

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

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PETER KROPOTKIN.

Peter Kropotkin died at 3.10 on the morning of February 7th.

Already, in the previous week, with a somewhat ghoulish up-to-dateness, obituary notices had appeared in several English dailies. Even *Justice*, the "oldest, etc. . . ." erred in the same direction. In the issue of February 3rd of that paper, Social-Patriot H. M. Hyndman, after some well-informed remarks, did not let the occasion pass without the following thrusts at Soviet Russia: "a rule of brutality and rottenness," and "of fearful tyranny, economic chaos and social horror, created by a group of Semitic barbarians."

Readers of Kropotkin's "Memoirs"—a book for which more was paid per word than any other previous book of personal Memoirs—know of his aristocratic descent and of the dramatic episodes in his career. He joined the First International in 1872 and was greatly influenced by the ideas of Bakounin.

His propaganda work began when he founded at Geneva *Le Révolté*, a weekly that was afterwards brought to Paris as *La Révolte*, passing, later on, under the editorship of Jean Grave.

In 1883, he came to London, after three years spent in the prisons of Republican France, and was closely associated with the comrade who had started the still-appearing monthly *Freedom*.

Kropotkin was intellectually a "Encyclopædist," a tendency of Thought wholly Western, almost wholly French, one would say. The more original of his works were written in French. His revolutionary propaganda had but little influence on the trend of Russian affairs, but on the other hand created, especially in the Latin countries, a large current of rebellious thought. At one time, his pamphlets and book were more read and more widely circulated than those of any other revolutionary author. Although frankly Anarchist, they were accepted by the Socialists; in fact, even to-day, the library of the *Avant!* carries all his works.

Probably his best propagandist work is "The Words of a Rebel," although "The Conquest of Bread" is the book in which his Communistic ideas are best expressed.

He lent the weight of his scientific knowledge to the Communist formula "to each according to his need," as against the formula, at that time called "The Collectivist," "to each according to his work." This latter being, at that time, that accepted by the then Social Democratic Parties. Even the party that has become the Bolsheviks—the present Communist one—for many years after the appearance of Kropotkin's works, adhered to the second formula, as their ethical ideal of justice, although we now see in Soviet Russia, as soon as the pressure from internal and external reaction is lessened, a tendency to put into practice Kropotkin's conception of life. Witness the recent Soviet dispositions putting—as a beginning—all State services free at the disposal of every one, according to his needs, not according to the work done.

Where Kropotkin erred was not so much in his human optimism, which made him the apostle of the free evolving of the new society out of the Social Revolution, but rather in his simple conception of the Revolution. Strange to say, the great scientist and historian that he was, he sadly underrated the forces of the reaction, when the decisive moment would come of the final struggle, and he also assumed a bounteousness from Mother Earth that recent experience has not justified. During, and for many years after, the successful revolution, people will have to work more and not less. The problem of the Revolution is not only a problem of equitable distribution, but, and probably chiefly, a problem of production.

He also under-estimated the necessity of Organisation as a fighting instrument for the Revolution, in this point differing greatly from the Anarchists of the Malatesta school.

"Mutual Aid" is a work of scientific importance, an insight into the hidden forces of nature. "Field, Factory and Workshops" is also a pioneer work, that rapidly found acceptance in scientific circles. His pamphlet on French and Russian prisons is, we believe, not yet translated into English.

Kropotkin's conception of freedom drove him naturally to fierce antagonism against the soulless discipline of the German Social Democrats, against the "State," and especially against the Prussianised state. His long stay in England, his frequent contact with the best of English Liberalism (which is always ready to start a crusade against wrong and injustices done abroad, blind to home errors and repressions), might have contributed to form that frame of mind which, at the beginning of the war, led him to abandon, almost unknowingly, the true revolutionary position. That in spite of the fact that in 1912 he had written a series of articles to prove that the capitalist Governments of Western Europe were feverishly preparing for war.

He believed that Germany ought to be crushed, in order that she should not be able to dictate to free France, in order that she should not be able, victorious, to impede the revolutionary progress of Russia.

He fell a victim to the "I" error, that capitalist war may be waged for justice. Already he had expressed the fallacy when he had expressed regret at being too old to shoulder a rifle, should France be attacked.

This error was the downfall from a high pedestal.

On the other hand, the driving force of Lenin and of the small group of Socialists called "Zimmerwaldian," was this: That they saw at once the capitalistic motives of the war, declared themselves against the "sacred union" of the patriotic parties, and believed it was the duty of every Socialist party inside its own country to work for the defeat of the national forces, in order to give the revolutionary forces, through the weakening and the breaking down of the State organisation, the opportunity to come forth and establish themselves.

Lenin remained true to the Socialist conception when others were swayed by their patriotism which did not take into account the existence of classes and the class-struggle.

Lenin's thought, formulated at a time of great crisis, is the fundamental reason of the Third International, as against the pseudo-Second, and "Second-and-a-Half."

Kropotkin had a charming and enthusiastic personality. In 1912, Malatesta wrote of him:—

"The great influence of Kropotkin is due to the fact that in him the scientist, the author, the propagandist and the friend are blended in harmonious unity, forming the most 'human' man I ever met. He loves mankind. Everything he thinks, everything he does is determined by this great love of his, which is the deep-seated quality of his mind."



Born December 9th, 1842, at Moscow.
Died February 7th, 1920, at Dmitrov, near Moscow.

AN APPRECIATION OF PETER KROPOTKIN

To the Editor, "Workers' Dreadnought."

Dear Comrade,—There are those who do not agree with the theories of Peter Kropotkin; there are those who do agree; yet all will join readily in deep mourning on hearing the news—"Kropotkin is dead."

Beneath the obscure lines in the daily Press, a wealth of sentiment lurks; to some his departure from amongst us, means the passing away of the writer of a few interesting books containing the sketch of a future ideal society, at the moment impracticable; to others his loss is great; to them his books are a spur to high aims, and page by page give warning and guidance.

To some his social theory was based upon a further stage in evolution, beyond Socialism; to others he was the exponent of true Communism, between which and Capitalism no half-way stage could be found.

Whatever virtues or faults can be found in his decentralisation and non-authoritarian theories, he leaves his mark on the world, and his message echoes in the rumblings of the Russian Revolution.

Who was Kropotkin? "The Communist," in an unfortunate attempt at poetry, called him "old," but to me and those with me he appears still to be very young—his spirit remains fresh and green. He died, as he lived, fighting against the stream of popular prejudice. Born in 1842, in Moscow, of a noble family, he became a Russian Prince. His parents were exceptionally wealthy, and had a large body of serfs, yet this child of fortune, like his comrade now living, Malatesta, repudiated all title to wealth and property. His revolutionary ac-

tivities gained the devotion of the down-trodden but incurred the bitter hatred of the Czar. After exciting years, he was arrested and flung into the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Petrograd. By a ruse, some friends contrived his escape. While taking exercise in the prison yard, Kropotkin feigned lameness, and the warden, flung off his guard, allowed the apparently lame prisoner to stray a distance away. By arrangement a signal was given by his friends, and the "lame" man darted towards a wall. On the outside of the wall a waiting motor whisked him away. (I am informed that a rope ladder was thrown over the wall, but I am not sure.)

The authorities searched the town thoroughly for the escaped prisoner, but nowhere could he be found. While they ransacked the political and revolutionary haunts, Peter Kropotkin, in disguise, dined in high state with the best circles in Petrograd. A short time later he slipped away from his beloved Russia, exiled, doomed to remain away until the autumn of his life.

Arriving in France, he flung himself with renewed zeal into the revolutionary movement, and again suffered imprisonment in a gaol in Lyons. His experience in France was full of hardship and effort, and many of his books were written in circumstances of dire want and distress.

Finally, driven from France, he came to these shores, penurious, but still hopeful, and remained for many years a resident here, living in London, Bromley, and later at Brighton.

Amongst his close friends in England was Stephen, the Russian revolutionary hero of a score of dangerous exploits in Russia, fated to die by accident at a railway crossing at Acton many years later.

While in Britain, Kropotkin's contribution to literature of all kinds was enormous; he was a frequent partisan in scientific and social controversy. While seeking employment once he had an amusing experience. A publisher offered him a book to review. The book was a foreign issue of his own book.

His contributions to the revolutionary library was tremendous, and include "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," "The Conquest of Bread," "The French Revolution," "Modern Science and Anarchism," "The Terror in Russia," and "Memoirs of a Revolutionist."

The book "Modern Science and Anarchism" is a remarkable survey of the portents and trend of the changes in society, and the "Conquest of Bread" a sketch of possible revolution, exhibiting the great latent power and ability of the masses—a factor that the Communists of to-day often fail to consider.

Turning to scientific matters, we find Kropotkin a confirmed Materialist; his book, "Mutual Aid," smashes the theory based by opponents of Communism in the writings of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, and tracing ancient and modern society shows beyond dispute that co-operation is a basic fact of human and animal life.

This profound thinker—a recognised authority on many subjects, including sociology, science, natural history, geology, geography,—was also the author of many simple tracts. His "Appeal to the Young" and "Anarchist Morality" are especially simple in words and explanation. Most of his works contain valuable glossaries, and have been published in every tongue throughout the globe.

Kropotkin is dead, yet his lessons remain, and his principles offer guidance to the daring of to-day. He fought the State for a lifetime, yet he perceived its ugly presence on the eve of his death. He had a mind so broad that he was beyond the bane of parties. His pamphlet "Revolutionary Government" could with advantage be read by all to-day. Although Anarchist-Communist in principle, he helped wherever he could the holders of the torch of revolt.

There are those who regret his later part on many issues, but we must try to forget, and pay tribute to his life task, and recognise the debt we owe to a pioneer who has slipped away from our presence.

No memorial is able to repay or express our gratitude; and the last look of Kropotkin—veteran, teacher in a troubled world—perceived the rise of a people; yet, in bewildered wonder, he saw the signs of his life-dread and hatred—the State.

But I believe that out of the revolution will come all that Kropotkin yearned for, and died in doubt of.

All men, all writers, have this place and influence, and Kropotkin, enemy of Statecraft, is expressed in the world clamour for the coming of Soviets. Kropotkin is dead, but his power remains—an inspiration to the world's workers. FRED TYLER.

