Who are the Patriots of Great Britain?

FIRST EDITION

# Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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## ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.

### Justice set down in long-winded words for Lawyers' Wrangling---Capitalist money-making in other Countries leads to war---Busy Bees and Drones in every Land.

II.

What are the necessaries of life?

Food, warmth and shelter.

How are they produced?

By the labour of the working class.

These are the same questions as I asked last week; these are the same replies. So it will always be. Labour applied to the land is the source of all wealth. We should remember this every day when we are forced to stand about in the streets, unemployed. Only by the labour of the workers can necessaries of life be produced.

The country, however, is being run by the big business men, who have contrived to hypnotise the people into believing that money is the source of wealth. To do this effectively, these business men got together a set of people they called a Government, and this Government passes laws for the people. If you have ever seen a mortgage deed or any legal document, you will have noticed that it is very long and wordy, and quite impossible for any sensible man or woman to understand. It is the same with an Act of Parliament; you have to get a lawyer to explain it to you, then he will probably have a quarrel with another lawyer on the subject and then he will write a long book about it; of course, *you* will have been "fed up" long ago, and will have given up any idea of trying to understand an Act of Parliament. You will think that this is because you are a plain working man and not clever enough to understand what the gentlemen in Parliament are doing; but there you are making a mistake. As a rule these gentlemen don't understand it themselves, only they have got into the Parliamentary routine and are something like a squirrel in a cage. A few lawyers at the top manage the thing, and it is their game, you know, to bamboozle everybody so as to make the people think that they, the lawyers, are indispensable. Cute too! But they couldn't do it if we only learnt to think for ourselves, and use *our own brains*, which are quite as good as other people's.

**Origin of National Debt.**

You will remember that we were talking about the National Debt and how it was started about 130 years ago.

The money was lent to the Government by the wealthy merchants of London, in order to make the Government prevent the French king from putting an army across the channel.

This action of the City merchants made the Government their servant, and it has gone on being their servant ever since.

When these rich banking gentlemen want a war, they tell the Government to make a war, and so it has got to be, and the workers have to go and fight and get killed or return to find an impoverished country; because, of course, while they were fighting and making munitions they were not producing *wealth*. Munitions, as you know very well, are not wealth, they are waste.

**What is High Finance?**

Why should the bankers want a war?

Because of High Finance.

What is High Finance?

High Finance is spiritual wickedness in high places.

This is only a shot definition; a longer description is needed.

You will remember that finance or money is

H. M. EMERY.
Now serving two months.

no good without wealth. The wealth, however, is in the hands of the big business men, in their warehouses and shops. This wealth must be circulated. According to the money system it must be sold at a profit; therefore it cannot be sold cheaply to the workers who badly need it at home. Therefore it must be taken to the foreign markets and sold there.

If, however, another set of capitalists is also wishing to sell its goods in that foreign market, then there is a dispute.

If that other set chances to be of another nation, then the Government has to make a row with the other fellow's Government; then if they cannot come to terms, there is a war, and we have the old stunt: "Your King and Country Need You," etc.

**Stock Exchange Gambling.**

This is High Finance.

Again, we know what gambling is.

You have, no doubt, backed a horse and lost your money, or played cards and won or lost, as the case may be. If, however, you are a rich man and have a gambling propensity, you can gamble on the Stock Exchange.

There are people who do nothing else but gamble on the Stock Exchange. buying stocks cheaply and selling them at a higher rate.

A lot more goes on at the Stock Exchange than I would like to put into this article; it would not be fit for you to read about, nor worth your while to try and understand. as we hope to do away with the Stock Exchange gambling very soon, and make these stock-jobbers take their coats off.

Let us take Oil.

Oil, as we know, is a very useful and necessary thing, and a large amount of oil springs are being discovered in different parts of the world.

Capitalists send out investigators who make reports to them, and if they report that a large quantity of oil is at a certain place, the capitalists will float a Company to work this oil supply, and get permission from the Government of the country in which the spring is.

**Engineering a War.**

There again, you see, disputes may arise between the capitalists of *one* country and the capitalists of *another*; for they may both be after the same oil springs.

So they set their respective Governments to work, and if these Governments cannot arrange terms, then they engineer a war, and out come the workers again as cannon-fodder and starve afterwards; yet these capitalists have the impudence to talk about the National Debt and stabilising finance and so on, and the workers believe it all, because some of their own Labour men tell them so too.

This, then, is the money system put briefly.

