, if— It is a big "if," for in it there is the real reason of all our efforts and struggles.

## THE SOCIALIST REVIEW.

(A Quarterly Review of Modern Thought. Editor: J. Ramsay Macdonald, Independent Labour Party. London. 96 pp. 1s. net.)

The editorial article states, amongst other things: "The I.L.P. has been built upon principles diametrically opposed to Communism. It has assumed that an armed proletariat which at the ballot-box votes for hanging the Kaiser is not likely to establish Socialism on the morrow of a revolution. He that is an ass will be an ass still."

"There must be an International apart from the Third, including all tendencies proceeding from certain essential conceptions of Socialism."

"Communism is pre-Marxian, and can only apply to countries in a pre-Capitalist stage of evolution."

"I must believe that the I.L.P. is too wise to revert to old weapons, to return to pre-scientific methods guided by a fanciful metaphor and a barren logic, to proclaim that to be up-to-date is to proclaim that Queen Anne is still alive."

The reader who might expect from a Quarterly Review of modern thought something fresh, new and illuminating, or at least an indication of what is new, of what is growing in the modern thought of Europe, would be sadly disappointed.

## RATIONAL LIVING.

(An Independent Health Magazine. 61, Hamilton Place, New York, N.Y. Editor: Beuzion Liber, M.D.)

A valiant attempt to stimulate interest on many questions of primary importance—health, fitness, eugenics, procreation, and disease prevention. As is the case with many American publications, there is in the two first issues of this magazine a strange mixture to European eyes—of idealism and pacifist complacency. The Editor appears to be aware that under Capitalism the high ideals he sets out to achieve are unobtainable. The Devil looking down the chimney of a factory and saying in horror: "Oh, Hell!" is a cartoon from this paper, which we reproduced last week.

"Rational Living" reproduces from "Il Lavoro" the following statistical table, compiled in one of the clinics of Turin:—

	Women in Home Industries.	Peasant House-Wives.	Peasant Women.
Abortions and stillbirths .....	15.2	11.9	6.6
Grade of fecundity .....	2.7	3.4	4.0
Proportion of abortions to pregnancies .....	1 in 6.5	1 in 8.4	1 in 15.1
Mortality rate of children born alive .....	21.2	20.4	15.1
Children suckled by mother .....	63.0	74.2	89.7

A good article, "Fighting Disease in Soviet Russia," discloses the fact that in some cases bourgeois doctors, of the early period of Bolshevik rule, did use a weapon "which, in the hands of doctors, is as cowardly as it is deadly. In many hospitals, sabotage against patients that were known to be Bolsheviks, or against the institution as a whole, was the watchword."

We are also reminded that whilst a book by Marie C. Stopes, B.Sc., dealing with sexual problems, has been thrown out of the U.S. mails, an official report of "the evidence taken by the National Birth Rate Commission of the British Government contains—the Bishop of Birmingham being in the chair—a very outspoken statement by Dr. Stopes on the same subject. It is the opinion of Dr. Stopes that "the terrible depravity of so large a proportion of our people to-day is to be traced to the fact that they are born, not of the beauty of love, to a welcome and true home-life, but are born as the result of accident or of coercion of fettered women."

## THE COMMUNIST.

(An organ of the Third Communist International. No. 25. 16, King Street, London, W.C. 2. 12 pp. 2d.)

Francis Meynell, late of the "Daily Herald," who has succeeded F. Willis to the editorial chair, is responsible for this issue of "The Communist," now permanently enlarged to twelve pages. He has produced a paper which, if it does not force one to shout "Bolshevik" as the advertisement in the "Daily Herald" demanded, is, nevertheless, a

praiseworthy attempt to make a Party paper popular to the general public. There is a wealth of cartoons, of a semi-cubistic style, in a form of artistic expression that may at times be effective but more often the refuge of those incapable of drawing. Two pages that could have been profitably used to discuss vital problems have cartoons (?) depicting—with middle-class mannerism—Labour under the guise of a navy the like of whom we have never seen before.

As Motler says:—

"My experience of 'Satire' convinced me that the English are very poor cartoonists and the Scots are too coarse. There are really no artists in the movement worth writing about."

It will be interesting to see how the rank and file will like "Jane," fanciful, phonetic or Cockney spelling may suit "John Bull," but it is sadly out of place in "an organ of the Third International." The middle-class outlook once more, which imagines that "Jane" can't spell. One need not be a prophet to anticipate that the Communists who have the movement at heart will laugh "Jane" and "Madelain" out of the paper.

Months ago it was said that the Communists would win over the "Daily Herald." The reverse seems the case.

The ambiguous policy of the "Herald" has passed over to the "Communist."

The sales may go up, but it will be at the cost of a considerable dilution in fighting spirit.

The fact that Francis Meynell is reported to be a professing R.C. is not a bar to his carrying out his new present duty, for Communism fully respects individual conscience.

In a town like London, with a population equal to that of countries supporting more than one revolutionary daily, there is room for several Communist weeklies, either local or appealing to the different strata of modern society. There is room, therefore, in the movement, for a paper appealing to those who like a light fare, are not extravagant in their intellectual diet, and desire to keep their Communism respectable and away from militancy.

For these reasons we heartily wish "The Communist"—under the present editorship—many largely increased orders to the printers."

These larger sales will pave the way for the issue of a weekly that could seriously be taken as published by the E.O. of the C.P. of Great Britain."

## "LEFT WING" COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER.

(By Nikolai Lenin. Communist Party, 16, Kang Street, London. 95 pp. 2s.)

The Russian Revolution has caused such rapid changes and re-grouping in the Socialist Parties of Western Europe that some parts of this book of 10 chapters have already lost their immediate importance. Others deal with questions that have not yet become "the burning question of the hour." Amongst these is chapter 6, which we reprint serially owing to its importance. The chapter on "Left" Communism in England deals largely with an article of Comrade Pankhurst, originally published in the "Dreadnought." A manifesto by the K.A.P.D. in our present issue explains the position of the German "Left"-wingers, dealt with in chapter 5 of this book. There is an English edition of "Left Wing Communism," printed in Petrograd. The publishing department of the Communist Party of Great Britain has already done some very useful work, both of propaganda and of documentation, and this book of Lenin's, in the good type of the Pelican Press, will surely have a wide circulation.

## WHO BURNT CORK CITY?

(An investigation on the spot, with full proofs. Published by the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, Dublin. To be obtained from Labour Party, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1. 68 pp. 6d.)

It contains a map of the centre of Cork and of the area devastated by fire on the night of December 11th-12th, 1920, and documentary evidence of over 70 witnesses; also a photograph of the City Hall, Cork, as it was and as it is now, after the fire.

This booklet is not reviewed, because it should be bought and read.

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