DOPE FOR THE DISCONTENTED.

By C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK.

The Road to Delusion is strewn with Dope! Slaves trail the way with gilded chains, and wear coloured spectacles. It is necessary to delude, for discontent must be fed, must be utilised. Capitalism is wise, class-wise. We must go on better, though, in our class-wisdom. The flames of discontent we fan; we must EDUCATE THAT DISCONTENT, and keep it from allowing its nose to lead its brain on the trail of high-scented fish—drawn across the Slave's Highway, to class-knowledge, class-consciousness, OURS!

The British capitalist class are great wingers. They not only use direct brutality in their class interests, but have an extensive method of organised dope, appealing to righteous sentiment accentuated by economic discontent. Labour feels hurt now and then, gets aspirations; Capital has ready the special brands of oil to pacify the troubled waters, the special brands of opium to induce Delusion's pleasant dreams, and so—any thought, any condition—so long as Capitalism, as a System, a paying concern, may live. Often have working-class agitators told their fellow-slaves: "The parasite will do anything but get off our backs"; it is true, very true. Their methods of keeping their hold upon us are many; a nightly interesting volume of numerous pages could be written describing all of them. Just a few now.

A Knight Commander on Capital and Labour.

Don't happen to take in "The Financial Times" do you? Well, it's well worth glancing at now and again, as a change from the "Star" or the "Evening Chronicle." On January 12th. of this year a short note was tucked away in its pages relating to a Company meeting of the United Service Transport, addressed by Admiral Sir Edward W. Slade, K.C.L.E., K.C.V.O., etc., etc. The old gentleman gave a few thoughts on the relations between Capital and Labour. These are not merely consins, but brothers. Let us go over a few of his remarks. He said: "Labour is undoubtedly entitled to a living wage . . . but it has to be clearly understood that there is only a certain return to be had from the working of each contract, and that return has to be divided between Labour and Capital. The proportion which each takes is a matter for arrangement." Did you ever read such tripe? Labour is entitled, according to the facts of present-day existence, to a wage just barely sufficient to allow it to "live" till the Sabbath rest is over, and the factory hooter calls forth the slaves again—if the slaves are possessed of a boss, of course. Wage payment is a matter for arrangement, which is come to in so far as one can force the other, but the arrangement is one-sided because through Labour's ignorance, Capital is the most powerful. He then states that "Labour cannot do without Capital any more than Capital can do without Labour." "Labour is not attracted unless it can get a fair wage, and Capital is not attracted unless its earnings are sufficient to give it a fair return." It isn't necessary to combat such statements by quoting lengthily from the writings of Charlie Marx: The dear Admiral evidently hasn't come across the hungry-eyed slaves tramping the streets. And to hold latter it is no use saying, as he does, that Capital and Labour must be good to one another, and not pinch off one another. It is Dope!

Probing in your Private Affairs. Several days later, this same paper is advertised with posters announcing the following: "Capital does not exploit Labour." This referred to a lengthy leading article entitled "Labour and Capital: Their Essential Relations." It is a gossa magilla, as our Yiddisher friends would say; at least, one does not find out the essence of the "essential relations" till six long-winded paragraphs are read. The idea is that anyone who, considering the development, side by side, of Capital and Labour, since tribal days, still contends that the former exploits the latter, is guilty of a fallacious conception, a wrong notion, of their inter-relations. The article tells us "That relation arises both historically and essentially from the need of assistance." In all periods everybody has found himself unable to do all things for himself, and the more complex the civilisation the more is the differentiation of function, either by exchange of commodities or more directly (the italics are mine). The conditions of wage-slavery of the privately owned and controlled tools of production and distribution, of the very necessities of life, of the earth even, of the right to speak our minds freely, is all the result of the social fact of the need of assistance . . . they tell us that! More Dope! In passing, let us mention an interesting fact: The British Glass Industries, Ltd., Canning Town, E. issue an "Employment Application Form" to all possible seekers after improbable jobs, the questions on which constitute a veritable inquisition. Here are just a few:—

Have you ever held an official position or been active in any way in a Labour Union or Organisation?

Have you ever been on strike, and, if so, for what reason and periods and what was the cause of the strike?

What is the maximum rate you have ever received?

Have you any objection to work under piece rate or bonus system?

Quite nice sort of questions, aren't they? Just the sort of questions a nice boss would ask. Nice sort of Dubbs the slaves would be who answered everyone truthfully, for the Great One also wants to know if you have any "disabilities" caused by war service—if any, and a "complete list of employment since 1914." He seems to be a sort of spiritual detective; we ought to preserve one of his type in a museum for "Types of pre-Revolutionary Bosses" after the Red Dawn has come amongst us! Now, fellow-slaves, is the foregoing sort of thing proof of the brotherly relationship the "Financial Times" tells us about? Is it a result of the need of assistance? Yes, it is proof that the bossing class needs the assistance of the slave-class in order to endure in parasitic splendour! If you believe otherwise, God help you, for you have been doped efficiently!

"Engineering" advises Italians.

Do you remember the metal workers' strike in Italy of a few months ago? Unfortunately our fellow-slaves there gave back the factories they were running for themselves, and were gulled into accepting a sort of Whitley scheme. That scheme is, in effect, the big about boss and slave brotherhood; some of us here in Merrie England have had some experience of its essence and working. The world's capitalists were watching Italy anxiously at the time, and heaved a huge sigh of relief when the "Whitley Scheme" was agreed upon. An extract from "Engineering" (October, 1920), will serve to indicate the outlook of Capital about such things. My note from the paper reads: "It is to be hoped that the Italian workers, with their capacity for work and their relatively high degree of skill and intelligence, will have learned a lesson from this tentative experience in Socialism . . . and that in the due course of time *viser councils will prevail*, and that these combined bodies (employed and employers) will settle down on an *equitable basis for the best results* . . . These councils will at least serve one important end, and that is

"to prove conclusively to the workers that the enormous profits which they believe are being made by the employers, and which they claim to share, exist only in the imagination."

The portions italicised are transparently doped. The last sentence in the extract is really funny. Why should we wish to share the profits, indeed, why make profits at all? Why consider one iota the interests of anybody outside our own class? The imputation that large profits are *not* made by metal, engineering, and other Capitalist concerns is a lie, as any slave can prove any day if he'd only delve into the company reports a little.

Stinnes and Northcliffe.

In order to stir up anti-German feeling in this country the "Daily Mail" once raved against Herr Hugo Stinnes as a sinister political figure, pointing out his great political influence through his financial and economic position, because he controls a "network of enterprises, including mines, steamships and newspapers" (he is the proprietor of the well-known German newspaper "Allgemeine Zeitung"). They've no need to shout about that sort of thing, anyhow. Viscount Northcliffe has a controlling voice in the "Daily Mail," "The Times," and other Yellow Press rags. He is not an M.P., but that doesn't matter, for Parliament acts only in the interests of his kind, and dare not, cannot act otherwise. Hugo Stinnes is more brotherly towards our press-controlling Northcliffe, you may bet, than is the most servile Dubb towards the most parasitic and acquisitive labour boss. But each one within his own class attempts to delude the fool-slaves who mentally drink in daily the deluge of dope each arch-boss decrees shall be printed; So the German slaves hate the British slaves, and vice versa, and all's well with the Capitalist world.

Charity out of your own Pocket.

Other dope methods may be mentioned. For instance, Good, Durant, and Co., Ltd., London drapers, last year decided to create a superannuation fund "for the benefit of employees of the Company, who, by reason of advancing age or ill-health, are unable to carry out their duties." Sounds all right, eh? You can work like hell to make nice fat profits all the years God lets you sweat in scivility for your bosses, and when you become old, decrepit, and washed out, your kind bosses will gain heavenly praise by doing you charitably. Last year the slaves made for this firm just £62,970, and £5,000 was set aside for the fund for senile serfs! Again, the cotton toilers of Manchester and Bolton who slave in the mills bossed by the Tootal-Broadhurst Lee Co. are doped thuswise: Last year this company expended £10,000 on a catenach, and £50,000 for what they call "welfare work," in order to keep contented all workers making money for them (£436,736 were their profits for 1920). The chairman of the company meeting at which these figures were given let the cat out of the bag when he said: "Welfare work is as profitable as it is humane."

We will close down the meeting by singing the hymn "Squadernant" led by the Very Rev. Rothermere, and the many hymns

to the God D.O.P.E. in that grand Sabbath-Soother the "Sunday Pictorial"! Read the posters on metropolitan bosses referring to the "Anti-Waste League," then get a copy of the "Sunday Pictorial," or the "Daily Mirror," and read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the "ins" and "outs" of the said league. No subscription is required; they tell you to "send no money." Housewives are simply flocking to the League, and, shush! even the Middle Classes Union is an active ally. What's it all about? It is, between these and me, simply another of the many schemes set afoot in order to sidetrack the minds of the masses—vornied over governmental waste and economic strife—away from clear thought and vitality of action. The instigators are *not* of our class, Henry, wherefore should we be suspicious! They do not hate the system; like the politico-pacifist reformers, and the tame Labour Fakirs, they are desirous of making the system more secure for *their* class, which cannot be done without the aid of *our* class, hence all the dope and the whitewash. Rothermere is not on any Labour Exchange register; like his fellow-confederate, Northcliffe, he is a Viscount, and is also "interested" in several newspapers, just like his brother, for he and old Northy are brothers, you know, both in blood and class, from true blue Harmsworth stock, and therefore inherit a strong desire for propagating press-dope amongst the proletariat. Let us then be wary.

There is one Anti-Waste League, one Anti Dope Federation, that all class-conscious workers should join, and that is the Red Communist International, the world-wide rebel movement struggling vitally against the Capitalist System, and vitally towards Freedom for all slaves, Freedom and Life in Truth. Clear the cobwebs, and join up!

OUR LITERATURE COMPETITION.

We reprint below the terms of our Literary Competition, pointing out that they were devised so as to ensure perfect fairness to all competitors. It will be impossible for the *Workers' Dreadnought* to know who the competitors are until the award is made known. The successful competitor then comes forward and presents the Postal Certificate of Registration of his or her letter and, as a guaranty to us, discloses the *nom de plume* or number appearing on the manuscript checked.