It does not seem to be much good to anybody. One set of people gets fat and lazy, the other set works too much and starves. We shall have to establish another system altogether; a system by which we measure or gauge the value of things by their *use* to ourselves; not in terms of money, but in terms of usefulness to the community.

**Usefulness the Test of Work.**

When we are deciding whether a man or woman is entitled to the necessaries of life, we shall not ask as we do now: "How much money have you got in your pocket?" but, "What work are you doing?" Then the other person will tell us what kind of work he is doing, and if we decide that it is a good and useful work, we shall give him a fair share of the wealth of the country, which he has been helping to make. If he cannot prove to us that he is doing useful work, then he will only be able to have a very small allowance of the plainest food, about as much as our old age pensioners are getting; for that will be quite enough for us to allow for an idle man.

He who does not work, neither shall he eat.

*We* the *workers* shall decide who is to have maintenance from the State wealth, who is to have a full share of food, clothing, fuel, housing, and who is to go on short rations. We shall not leave lawyers to do our thinking for us; but we shall use *our own* intelligence and *our own* judgment. Then we shall find that our country will soon be a fit place for heroes to live in.

## VOTE OR DIRECT ACTION.

The Universal Suffrage movement is no more popular amongst the Japanese workers. In fact, it has never developed into a deep-rooted problem in Japan. The reason for that is obvious.

In the first place, the movement from the start, has fallen into the hands of the political adventurers and the "labour brokers." The workers have repeatedly been fooled and cheated. All the flaring demonstrations and drum-beatings have died away, each time leaving no material result which might encourage the peaceful development of democracy.

In the second place, the suppressive means taken by the government and the hypocritical attitude of the Parliament have completely disgusted and angered the workers.

Thus, the disillusioned proletariat of Japan, today, looks for no vote. He regards the Parliament with bare contempt, and lays no hope upon the sweet promises and declarations of politicians and "sympathisers." His eyes are no more beclouded and he proceeds with firm steps on the straight and short-cut road, Direct Action.

# RED YOUTH NOTES. By T. ISLWYN NICHOLAS.

**About You.**

The Rt. (Dis) Hon. Wm. Brace, etc., etc., in a recent speech, said that the "extremists" in the Labour movement were the youngsters.

"They are young, foolish, unreasonable, and without experience in the Labour movement."

Yes, Willie has so much experience as to sell his class. Besides, the youngsters have tried to push him out of his job; so it's natural for him to run them down. What say you, comrades?

**Thoughts of Youth.**

A great poet has said that "the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts." If people don't say it, many think it—especially the Labour fakirs.

**Our Maxim.**

Each week we are going to give the young workers a Proletarian Maxim. Learn them by heart. Recite them in the shop or factory to your mates. Set them thinking, and eventually they will be able to "see in the dark."

The Maxims are the basic principles of Communism. Nothing finer can be had. There is one thing about the young: they are not afraid for anything of a revolutionary nature as grown-up people.

The first maxim is as follows:—

"Thou shalt inscribe on your banner: 'Workers of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win.'"

**Gawd!**

A little boy of nine was charged the other day, for playing in some old farmer's field, and when brought before the magistrate, the following dialogue took place:—

Magistrate: "Why did you go into another man's field?"

Boy: "Because I wanted to."

Magistrate: "Do you go to Sunday School?"

Boy: "No."

apitalis' Magistrate: "Please address me as Sir. Do you belong to the Proletarian School?"

Boy: "Yes."

Magistrate: "Well, that accounts for your conduct. You will receive six strokes.

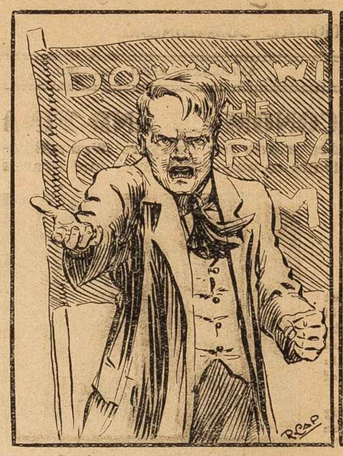
(The Class State at work).

**The Limit.**

Mustapha Kemal ironically thanks Lloyd George for forty thousand rifles and other trifles received from the surrendering Armenians. Not so long back, the Soviet Government was quite set up in business by Koltchak's British munitions. It's a poor war that doesn't work the British both ways!

**The Communist Party of Great Britain.**

When is the Communist Party of Great Britain going to take an interest in the young movement? *The Communist* doesn't seem to have any time to spend on us. What about it, you adult Communists?




LABOUR AT ELECTION TIME—

—AND AFTER BEING RETURNED.