The greater the number of competitors, the greater the probability that the successful pamphlet will have the requisite qualities. We should, therefore, be greatly obliged to those of our contemporaries who will draw their readers' attention to this competition.

What is wanted to-day is a short pamphlet explaining clearly, in simple language, what is meant by Communism and affiliation to the Third International. Such a pamphlet as we have in mind, is not on any list that we have seen.

We believe that there are some comrades who, with the experience of every-day discussion, know the objections generally raised against Communism.

CONDITIONS OF THE COMPETITION.

1. The *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish and circulate at the lowest possible price, a pamphlet explaining in an easy and convincing style, the meaning of Communism and affiliation to the Third International.
2. No money prize will be given, but the author of the accepted MS. will receive free 200 copies of the pamphlet.
3. The MS. should reach the *Workers' Dreadnought* offices—in a registered letter (please note this point)—not later than March 25th, 1921.
4. The pamphlet should be of not less than 6,000 words and not more than 10,000. The MS. should be written, or typed, on one side of the paper only.
5. The MS. should reach us unsigned, and consequently the name of the author should not appear on any of the pages of the MS., nor on any part of the registered packet that contains it.
6. On the other hand, a *nom de plume* or a set of figures, should appear on the first and last page of the MS.
7. When sending the registered letter to us, the counterfoil must be kept, to be produced at a later date. The possession of the Certificate of Registration will be deemed the proof of authorship, both in the case of the successful competitor and of the others, to whom their MS. will be returned.
8. In an issue in April, the *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish the number of the registered letter that contained the accepted manuscript and will then invite the successful competitor to send in his or her name. Should the author desire to remain anonymous the *Workers' Dreadnought* will proceed without further delay to publish the pamphlet.
9. The *Workers' Dreadnought* reserves the right to publish at a subsequent date, either in full, or partially, in the paper itself, or in pamphlet form, the next best two MS., and will announce the names of these competitors at the same time as that of the successful one.
10. The decision of the *Workers' Dreadnought* will be final.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

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

(Continued from last issue).

Indeed, they can go far. Not long ago, Caprivi in a jocular spirit, called Bebel "Regierungs-kommissarius," and although Bebel replied: "We have not spoken as Government Commissioners, but Governments have adopted Social Democratic measures," everybody sees the point, and the incident is an invincible proof of how closely the once antagonistic parties have drawn together, and suggested that the spirit of fraternisation may work wonders.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the bold saying "Not a man nor a farthing to the Government," is quite out of date, and Bebel, indeed, promised his support to the Government when, to meet the new situation created by the invention of smokeless powder, it asked for a grant to provide dark uniforms to the army. If they yield to militarism, the sow's tail will seize the whole hog. To-day they vote credits for dark uniforms, to-morrow for improved artillery, and the day after for an additional army corps, etc., always with the same justification.

Yes, compromise of principle marched in step with success at the polls, so that at length the exploiting classes found that an anti-Socialist law was not needed. We would be simple indeed, to imagine that they repealed the law from a sense of its injustice! It was the inoffensiveness of the Social Democracy that brought about the abolition; and do not subsequent events go far to prove that they had weighed up the party to a nicety? Has not its degeneracy since then made progress with leaps and bounds?

Liebknecht, in 1874, thus summed up the political situation:—

"Every attempt at action in Parliament, every effort to help in the work of legislation, necessitates some abandonment of our principles, deposits us upon the slope of compromise and of political give-and-take, till at last we find ourselves in the treacherous bog of Parliamentarism, which, by its foulness, kills everything that is healthy."

Notwithstanding, what is the upshot of all this searching of heart? Why, we resolve to go on working at the dirty business. Surely that conclusion is in direct opposition to the premises, and we are surprised that a thinker like Liebknecht does not perceive that by his conclusion he destroys the whole structure of his argument. Admire the logic if you can. Very suggestive are the following remarks of Steck, on the two methods of work, the Parliamentary and the revolutionary:—

"The party of reform would achieve political power just after the style of any bourgeois party. For that purpose it avoids isolation, does not present to the world any programme of principles, and advances towards its object much the same as any other political party. It is indefinite on all sides in its working and in its scope. Sometimes here and there, but very rarely, it acts as might a Social Democratic Party, but almost always it reveals itself as a Democratic Party, an Economic Democratic Party, or a Workmen's Democratic Party."

"The progressive democracy seeks its end in the acquisition of palliative reforms, as if that were its sole object. It accepts them thankfully from the bourgeois, with all the modifications and reductions thought necessary by the donors. It seeks alliance, if possible, with the more progressive elements of the middle-class parties. In this way it is only recognised as the head and forefront of middle-class reform. There is no gulf between it and the ordinary political factions of the progressive type, because it no longer proclaims the revolutionary principles of Social Democracy. That kind of tactics may achieve some small success, measured by our programme of principles, is very small and often of doubtful utility, and at its best, it may be of the colour but is not of the essence of Social Democracy."

"We must not fancy, however, that a matter of tactics is unimportant. The risk of

losing sight of the chief end of Social Democracy is great, although less to be dreaded among the leaders than among the rank and file. But the temporary eclipse of the Socialistic ideal is already perceptible, chiefly from the fact that the minds of the people are bent on the acquisition of palliative reforms, which have been rated at far more than their intrinsic value."

"Again, it is unquestionable that the habitual resort to compromise not only hinders but appreciably damages the propaganda for the principles of Socialism, and prevents its healthy development. Often, active workers in the cause are induced to barter their principles for some immediate political advantage."

"If this compromising spirit in the Party be allowed to have the ascendancy, it might happen that graver consequences would ensue, and perhaps even some arrangement might be made with the Conservative parties by which a slightly ameliorated form of the present social order would be tolerated. The effect of such a state of things would be a reduction of privileges and an increase in the number of a still privileged class; it would improve the social position of a large number at the expense of the exploited masses, whose position would still be one of economic subjection."

"It would not be the first time a revolutionary agitation has been brought to an end by satisfying one section of the discontented at the expense of the other sections. Besides, it is quite in keeping with the action of political reformers to refrain from upsetting capitalism, and slowly to transform it and make it by degrees, more tolerable to the Socialistic spirit of the age."

"In reply to the assertion that the organised proletariat would not be satisfied with a partial success, but would insist, in spite of leaders, in obtaining its complete emancipation, there stands out the fact that gradually the proletariat is being divided against itself, and that a higher class is being evolved from its ranks, an 'aristocracy of labour' that will have the power to block revolutionary measures. A keen eye can already discern, here and there, symptoms of such a division."

"The revolutionary party, on the other hand, desires to obtain political power in the name of Social Democracy only, and with the Party's grand object inscribed on its banner. It will be obliged for a long time to struggle as a minority, to endure defeat after defeat, and to suffer bitter persecution. But ultimately its triumph will be undiluted and complete, for a Social Democratic society will be in existence and supreme."

Steck likewise recognises that "in reality, the revolutionary method is the most direct."

He says:—

"Our Party ought to be revolutionary, inasmuch as it possesses a decidedly revolutionary programme, and that it reveals such a character in all its political manifestoes and measures. Let our propaganda and our claims be for ever revolutionary. Let us meditate continually on our sublime purpose, and let us always act as becomes those devoted to such an ideal. The straight road is the best. Let us for ever be and remain, in life as in death, Revolutionary Social Democrats and no other. So will the future be ours."

Now, there are two points of view taken by Parliamentary Socialists. Some there are who desire to obtain political power in order to possess themselves of economic powers; and that is the professed object of the German Social Democratic Party, as witness the formal declarations of Bebel, Liebknecht and others. But we also find there are those who will only engage in political and Parliamentary actions as a means of agitation. For them all elections are merely instruments of propaganda. But here is the danger of coquetry with evil: a door should be either open or shut. We commence by nominating candidates for purposes of protest, but as the movement becomes stronger, they become serious

candidates. At first, Socialist Members of Parliament assume an irreconcilable attitude, but when their numbers increase, they introduce Bills and try to initiate legislation. In order to make their projects successful, they are forced to enter into compromises, as Singer has well remarked. It is the first step which costs, and once on the slope, they are obliged to descend. Is not the practical programme authorised at Erfurt almost the same as that of the French Radicals? Is there a single subject in the work of the later International Congresses which is definitely Socialist? The real and central ideal of Socialism is relegated for its fulfilment to a distant future, and in the meantime, labour is spent on paltry palliatives, which could just as readily be obtained through the Radicals.

To put the case with undressed candour, the reasoning of Parliamentary Socialists is as follows: We must first obtain among the voters a majority, which will then send Socialist representatives to Parliament, and whenever we have a majority in the House, even of one, the trick is done. We have only then to make such laws as we wish for the common good.

Even losing sight of a common form of obstruction in most countries, a second or rather a fifth wheel to the Parliamentary chariot, known as the House of Lords, a Senate, or an Upper Chamber, of which the members are invariably the unbending and arbitrary representatives of capital, we would be very silly to think that the executive government would get into a sweat in carrying out the wishes of a Socialist majority in the Lower Chamber. This is the way Liebknecht ridicules such an idea:—

"Let us suppose that Government does not interfere, perhaps in quiet assurance of its innate strength, perhaps as a matter of policy, and at last the dream of some imaginative Socialist politicians comes true, and there is a Social Democratic majority in Parliament—what would happen. Here is the Rubicon: it must be crossed! Now has come the moment for reforming society and the state! The majority makes up its mind to do something that will make the day and the hour memorable in history—the new era is about to start. O, nothing of the kind . . . A company of soldiers bids the Social Democratic majority begone or be chucked, and if these gentlemen do not leave quickly, a few policemen will show them the way to the State prison, where they will have ample time to reflect on their quixotic conduct. Revolutions are not made by permission of the Government. The Socialistic idea cannot be realised within the sphere of the existing State, which must be abolished before the foetus of the future can enter into visible life. Down with the worship of universal suffrage. Let us take an active part in elections, but only as a means of agitation, and let us not forget to proclaim that the returning officer will never issue into the world the new Democratic State. Universal suffrage will only acquire complete influence over the State and over society after the abolition of police and military government." (*Ueber die politische Stellung*, pp. 11 and 12).

This is a temperate but striking testimony that will command a powerful allegiance.

(To be continued).

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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LABOUR LEADERS BOLSTERING UP THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

The Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Executive are very much perturbed at the internal collapse of the capitalist system, which is causing unprecedented unemployment in all the capitalist countries, with its attendant evils of starvation and physical and mental deterioration.

These "gentlemen and ladies" profess to be very much distressed at the sufferings of the unemployed, and doubtless this distress is to a certain extent genuine; but at the same time it must be remembered that they are not living the lives of the ordinary workers, but the same kind of lives as the bourgeoisie, which lifts them into another atmosphere.

Therefore their suggestions are all palliative and do not go to the root of the matter. If the capitalist system were done away with, these would-be benefactors of the working-class would themselves be reduced to the ranks of the workers and they realise that their conditions would be less pleasant than they are now. Thus they belong to the large army of social reformers, who do not want to see Communism in this country in their day. In theory they may believe in Communism, but in practice they know that many a hard struggle must be gone through before the full benefits of Communism will be gained, and they are not prepared to face those troublous times, but prefer to put forth their energies into alleviating the immediate distress of the workers and bolstering up the capitalist system.

Their demands are as follows:—

- The immediate adoption of the policy of unobstructed trade with Russia.
- Such an application of the terms of peace with ex-enemy countries as will promote the restoration of their economic life and re-establish normal commerce.
- Concerted international arrangements for the stabilisation of the exchanges, the extension of credits, together with the promotion of commercial intercourse, and an unobstructed transport system throughout Europe.
- They call upon the Government immediately to reverse its economic policy with regard to expenditure.
- By bringing to an end its military adventures in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the East.
- By terminating its military oppression and lawless reprisals in Ireland, which are stopping productive industry and lessening the economic resources of the country.

Further, they demand the carrying out of the 1918 Education Act, the building of houses and permanent Local Authorities, to carry out local works of improvement.

They go on to enumerate various schemes for providing work for hundreds of thousands of men and women, including naval and military supplies, buildings, roads, afforestation, agriculture, harbours and land reclamation.

They protest against short time unless under-employment maintenance is granted and "call upon the Government at once to establish maintenance allowances for unemployed and the under-employed."

"The rate of maintenance (including other benefits) shall be at least 40/- per week for each householder, and 25/- per week for each single man or woman, with additional allowances for dependants."

These proposals are put forward in the form of a resolution, which is to be discussed at the Conference of Trades Union delegates on February 23rd.

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They also "request the Parliamentary Labour Party to take steps, if the Government has not in the meantime taken satisfactory action, to bring the matter before the House of Commons at the very opening of the Session."

What waste of time it all is! Talk, conferences, resolutions, more talk in Parliament, more enquiries and commissions, and the result—more unemployed, more disease, more misery, more profits for capitalists!

But, you ask, what would you have the poor creatures do?

We would tell them to look at the only country where there is no unemployment and learn a lesson from it. There is one solution of this vital problem, and one only, that is, to overthrow the present system which creates unemployment.

"Ah! but that is such vague advice, and though we may quite agree with it in principle, we do not know how to set about it."

Well, the first thing you must do, if you really do want to overthrow the capitalist system and to establish Communism, is to get rid of your reformist and palliative-loving leaders. No one can do that but you workers and you cannot do it by constitutional means, because your Trade Union rules have been cleverly drafted to maintain the officials in power. YOU HAVE GOT TO BREAK THESE RULES and substitute others which will give you, and not your Executive Committees, control of your Unions. And you must do it NOW. You cannot afford to wait until you have called another conference, which will only lead to a further one and more delay, which means that nothing will be done. Do not be bamboozled by your leaders. They have sold you every time and will go on selling you and keeping you in slavery. They are not economic slaves. You are. If you want to be free men and women, you must act, not talk. Are you afraid to act? If you are, you prefer to be slaves rather than free men and women who can order your own lives and possess the fruits of your labours. Do not be afraid of the unknown, it is never so bad as we expect.

Having replaced your leaders with those whom you can trust, you must then take control of the mines, factories and workshops, and run them in the interests of the whole community, instead of for a few private individuals. Then you will produce for use and not for profit, and absorb the unemployed. Of course, you will not stop short at seizing control of industry, a far larger field will be opened up, which will embrace all the institutions of the country. Until the workers are in control, unemployment or the threat of it will be ever present.

Workers, trust yourselves and each other, you must work out your own salvation and until you are prepared to do it, there can be no lasting solution of the many problems which confront you.

OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS.

With the reassembling of Parliament, an opportunity presents itself for those Members who still profess a belief in justice, even when administered by the capitalist State in a class-struggle contest, to come forth and make use of their favoured position to obtain a clear statement from the Home Secretary as to the status of our political prisoners.

As we pointed out last week, every one of them is in prison, paradoxical as it may seem, because we went to war with Germany.

The Act under which they were sentenced was a war measure, the continuation of a war necessity; not the permanent law of the land.

The case of our Editor is still more Gilbertian. None of the incriminating articles were written by her, and her offence arises purely from the legal fiction that the editor is legally responsible for every line that appears in the paper he edits, even if the general tone and policy of the paper does not warrant the crude nomenclature that can be put on a few detached lines.

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—3.

"A LANDLESS MAN IS AN UN-FREE MAN."
—OLD SAXON PROVERB.

For the speech at her trial and for that at her appeal, which both contain a powerful advocacy of Communism and the desire clearly expressed to do her best for the overthrow of Capitalism, she is not prosecuted because they were pronounced from the privileged position of a prisoner in the dock.

Justice therefore demands that what is a Press offence should be treated as such and the privileges of the First Division granted to her.

It is within the power of the Home Secretary to remit part or the whole of a sentence. It would, of course, be unwise if this power were too frequently used in cases which had been tried by a jury; there you have the presumption that a citizen has been tried by his peers. It is not so in cases tried by summary jurisdiction, even if the appeal has been heard by a full bench of Aldermen, and in purely political cases when the chief constituent of the offence is not moral turpitude or the breaking of an accepted standard of life, but simply the exposition of an heterodox view of how society should be organised.

The fact that we state our case in an unadorned form, pointing out that even according to the bourgeois law there are arguments why our political prisoners should be set free, does not minimise the necessity and the importance for the rank and file of the Movement to get busy and make their protest heard.

It is only by making a determined stand that it is possible to safeguard the right of free expression on political and economic matters.

It is only by making our voices heard that we can drive home the moral of these prosecutions.

EAST WOOLWICH.

Ramsay MacDonald, of the Bureau of the Second International, will contest East Woolwich in the interests of the Labour Party, upon the withdrawal from public life of Will Crooks, also of the Labour Party, and for whom Lloyd George, Asquith and Balfour—a political trinity—a raising an old age fund.

Ramsay MacDonald, in a constituency where munition makers predominate, and where unemployment is high at present, will make this question one of his main planks, and by opposing the Government and not the capitalist system, will gain the support necessary to head the poll.

In the true interest of Labour he should be opposed, and the rank and file of the Communist Party should see that he, amongst other things, has not support of leaders who are in the Labour Party by their Union affiliation.

Since not a few of the electors in many respects politically near to us may still be under the impression that keeping Ramsay MacDonald out is putting the "Coalie" in, the occasion should be eagerly seized to point out that the Tory is no better than "Labour" in, since Parliament will do nothing, can do nothing to alleviate the lot of the workers.

Parliament did not stop profiteering, did not stop high prices, is powerless to solve unemployment, for the simple reason that these are economic facts far beyond the power of an assembly of a purely political character.

The contest of East Woolwich is the first occasion that presents itself to the London rank and file of the United Communist Party to take advantage of the electoral agitation to put forward their point of view.

At East Woolwich, the best way to oppose the Government is to oppose Ramsay MacDonald.

The Socialism of the Second International is bound hand and foot with the foreign policy of the Government.

It is Socialism that opposed war ineffectively and let millions of human beings die on the battlefields, where a capitalistic war was fought for the commercial supremacy of two sets of capitalists.

It is the Socialism that would allow of another war being prepared and fought at the expense of the workers.

It is above all the Socialism that, whilst pretending to stop the blockade and of advocating peace with Soviet Russia, has nursed in its midst all the renegades, all the Russian traitors to the work of our Communist Comrades.

The split which is inevitable in the ranks of the I.L.P., and which will finally add to the power of the Communist Party, may be quickened by the action of the rank and file at the present juncture.

In party and public meetings our Third Internationalist friends of the I.L.P. should be asked to decide which side they are taking: party solidarity or solidarity with the Third International and the revolutionary workers of the world.

The conscious workers of East Woolwich should turn abstentionist.

The defeat of Ramsay MacDonald, due to a marked decrease in the votes recorded, would make the Government to act within the narrow limits of its power—to stop unemployment more than all the fine speeches Ramsay MacDonald could make inside the House.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS.

Nearly every capitalist newspaper one picks up to-day contains a special article dealing with the problem of unemployment, and claiming its own particular method as the only specific remedy. Now it is a scheme for taxing the foreigner and keeping his goods out of our market; now a municipal proposal for closer co-operation between capital and labour; now short-time proposals by the Government, and now—but to think of all the schemes proposed makes one's head ache. What I want to know is: Why should the powers that be think it so necessary for us to be for ever delving? Work, work, work—that seems to be the only thing in life for us to live for, according to some of the proposers of various remedies. But one notices that most of those who make these proposals seem to get along very well without it themselves. It is always the working-class that must be provided with work. As a working man myself, I claim that I have already done my quota of work for these people, and that the vast majority of those who are now vainly seeking employment have done their share too. I, like the rest of the working-class, have spent the best portion of my time on earth in making profits for somebody else, and all I have after twenty years—more or less—would be sneered at by a moderate-sized capitalist, as too small to be seriously entertained for investment.