**Youth in Italy.**

Norman Matson, who was at the great Convention of Socialists of Italy, when the "International" question was on, writes thus:—

"The outstanding dramatic fact of a dramatic convention was the duel between youth and age. Bordiga, Terracini, and Bombacci lead the Communist faction (Third Internationalists). The Centrists are led by Serrati, Turati, and Modigliani, etc., old veterans, all of them. Their oft-repeated epithet: 'You are only boys! Excitable boys who would smash the unity we have built with years of unceasing labour, of prison, of sacrifice!'' was natural and understandable. In reply, the young men read the orders of the Third International and retold the story of Moscow, Berlin, Budapesth; the facts of which some of them got at first hand—behind the barricades."

The old ones of Italy said the same things as the old ones of Britain at Glasgow I.L.P. Conference last year. Youth must, and will, sweep the old ones into the old rubbish-bin.

**The Adults.**

To the adult comrades who are still young at heart, we ask for assistance on behalf of the I.P.S.M. We ask you to become members. This is the first step, the rest will follow. We are a compact body of class-conscious workers who have set out with a definite objective. We are out to abolish the present Political State, and, pending that day, we have taken up the education of our children for the same purpose. Never forget that when the Revolution is won, it will have to be maintained. Here comes the value of our educational work. We appeal to every Revolutionary to join up with us. Let nothing deter you, for the Revolution is inevitable. What side will you take? The "opportunists" or ours? If ours, come then, Comrades, and give us your name, for great movements are only brought into being by the conscious efforts of the conscious minority.

**The Wisdom of Youth.**

Murder your class and you will be called a hero. For such are the morals of the kingdom of parasites.

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Unemployment in Switzerland, as in this country, is growing. At the present moment there are 130,000 workless, of which 90,000 were formerly employed producing various kinds of export goods.

**BADGES.**

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## THE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE.

The first national conference of the Young Workers' League was held at the International Socialist Club, London, on March 27th, to ratify the amalgamation scheme which had been drawn up by the participating bodies—the Young Socialist League and the Young Labour League.

Comrade Knott was in the chair and conducted the proceedings very efficiently. Comrade Gilbert, the secretary, opened the meeting, and after the singing of the "Red Flag" two fraternal delegates, Comrades Smyth and Moorhouse, spoke, welcoming the formation of a real live organisation of the young.

Comrade Whycer, on moving that the Y.W.L. affiliate to the Young Communist International, gave a brief sketch of its formation and activities.

There was considerable discussion, but the resolution was eventually carried with one dissentient.

It was decided that the organisation should be independent of any adult organisation.

It was agreed that the *Young Worker* should be the official organ of the League and should be published monthly, the first number appearing in April, Comrade Whycer to be editor.

The Secretary reported that Comrades G. Willis and he were to represent the League on the platforms in Hyde Park on May Day, and all members were urged to rally round. It was agreed to have a national banner.

The question of propaganda was discussed and it was decided to hold outdoor meetings, indoor debates with other organisations of youth, and lantern lectures.

It was decided to form an information bureau for supplying information to the members and the Press, Comrade Whycer and a committee of four elected by the E.C. being responsible.

It was decided that the League affiliate to the London Council of Independent Working-Class Education.

It was agreed to hold a Reunion of the members, the arrangements being left to the E.C.

The following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That this conference of the Y.W.L. congratulates the Communist Youth of Russia on the glorious stand it has made in defence of the Russian Revolution. At the same time it recalls with deep pain and sorrow the supreme sacrifice which many of our Comrades of Russia, Hungary and Germany have been called upon to make, and pledges itself to prove that they have not died in vain, by going into the struggle with renewed vigour and energy."

A vote of confidence in the Secretary was passed unanimously.

The singing of "The Internationale" ended a very successful conference.

## PAYING US A COMPLIMENT.

In the *Liverpool Daily Courier* for the 14th inst., "Delphian" devotes a column article to show how wicked is our contributor, L. A. Motler, and pays us the compliment of repudiating a good portion of the article "Communism for Children," which appeared in the *Workers' Dreadnought* for the 12th inst.

After having assisted us in making known to the good people of Liverpool our point of view, "Delphian" rides the high horse and declares:

"That there are deadly doctrines striking at the root of all legal and moral equity, will be obvious to all right-thinking and righteous people. They are not only 'deadly' doctrines, but to me, brazen doctrines—it is hard indeed to think that such things are openly taught in law-loving England, of, as a great whole, high moral merit at the commencement of the Twentieth Century! But there, without the slightest apology on the part of the extremists, are the naked and nefarious facts."