What is the good of all this labour-saving machinery if the people who make it and use it are always going to be compelled to work for the best part of the day all their lives? Labour-saving devices ought to reduce the amount of work that a man does—or else they are misnamed. Some philosopher said, some 2,000 years ago, that the chattel slavery, which existed then, was perfectly justified—because somebody must do the drudgery while the men of brains spent their time in developing the arts and other finer things of life. But, added the philosopher, some day, man will invent machinery to do the work for him, and then slavery will be unnecessary. Well, what the old gentleman said has come true—in part, at least. The machinery has been invented, and is continually being improved. But the funny part of it is that the slavery has not vanished. It is still with us, and workers are still working as hard as ever, in many cases harder than they did before machinery was invented. It is all very well to say that hours are much shorter than they used to be. Isn't the production a hundred times greater? And the small reductions that have been made, have only been gained at the cost of stern fights, much privation and long, arduous periods of organisation; and even then, the worker spends the greater part of the day in working for an already comfortable class. He starts at 8 a.m., while his master rolls up in his luxurious limousine and strolls into the office with a cigar between his teeth about ten o'clock. The worker gets a solitary hour for his midday meal, and the master couldn't possibly "do lunch" under two. The worker loses a quarter if he is a few minutes late, and works, generally, till six. His master is then in his bath, preparing for dinner; if times are "good," the foreman "asks" his men to stay to do three or four hours' overtime. It wouldn't matter so much if those who did the work got the wealth—but they don't. They get a miserable dole.

The inventing of labour-saving machinery has hardly begun—that is to say, man has only just opened the portals of the vast wonderland of science which, even now, after little more than a century, has revolutionised our ideas and transformed the globe. About a week ago, Lord Headley, in a paper before the Engineers' Society, gave us a glimpse of the future, when man, in the Atomic Age, will look back to his present achievements with a smile of pity. He stated that it had been calculated that there is enough energy in every ounce of matter to lift the whole British Fleet from the seas to the top of Mount Everest; that there is enough latent energy in one's little finger to run all the trains in the United Kingdom for several days; and sufficient atomic energy in an ounce of matter to keep the largest liner in the world going at full speed for a week. I wonder who'll do the work in that golden Atomic Age? To me, it looks as if there won't be really enough work to go round then. (I said really, because we are led to believe that there isn't enough to go round to-day—but that's all nonsense. There's much more than enough—but the capitalists won't let us do it!).

Not enough work to go round!

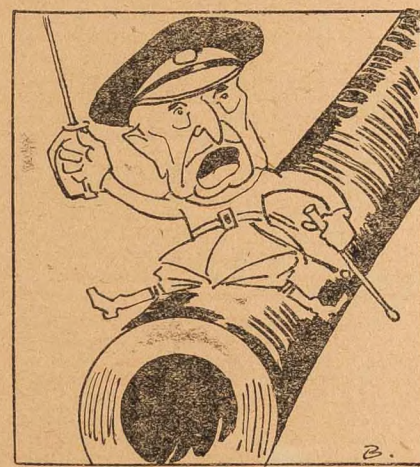
What a terrible thought this must be—to those whose chief pleasure in life consists in seeing that others are kept continually at it. I can imagine the feelings of the choleric old gentleman who will have the good fortune to read this—the old gentleman who fumes with rage and talks about the country going to the dogs whenever he notices a bricklayer drop his tools and light up a cigarette. Such an idea as not enough work to go round would never enter his thick, unimaginative head—his visions being limited to quarter-day and coupon-clipping.

The more one thinks about the progress of science in industry, the more one is convinced that the time will surely come when the amount of work required of each citizen will be altogether negligible. I mean, of course, work to provide us with the necessities of life. Work of other kinds there will assuredly be, but then a man will be able to choose his work and enjoy it—because he will be expressing himself in it, and securing his just reward.

Lord Headley very kindly went to the trouble of picturing for us the horrors of war in the Atomic Age. According to him, when the harnessed electrons are let loose in future wars, not a single human being will survive on any battlefield. A general at the War

Office, he added, might press a button and kill every living thing within hundreds of square miles. This electronic energy was described as the world's greatest and most terrible secret—so great and terrible that it has been seriously put forward, that research in this direction should be stopped until the human race are sufficiently educated to be entrusted with the key of such fearsome storehouses of power. It is a good thing to tell people of the horrors of war, for the more they realise, the more likely will people be to seek to abolish it. But the average journal dealing with such a subject omits a very important aspect of the matter. It is left to the worker to infer what the effect of the use of atomic energy in industry will have on society. Will the tremendous advantages of such illimitable and universal power go to a small class who have been fortunate enough to acquire the use of that power? And will it be used for the purpose of enriching merely a few fortunate people—as labour-saving devices in the main have been used ever since they became a factor in life? If so, that is another reason why research along these lines should be stopped—for it is a crime to use energy at stated intervals for the purpose of blowing armies to pieces in the twinkling of an eye—it is no less a crime to use it—or any other power—so that a small class shall enrich themselves at the expense of the many.

But it surely smacks of insolence to talk about waiting until the race is sufficiently educated to be entrusted with the keys of such fearsome power. One would think that the responsibility for war lay with



Lord French at Belfast: "They would never cease to try to bring about reconciliation by peaceful means."

the uneducated workers, instead of with the very class who have always monopolised education and done their best to withhold it from the workers. The latter have done the dirty work, and the educated "superior" class have gained all the benefits. If the workers are content with the kind of education that their masters would give them, they will soon be plunged into another war. The only safeguard against future wars is a class-conscious proletariat working out its own salvation along Communist lines. Indeed, the main reason why we must have the dictatorship of the proletariat is because those who have hitherto been entrusted with the knowledge given to the world by genius, have proved utterly unworthy of it.

Numerous increases in salaries of clerks, gained through the efforts of the National Union of Clerks and Administrative workers all over the country, are being regularly reported in *The Clerk*, and are another proof of the benefits of organisation, and the value of industrial action by the workers. I am pleased to see that a writer in that organ is not ashamed to call that clerks, as a class, have long been far too snobbish in their attitude to Trade Unionism; but they are evidently learning by hard experience that if they are to improve their conditions they must throw in their lot with other workers.

He says: "It took five years to disillusion the clerk and make him see the necessity for organisation in common with other workers, and it is refreshing

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—4.

"THE REVOLUTION WILL BENEFIT THE WORKERS MAINLY, THE WORKING CLASS BEING THE LARGEST CLASS IN ANY COUNTRY OF THE WORLD."
—L. A. MOTLER.

to know that at long last he is ridding himself of his snobbishness and detached isolation, and is rapidly acquiring a class-consciousness which gives great hopes for the future."

The horny-handed son of toil, though never having been credited with the intelligence of the administrative worker, has shown the latter the way towards solving some of the problems of industry, and it is up to him now to avoid the mistakes many Trade Unions have made, and see that the organisation they have established does not merely seek to make the system of wage-slavery comfortable or endurable, but to abolish it altogether.

Considering the relative weakness of the National Union of Clerks, the concessions they have already gained are a matter for congratulation. They have not yet, however, overcome the prejudice to women clerks, and in the recent award obtained by the Union for Co-operative clerks, this prejudice shows itself in the disparity between the wages for males at 24 years of age, who are to receive 90/-, and those of females, who will get only 72/6. Included in the award (which refers to a 40-hour week) is double-time payment for men and time-and-a-half for women. Whether one is in favour of equal pay for equal work, as between the sexes, or not, the distinction in the overtime rate is grossly unfair. Leaving aside the question of fitness for the work, the principles which govern the payment for overtime apply equally to both sexes. But it is high time that the question of overtime was settled once for all, that is to say, prohibited wherever humanly possible, and when this is done, those Trade Unionists who can regret the look to overtime as a means of increasing their wages, will cease to be a drag on the efforts of workers who claim a decent standard of living irrespective of overtime.

Commenting on an article in *The Times*, one of whose correspondents has had access to reports from various countries presented at a Congress of Bolshevik Directors of Propaganda, the *Christian World* says:—

"The Bible, it seems, is the greatest obstacle in this country. The fundamental principles of the English workman's Communist convictions, says the director responsible for our perversion, are not the books of the teacher of Communism, but the Bible, and the Communism is frequently conceived as a complement to Christianity, as the crown of the Christian moral code. This circumstance completely excludes the possibility of a thorough revolution among the masses. The British working man, plus the Bible, and plus his democratic good sense, is a very hard nut to crack for men who have nothing to teach him but class-hatred and destruction of what has been slowly built up during a thousand years of experience."

The exact meaning of the *Christian World's* comment is extremely doubtful. Apparently the writer means that the Biblical interpretation of Communism is entirely different from the spirit of Bolshevism; and that is the reason why, he claims, the thorough revolutionising of the masses is precluded. It is news to me that the British worker ever reads the Bible, except in isolated instances. The wide spread arm of the Church to-day is an admission of the fact. On the other hand, the few who do read it—or are supposed to—severely censured by another Christian journal, the *Daily News*, because they are not treating with common decency the very men who teach them to read the Bible—the parsons. Thus the *Daily News* of Tuesday, February 23rd:—

"There are, to-day, over 17,000 clergymen receiving less than £300 a year, and over 3,000 living under the value of £200 a year. Many of these men have been working since the war under conditions of wretchedness that no body of self-respecting artisans in normal times would endure for a week without taking concerted action. But the parson cannot strike for more pay. The matter is in the hands of churchpeople, and if they cannot rise to the crisis, they must be prepared for the spectacle of a broken ministry and next of a dying Church."

[Pardon me, the Editor, looking over my shoulder, has just reminded me that these notes are supposed to deal with *Industry*!]

Patchworking the wages system will not do. If every man and woman were given an increase in wages to the extent of £10 a week, the social problem would remain as it is.

Preparations are proceeding apace for the first World Congress of the Red Trade Union International, which is to meet at Moscow on May Day.

Mr. Harry Webb, a member of the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain, was summoned at Sheffield for being a "disturber" of the peace. He is to be allowed to prepare a defence.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD

Outside Holloway Gaol,

EVERY SUNDAY AT 4 p.m.

Followed by a meeting outside

Pentonville Prison.

Come and cheer our Comrades Pankhurst and Malone.

THE TACTICS OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

During the Extremity of Labour.

While dealing with the problems of Capitalism and its extremity during a previous article, I demonstrated three points to be excepted by Labour to aid in the mending of the commercial system. They were: (1) Reduced wages, (2) increased production in same time, and (3) increased hours without increased wages.

It will therefore be interesting to hold an inquiry into the methods of the master-class towards securing this end, and the general attitude of Labour and its policy.

During 1917, when the Allied High Command in France was preparing to launch an enormous offensive against the German fortified line, the Prime Minister made his "Labour behind the guns" speech. Labour was then the equal partner of the "Coalition," which repaid the loyalty of the Trade Unionist by protection, in words, from rampant profiteering. So the workers, co-operators of their masters in wartime, looked to the coming of peace as the herald of the return of Trade Union rights and civic liberties. The trust of millions has thus been rudely brushed aside, and out of the war Big Business emerges with determination and preparation to smash the co-operators of yesterday. The security of labour in wartime made Labour a dangerous factor within the State. The wave of industrial unrest had spread throughout Britain. The average worker, faced with a plenitude of work, became independent, restless, and militant, and the absence of unemployment robbed Capitalism of its fundamental source of power—the fear of the plight of unemployment by the workers.

Labour during the War.

With the coming of the armistice came the slump, production of munitions ceased, and the streets were filled with the unemployed; within six months half a million men were demobilised from the forces. A study of the life of the Trade Union movement of Britain during the war showed an artificial growth of organisation, and the rapid advance of prices made at speedy readjustment of wage rates necessary. Hence official Trade Unionism became obsolete; speedy and effective workshop action became a necessity; and these factors explain the rise of Shop Steward and Workers' Committee movements. With the trade slump, such advanced industrial formations in turn became incompetent, and fail to survive.

Labour after the War.

The outstanding feature of the war was the economic security of Labour; the noticeable feature of peace is the plight of Labour. During the war Trade Unionism increased in adherents 400 per cent.; after the armistice all forms of rank and file activity were effectively stifled, and the Shop Steward movement existed only in name. A temporary boom in Shop Stewardism occurs in the building trade, but within the coming year this must also subside.

Trade Unionism, official or unofficial, is the instrument of wage-bargaining. That being the fact, its power is reduced or destroyed by the growth of unemployment. These are iron industrial laws, and render contrary reasoning impossible.

The First Tactic of Capitalism.

The masters desire to reduce wages, and they are compelled to adopt different methods in different cases. Thus the engineering trade is openly attacked, but the railwaymen and miners covertly dealt with.

In the first case the unemployed army is brazenly drawn on at cheaper rates; in the latter the key industries are taken through trials of strength (strikes), aiming at weakening the finances of the unions, and testing their spirit. By lock-out, closure of factories, and strike, the masters are breaking up the finances of the unions, and making the opportunity for a successful strike less likely in the near future. Against these facts we see little hope; even the leaders of the rank and file movement lack the necessary initiative and foresight to adapt new tactics to a new situation.

The Official Attitude of Labour.

The officials of the large Trade Unions and the spokesmen of the Labour Party, having little faith in the ability of the workers themselves to dispense with Capitalists, have therefore turned to the advocacy of those measures that will extend the life of Trade Unionism, and make Labour Government attractive to all classes by keeping themselves isolated from revolutionary thought. Thus we turn to a statement of Mr. W. A. Appleton in the "Democrat": "Capitalism and Trade Unionism stand or fall together. The end of the Capitalist involves the end of the Trade Unionist. The latter has no probability of existence if the former dies." Being a non-Communist, he has therefore resigned himself to the inevitability of the continuance of Capitalism, and on such grounds is logical and consistent when he adds at a later stage: "We are a nation of shopkeepers. We must be so to live. Every shopkeeper knows that the worst way to retain or recover customers is to empty the till into the gutter, put the shutters up or go to the cinema. He knows, on the contrary, that the best policy would be to put more *pin* into his personal efforts, to display his stock more advantageously, to let all his customers, and his potential customers, see that he was ready and able to supply their needs at prices and in quantities at least equal to those supplied by his competitors."

In these words we have the sentiments of a hard-faced business man put in the mouth of a working-class spokesman, a man who has enjoyed security from want and unemployment for many years as a result of being an employee of the workers, and as a sign of his gratitude of their clarity, now tells them to accept lower wages.

Reason impels a honest mind to demand whether this is a symptom of a simpton, or is the explanation otherwise? Because lower wages and increased production, with further increase in hours, can alone stabilise the commercial system; and between stabilisation of Capitalism and the present situation stands the demand of the Trade Unionist for a living wage. The Labour leaders who are non-Communist should be honest and advocate the dissolution of the Labour movement, because a living wage under Capitalism is impossible to-day, and as paid servants of Labour they are getting money under false pretences, if continuing to advocate wage-bargaining, and should be duly charged with such an offence. However, the Labour movement itself is led by men and women who either lack understanding or possess a superabundance of honesty and candour. This point is well illustrated by Appleton himself in an epigram contained in the same issue of the "Democrat": "Labour is in the position of a blind man being led by a lunatic."

Thus we perceive that out of this slough of despond—the after-the-war adversities of Capitalism—official Labour cannot lead the people; the unofficial movement is killed by lack of workshop security due to unemployment.

An examination of Labour shows up in clear daylight a halting, hesitating movement of slaves, faced with horrible privations, bewildered, dazed, lacking in understanding or perception of a line of escape, turning appealingly to leaders who, in fear and trembling, hearing the rumblings of the revolution, cling to the coat of the master-class.

Meanwhile the employers silently and ruthlessly prepare, in an editorial article taken from the "Contract Journal and Specification Record" of February 2nd, 1921. From this journal we glean the following sentiments: "Employers should have the courage to give employment to non-union men"; "a slight but marked appreciation by the ordinary workman that if he is to obtain high wages he must do a good day's work for these wages," is quoted with gleam, and the article rocks with denunciation of the Coalition Government because of its "tolerance" of Trade Unionism as follows: "We do not think that, for all its cowardly complaisance, the Government is exactly popular with Trade Unionists. Had it but the courage to emulate the example of our French Allies, who have broken up the Confederation Generale du Travail, a Syndicalist Trade Union organisation, there might be some hope for it, and for the future of Trade Unionism, purged of the excesses that have made it the workers' most dangerous enemy."

Thus Capitalism attacks and drives down wages; Appleton and Co. support; the Shop Steward movement is silent because it is dead, but the humiliation of the workers must yet be greater, and there lies hope; the extremity of Labour, caused by the extremity of Capitalism, brings nearer the sound of revolt.

Conclusion.

It may be urged that I have failed to produce a constructive policy, and merely indulged in criticism; but the aim of this article is to demonstrate Labour's weakness, and the question of time and correct policy is a matter for further comment.

THE YOUNG COMMUNISTS' CORNER.

"What place is this, dad?"
"This, my child, is a brickyard."
"Whose brickyard is it, dad?"
"Oh, it belongs to me, my child."
"Do those dirty men belong to you too?"
"No, there is no slavery in this country; those are free men."
"What makes them work so hard?"
"They are working for a living."
"Why do they work for a living?"
"Because they are poor, and are obliged to work."
"How is it they are so poor, when they work so hard?"
"I don't know."
"Does not somebody steal from them what they earn?"
"No, my child. What makes you ask such silly questions?"
"I thought perhaps some of that clay got into their eyes and blinded them. But don't the bricks belong to them after they have made them?"
"No, they belong to me, my son."
"What are bricks made of?"
"Clay, my son."
"What! That dirt I see down there?"
"Yes, nothing else."

ONE TO THE COMMUNIST.

Sequel to an Unprecedented Incident.

A short time ago, a scene surely "unprecedented," took place at a lecture. Sir Bernard Pares, O.B.E., Professor of Russian at London University, spoke before a large audience at the L.C.C. Literary Institute, Peckham Road, the Mayor of Camberwell (Labour) being in the chair. The subject of the lecture (which was delivered under the auspices of the L.C.C.) was "Russia." Some of the lecturer's remarks were of an anti-Bolshevik character, and, consequently, did not meet with the acceptance of the many Communists present. One of the two-told Sir Bernard Pares on the fact that he was preaching anti-Bolshevism for pay. Thereupon the lecturer replied that he did not yet know whether he would receive a fee or not, and added that, if he did, the becker would be welcome to it. Promptly accepting this offer, the lecturer's opponent caused some sensation by dramatically advancing to the chairman's table and placing on it his card. Since the lecture, the incident has been much commented on—especially in the borough (Camberwell)—surprise being felt that the L.C.C. out of yet know whether the raterpayers (now somewhat hard-pressed) should subsidise lectures on so "two-sided" a subject as Russia since the Revolution. Especially has feeling run somewhat high by reason of the fact that no L.C.C. lectures have been subsidised on the pro-Bolshevik side of the question. However, as regards the incident at the lecture at Peckham, that incident has now had a sequel. The sequel took place on Monday morning last, at Camberwell Town Hall, Peckham Road, where, through the Mayor, Sir Bernard Pares' fee in respect of his lecture was duly handed over to his Communist erstwhile opponent.

PLAIN TALK TO OUR READERS.

It is only when a weekly prints over 20,000 copies that it can be made self-supporting. We are trying to reach that figure; meanwhile we need your continuous support. There are charges that have to be met without fail every week. The paper we print on has to be paid for, cash down; for postage the Government does not give you credit. The printers, too, have a bad habit of requiring food and clothes, and they have to be paid.

The sales of a propaganda paper, as every comrade is aware, do not cover the actual cost of production. Not having a reserve fund to draw upon, the deficit has to be made good every week by the contributions of willing comrades.

There is more reading matter in the "Workers' Dreadnought" than in any other paper in the United Kingdom of equal size and number of pages.

We realise that the paper has to last one week; not to be scanned and thrown away, but read, studied, and passed on to a friend.

We are not out for sensations or "stunts": we try to give food for thought, to the best of our humble capacity.

If you have criticism to offer, send it along. It will be considered, and, if good and workable, will be acted upon.

All money sent for the Maintenance Fund will be acknowledged.

A scheme is in preparation by which earnest comrades out of work may mutually assist with some slight advantage to themselves.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.



COMMUNISM IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

There is no country in which nationalism has so strong an influence on the proletarian movement as Czechoslovakia. The bourgeois republic being the result of the struggle of the Czech bourgeoisie against the old Hapsburg state, seemed to be a new paradise of social-patriots and national-socialists. Indeed, the great masses of the Czech proletariat believed that a capitalist state-machine can be "transformed" by clever leaders, into a Social Republic. One year's history of this petty-bourgeois Republic has completely destroyed this ideology of the Czech masses caused by the twenty-five year education for nationality by the Social Democratic Party. The German proletariat in this state have learned by now that the Wilson programme of self-determination of the nations is also a humbug, so long as Capitalism rules, and that national freedom can be realised only by the Workers' State.

In both the Czech and German Social Democratic Parties were formed "Left Wings," which declared for uncompromising class-struggle and affiliation to the Third International. It is clear that these "Left Wings" were not Communists in the proper sense of the word, because their phrasology showed reformist tendencies. But in the course of the development within the "Left" movement, a Communist element was formed, which drove on the leaders and masses. The economic destruction in this country increased daily. Right Wing leaders saw the development of their own party, the Socialist members of the Government, the Tussars, Habermans, Nemecs, and all the Social Democrats; the corrupt nationalist leaders believed, indeed, that this "revolutionary" act—the withdrawal from the capitalist Government—would change the situation in favour of Nationalism.

They began with a nationalistic baiting of "the German traitors of our Republic" (so spoke the "International" Czech Social Democrats). But all their endeavours were in vain. The majority of the delegates to the Party Congress were for Communism and for the Communist International. When Tussar and Co. saw that Communist ideas had captured their own party, they showed their real face.

They expelled the revolutionary leaders and workers from the party and called a new party congress, whose delegates had to promise that they would always work against the Communist International. These "well-dressed" nominated delegates then resolved to affiliate to the Second (yellow) International. At Prague we saw the whole yellow International assembled, Branting, Thomas, Vandervelde, Muller, etc. The Czech Social Democrats showed the workers, indeed, that they are good Internationalists! The representatives of the German Socialists in Czechoslovakia—as a good Internationalist—also at this congress.

But in the same measure as the traitors saw that all their Socialist demonstrations could not stop the revolutionising of the proletariat, they went over to the counter-revolution. The Communist workers of Prague, in consequence of their majority on the truly elected Party Congress, took possession of the Social Democratic house, of the party's offices and papers. This was a revolutionary act, but of course, the Prague workers only executed the will of the great masses of the members of the Social Democratic Party. The Social Democratic leaders spoke of "robbery" and "theft," and, petty-bourgeois as they are, called to their aid bourgeois police and soldiers, and so renege on their Party premises. This infamous counter-revolutionary act was the signal for the first great strike.

Since this Republic was founded, for the first time, the Czech workers united with the Germans and fought against the State. A hundred thousand workers in all the great towns followed the call of the revolutionaries. Although this general strike (from December 12th to 16th, 1920) was defeated, it has made possible the formation of the United Communist Party of the Czechoslovak Republic. During this first great revolutionary struggle, the proletariat has learned who are the real enemies of their cause: the whole Trade Union Commission declared against the strike, the German Social Democrats declared their neutrality! (Neutrality towards a workers' party in the class-war.) The Right Wing Social Democrats denounced our young Communists and the prisons of our country are not sufficient to lodge the arrested Communists. In Prague alone, there are 1,700 imprisoned.

But although the bourgeoisie and their assistants, the Social Democrats, may succeed for the time, their economic development works for Communism in our country as in others.

NORTHERN MORAVIA.

A comrade from Northern Moravia, Czechoslovakia, writes that "owing to the very advanced economic and spiritual conditions here, we are able to organise class-conscious masses in the Communist Young Workers' Union (K.A.J.), and in the Party (Left Wing of the S.P.). The International K.A.J. will unite Czech, German, Slovakian, and Hungarian Young Workers, 60,000 to 70,000 members. The Communist Party (Czechoslovakian Section of the Communist International) will be formed during the coming spring, and have about 100,000 to 120,000 members.

GROWTH OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN THE EAST.

Concerning the Conference which has taken place in China, among the Socialist organisations, Wilenski Sabritof writes in the *Isestia*:—

"In East Asia, the foundation for a united Communist work amongst the working masses of China, Japan, Korea and India has been laid which represents a mass of more than eight hundred million workers."

"This Conference shows that the Communist movement in Asia is growing strong, and the first visible sign of this is the large Communist Party in China. This Conference means a turning-point in the life of the Asiatic peoples. The world Imperialists can see from it that even without the help of Soviet Russia, the toiling masses know how to find the way to tread on their oppressors. Without any help the proletariat finds the way to the revolutionary fight."

"With the greatest joy, we welcome into our ranks these new warriors for the idea of Communism."

WHITE TERROR IN SPAIN.

In the last 48 hours, 153 members of the Trade Unions have been imprisoned.

REVOLUTIONARY FRENCH WORKERS ON THE SIDE OF THE PERSECUTED SPANISH COMRADES.

The Trade Union Federation of Spain addressed a new appeal to the workers of the whole world, in which it pointed out that the persecution of Spanish workers since the announcement of the world boycott of Spanish goods has increased and has taken on a monstrous and inhuman form. The revolutionary groups in France have called meetings in the southern part of the country to make clear to the workers the importance of firmly organising to maintain the boycott against the Spanish employers and Government.

FATE OF OFFICERS OF WRANGLER IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

From the counter-revolutionary paper, *Golos Rossii*: "We have received from Constantinople, the letter of a Russian officer who writes that the French turn the Russian officers at Constantinople into street sweepers under the command of Senegalese."

"Although we have heard of many things, we have never heard the like of this: that Russian officers do the dirtiest work, for which the French themselves keep their fingers."

(Apparently the gallant Ally of our capitalist Government has forgotten that these gentlemen are born to rule, not to work!)

TREATMENT OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The famous singer Schabjapin and other artists took part in a concert which took place on January 17th in Moscow in the prison for counter-revolutionaries. The prisoners expressed satisfaction with the treatment they had received at the hands of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, which, instead of taking vengeance on them, had shown solicitude for their cultural life.

UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN BELGIUM.

The unemployment crisis is getting to a dangerous stage. In Ghent there are over 20,000 spinners unemployed; in Verviers, 11,000 out of a total of 16,000. In Antwerp there are 8,000 diamond cutters workless out of a total of 14,000. According to official representation, the cause of the crisis is high tariffs and cost of production, the lack of buyers, and the uncertain state of the whole world market.

The official statement does not say that these causes are all the accompaniments of the Imperialist world war and its resulting chaos.

BELGIAN WORKERS SEIZE A FACTORY.

In the Belgian proletariat—hitherto reformist—the revolutionary spirit is rising. Unemployment is on the increase too, and the "bosses" there, carry on sabotage against production. A short time ago in Charleroi, the directors of the metal industry tried to discharge part of the workmen. The employees, however, resisted and seized the factory. The directors, in great alarm, began negotiations and finally came to an understanding with the Trade Unions, by reinstating the men.

BELGIAN COMMUNISTS UNITE.

The Flemish and Walloon sections united to form the Communist Party of Belgium in December, 1920.

A JOURNAL OF DISCUSSION OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY.

The *Pravda* writes:— "The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party is taking steps towards the issue of a newspaper for purposes of discussion, and whose task it will be to enable all members of the Party to criticise the Soviet and Party institutions and to keep these latter on the right lines."

FIRST OF MAY CELEBRATIONS COMMITTEE.

One hundred and fifty delegates from branches of Trades Unions, Communist Party, Trades Councils, Labour Party, I.L.P., Co-operative Society, Socialist Organisations, N.U.X., "Herald" League, genuine Unemployed and Shop Stewards attended the delegate meeting of the First of May Celebration Committee on Sunday, February 13th. This was a great advance upon last year, which shows that the workers are awakening to the importance of this Day of Labour, and of showing their solidarity with the workers of other countries.

The most satisfactory feature was the much more advanced view the majority of the delegates took on all the questions raised, especially as regards the possible refusal of the Albert Hall for an evening meeting on May 1st, and the resolution put forward by the E.C., all the palliative clauses being deleted. The E.C. had put forward a list of speakers for the Albert Hall for the delegates to consider. One delegate objected that none of the rank and file were among them, and urged that there should be one woman and one man rank and file speaker added, which was accepted.

The reformists were obliged to take a back seat and were voted down every time. The delegates did not waste their time in talking revolution, they got on to the practical business of helping it forward. Sometimes one is inclined to become depressed at the supineness of the workers, but this meeting made one feel that there is a real live movement going forward, which will achieve the end we all have in view.

A resolution was passed calling for support in the campaign to secure the release of political prisoners and the immediate granting of First Division treatment for them, Trade Union and other branches being asked to bring it to the notice of their members. N.S.

ORDERS TO KILL.

In presiding at a Peace with Ireland Council on Saturday, at Golders Green, Lord Buckmaster, ex-Lord Chancellor, said the evidence proved that robbery, arson, murder, and violence had been committed by representatives of the British Government.

Reading from the "Weekly Summary" issued by the Government to the R.I.C., Lord Buckmaster said that the forces were instructed:—

"That in the event of one member of his Majesty's forces being killed, two members of the Sinn Fein Council in Cork would be killed, and were they not available three sympathisers would be killed."

"That in the event of one member of the forces being wounded or an attempt made, one member of the Sinn Fein Party would be killed, or if one member was not available, two sympathisers would be killed."

GALLACHER ARRESTED.

Charged with making an alleged seditious speech, William Gallacher, a Paisley man, was remanded at Birmingham on Saturday in £100 bail and two sureties of £50 each.

We hear that H. Webb has also been arrested at Birmingham on a similar charge; while other Communists, for protesting against the arrest of these two men, have been summoned for "disorderly" conduct.

A man, of Persian nationality, was prosecuted this week for obstruction. His "obstruction" consisted of selling copies of "The Communist," and refusing to take down the placard bearing the words: "The Story of the Bolshevik Jewels. By Francis Meynell." He was fined forty shillings.

A drunken Russian, armed with a revolver, whose loyalty was proved by the police stating he had fought against the "Reds," was, when charged with drunkenness and the unlawful possession of arms, fined one shilling.

MONTJUCH ONCE MORE.

Comrade Pestagna, formerly editor of the "Solidaridad Obrera," the Syndicalist daily of Barcelona, which is now suspended owing to the reactionary wave passing over Spain, is in the prison of Montjuich, together with twenty-two other comrades.

Comrade Pestagna, after having being expelled from France, went to Russia to the Congress of the Communist International. On his return he was arrested in Italy and handed over to the Spanish authorities.

In "Vie Ouvrière" demands that a boycott of Spanish goods should be stated as one of the most effective means to bring home to the reactionary Spanish Government the indignation of the world proletariat.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Carried Forward	£ 4. 0.
D. Scourfield	23 11 9
A Friend	7 6
Holloway Meeting Collection	5 0
Total	20 5 0

NEW YEAR'S GIFT.

Mrs. Sweet, 5/- Total £58 1s. 9d.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE INDUSTRIAL PIONEER.

(The I.W.W. Executive Board, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Monthly. February, 1921. No. 1. 64 pages. 25 cents.)

The "Industrial Pioneer" has taken the place of the "One Big Union Monthly," which has been discontinued. The purpose of the new magazine is the same as that of the old one—"to spread the doctrine of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism." There is in this issue drawings from life of the tortures inflicted by Horthy's despotism upon Hungarian Communists. At present, according to the Budapest paper, "Az Ujsag," there are 160,000 unemployed in that town, whilst 80,000 persons are unable to work owing to bad health. Ten thousand Communists are in prison or in detention camps. According to Stephen Lazar, Editor of the "Pesti Hirlap," the hangman Alexander Györy has already hanged 2,260 men and women for the crime of high treason, the majority of those executed being class-conscious comrades led to the gallows after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The I.W.W. has established—so the "Industrial Pioneer" informs us—a Bureau of Industrial Research in order to prepare the workers to function in managerial and technical direction when the time comes for them to take over the control of industry.

The "Story of the Sea," by Tom Barker, is continued in this issue. It is a very interesting piece of writing, not a novel as one might think, of never-flagging interest, and should be reproduced in pamphlet form for the use of English workers.

Comrade Barker has some plain truths to say:—

"When I consider the mighty world-organisation of Capital, I feel how totally inadequate my capabilities are to describe it as it deserves to be described. I see the world of Labour with its wrangling intellectuals, who wrap up a simple fact in a mass of verbiage and fine words, and then squabble over the wrapping; the 'surface scratchers,' who clamour for Red navies while there are yellow marine unions in existence; the Socialist academicians, whose revolutionary studies have taught them to be so careful as to make their attitude verge upon cowardice; the 'dyed-in-the-woolers,' whose lifelong object it is to smell out 'fakirs'; the humbugging political parties, who wish to take upon themselves the arduous task of disciplining vast organic sections of workers; and, lastly, the 'amalgamators,' who believe that by dumping one trade union slum property on another they are creating an industrial mansion. I also see the petty squabbles of aspiring politicians, the lack of real industrial knowledge and requirements, the parish-pump stunts of municipal milkers; I hear the mouthing of platitudes and see their utter uselessness.

"The world movement of Labour has to come from the bottom up, from the intelligent and militant rank and file. It has to learn to perfect its power by using it."

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(The Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King Street, London, W.C.2 No. 1. 80 pages. 1s.; post free, 1s. 3d.; 13 copies, 10s. 6d. post free.)

This is the English translation of the "Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International," which is published simultaneously in English, Russian, French, and German at the Smolney-Petrograd Room 32-33.

The English edition published in Russia is typographically a better production than this one printed in England by the National Labour Press, Ltd. But this, of course, is purely a matter of finances.

The Petrograd English edition states it appears under the editorship of G. Zinoviev; by some oversight his name has been left out in the London edition.

Most appropriately the publishers state:—

"The Communist International possesses an historical and educational value for all Communists unrivalled by any other publication. It is in reality an index of the problems and experiences of the Russian Revolution. It fearlessly and candidly explains why certain mistakes occurred, and how these were remedied, and indicates the manner in which the errors of Russia may be avoided by other countries.

"The Communist International is indeed the pathfinder of the World Revolution. From the first number onwards we can trace, issue by issue, the passage of the revolution from its magazine; it is an epitome of the growth and development of the revolution; and its great value to us lies in being able to show what we must avoid, and what we should emulate.

"The contributors to the Communist International are those who have helped to hammer out revolutionary policy on the anvil of experience."

The next issue, we believe, will be the latest published at Petrograd; it will be followed by No. 2, and so forth, thus hoping in a short time to have the English edition appearing contemporarily with those in other languages.

There are pages in this No. 1 which are sad reading. Zinoviev, in "Vistas of the Proletarian Revolution," whilst stating that the Third International was born on March 4th, 1919 in Moscow, could then say: "The Third International has as its main bases the three Soviet Republics—in Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria."

L. Rudas, in "The Proletarian Revolution in Hungary" could write: "The question as to whether a counter-revolution is to be feared has already been answered: The counter-revolution has once tried on its little game, but was ignominiously driven away by the forces of the proletariat."

Lenin's "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship" is an historical essay of the first importance, divided, for clearness, into 22 points. "The Paris Commune," he says, "was a non-parliamentary institution."

The resolution passed at the First Congress of the Communist International "On the Co-operation of Proletarian Women," emphasises a part only too frequently forgotten in our daily propaganda and in our organisations. "The Dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realised and maintained through the active and energetic participation of the women of the working-class."

There is not a line in this No. 1 of the Communist International contributed by an English Comrade, and this simple fact plainly testifies to the anemic condition of the movement in this country.

THE RED COMMUNE.

(Official organ of the Glasgow Communist Group and Affiliated Bodies. Glasgow: 13, Buriham Gardens, W. Monthly. No. 1. 8 pp. 2d.)

The platform of this Group (founded in 1912) is, as "The Red Commune" states, "a very simple one," and it consists of the following five planks:

- (1) The Complete Overthrow of Capitalist Society and the establishment of the Communist Republic.
- (2) The Class Struggle.
- (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
- (4) Destruction of Parliamentary Government and the Substitution of the Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' System of Administration.
- (5) Anti-Parliamentary Activity; (a) Boycotting the Ballot-Box; (b) Communist Anti-Parliamentary or Sinn Féin Candidature.

These principles imply war on all Parliamentary Communist organisations, but the Group, recognising that the comrades in the Communist Party are making the same stand against soul-depressing poverty, wishing to give some sign of life, solidarity and fellowship, will announce freely in its columns all meetings of importance of the Left Wing movement.

The Group responsible for "The Red Commune" has decided upon the following tactics:—

- (1) The boycott of the ballot-box. By conducting a huge poster, platform, and Press campaign, to make it impossible for men to stand as Parliamentary candidates on the extreme ticket. In this way to dwindle the importance of the Parliamentary vote.
- (2) Abstentionist (or boycott the Parliament) tactic. This tactic means running candidates at Parliamentary elections pledged not to take their seat. The election address to contain:
 - 1.—A clear statement that Parliament is of no use to the workers in their struggle against Capitalism.
 - 2.—A definite pledge—
 - (a) Not to take the oath of allegiance;
 - (b) Not to sit in Parliament;
 - (c) Not to receive political payment from the class State.
 - (d) To work outside Parliament, on the streets and in the workshops, for the revolution, preaching open and avowed "sedition," and agitating towards the insurrectional crisis.
 - 3.—The definition of the vote as a registration of opinion only, conferring no power unless backed up by action and social might.
 - 4.—Statement that no political measures are possible until Parliament has been destroyed and the Soviet Republic established.

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—4

"EVEN IF THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS WERE SOCIALISTS, THE FORCES OF REACTION COULD PREVENT RAPID PROGRESS."

—F. W. JOWETT, M.P.

"A vote for this programme would be an effect," says "The Red Commune," "of the electors' opinion that political authority should be withdrawn from Parliament and represented in Councils or Soviets created by and responsible to the workers."

It is a puzzle to us how to reconcile the anti-parliamentarism of the platform of this Group with its tactics of running anti-parliamentary candidates pledged not to take the oath and pledged not to sit. This is an experiment that has been tried in other countries and it has ended in utter failure, purely assisting in nursing the desire for personal notoriety. Although, given the electorate of to-day and the present electoral law, there is not the remotest chance of anyone being elected with this programme, it would probably be better to leave this experiment untried in this country, to the benefit of clear thinking and straight propaganda.

The first issue, although containing two lengthy "reprints," is an interesting one. Two M.P.'s voice their distrust of Parliament.

Concerning the imprisonment of Comrade Pankhurst, "The Red Commune" is communisically sound:—

"The verdict was the only one to be expected from the hands of her judges. Learned lawyers and business men, who are invariably the administrators of the law, have nothing in common with Communism. When a representative of working-class thought is arraigned before the bar of Capitalist 'justice,' the result is a foregone conclusion. Free speech and the freedom of the Press are empty phrases; the freedom which we possess or are allowed is determined by the might behind us or by what the ruling class consider necessary to their own safety.

"Communist propagandists must be prepared to take the consequences of their activities: that is the lesson of this and other recent prosecutions. So long as the Government thinks it can imprison Communists with impunity it will continue to do so; it will find it an easy matter to get its helots, those crawling phenomena of Capitalist society, the police, magistrates, lawyers, and judges to do its bidding in this direction.

"To stop these prosecutions we must become, not more timid, more thoughtful of our personal safety and comfort, but more and yet more bold and outspoken in what we believe is the truth, and what the needs of any situation may demand. It is only by increasing propaganda and the winning of increasing numbers of workers to our side that we can hope to attain a position of such strength that the powers that be will think many times before instituting 'criminal proceedings' against any of our comrades.

"Our voice is raised in protest against her incarceration, and our sympathy goes out to her in her present position. We believe she will bear her imprisonment with dignity and courage, and we hope when she is 'free' once again, she will still be physically capable of playing her part in the cause and faith that alone make life worth living."

The Workers' Dreadnought can be delivered personally to any address in PECKHAM, CAMBERWELL, SOUTHWARK, LAMBETH, and BERMONDSEY, by sending a postcard with address and order to:—

J. F. KIMBERLEY,

15, Leyton Square,

Peckham, S.E.15.

LARGE LITHOGRAPHIC COPIES of TIBOR SZAMUELY'S portrait (12 by 15 inches), are on sale at our office at 5/- each. A signed copy will be sold to the first applicant for 7/6.

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