"What a headlong plunge for the 'rabbit-warren' stage of humanity I have more than once written warning about in this column!—or the 'jungle!' For every inch of the survival of the fittest we have to-day, in those days we would have miles of it! In fact, it would be starting evolution all over again! And if you want an example of how it is done, just glance at ruined and rent Russia, with many of her best and bravest sons—and even daughters—vicious and villainously put to death, or driven to suicide! Such is the colossally corrupt, and colossal consequence of the 'everything for everybody' doctrine and deed! Englishmen—*vigorous bestir in time!*"

Between logic and hysterical phrase-making, back logic. Motler stands for logic and plain common sense.



# OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER.

## An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

(*Continued from last issue.*)

Every craft, every workshop is one whole, where the workers elect their representatives. The industrial organisations have been divided according to economic districts. For the districts representatives have been appointed. And the districts in their turn elect the general board for the entire State.

All the industrial organisations together, no matter to what craft they belong, constitute the one Workers' Union.

This, as we see, is an organisation altogether directed against the revolution.

If an interval of comparatively peaceful fighting should follow, this organisation might moreover be easily adapted. The industrial organisations would only have to be combined, according to the industries, within the compass of the Workers' Unions.

**The Worker has Power.**

It is obvious. Here the worker, every worker, has power, for in his workshop he elects his own foremen, and through them he has a direct control over district and State. There is a strong centralisation, but not too strong. The individual and the industrial organisation has great power. He can dismiss or replace his foremen at any time, and compel them to replace the higher positions at the shortest notice. This is individualism, but not too much of it. For the central corporations, the districts and government councils have great power. The individual and the central board have just that amount of power which this present period, in which the revolution breaks out, requires and allows.

Marx writes that under capitalism the citizen is an abstraction, a cipher, as compared to the State. It is the same in the Trade Unions. The bureaucracy, the entire system of the organisation plane ever so far above, and are altogether out of the reach of the worker. He cannot reach them. He is a cipher as compared to them, an abstraction. For then he is not even the man in the workshop. He is not a living, willing, struggling being. If in the old Trade Unions you replace the bureaucracy by other persons, you will see that before long these also have the same character; that they stand high, unattainably high above the masses, and are in no way in touch with them. Ninety-nine out of every hundred will be tyrants, and will stand on the side of the bourgeoisie. It is this very nature of the organisation that makes them so.

Your tactics strive to leave the Trade Unions as they are, "down below," and only to give them other leaders somewhat more of the Left trend, is therefore purely a change "up above." And the Trade Unions remain, in *the power of leaders.* And these, once spoilt, everything is as of old, or, at the very best, a slight improvement in the layers up above. No, not even if you yourself, or we ourselves, were the leaders, we would not consent to this. For we wish to render the masses themselves to become more intelligent, more courageous, self-acting, more elevated in all things. We want the masses themselves to make the revolution. For only thus the revolution can triumph here in Western Europe. And to this end the old Trade Unions must be destroyed.

**Industrial Workers Decide.**

How utterly different it is in the industrial unions. Here it is the worker himself who decides about tactics, trend, and struggle, and who intervenes if the "leaders" do not act as he wants them to. The craft, the workshop, being at the same time the organisation, he stands continually in the fight himself.

In so far as it is possible under capitalism, he is the maker and the guide of his own fate, and as this is the case with everyone of them, THE MASS IS THE MAKER AND LEADER OF ITS OWN FIGHT.

More, infinitely more so, than was ever possible in the old Trade Unions, reformist as well as syndicalist.*

The industrial unions and workers' unions that make the individuals themselves, and consequently the masses themselves, the direct fighters, those that really wage the war, are for that very reason the best weapons for the revolution, the weapons we need here in Western Europe, if ever we shall be able without help to overthrow the most powerful capitalism of the world.

But, Comrade, these are only the weaker grounds yet, as compared to the last, main actual reason, which hangs closely together with the principles I have indicated at the beginning. And it is this last ground which is decisive for the K.A.P.D. and the opposition party in England. These parties strive greatly to raise the spiritual level of the masses and individuals in Germany and England. They are of opinion that there is only ONE means to that end. And I should like to know whether you know of another means in the Labour movement? It is the formation of a group! That shows, in the struggle, what the mass should be. That shows, fighting, what the mass MUST be. If you know of another means, Comrade, tell me it. I know none other.

In the Labour movement, and especially, I imagine in the revolution, there is but one way to prove the example—the example itself, the DEED.

The comrades of the Left Wing believe that this small group, in its fight against the Trade Unions and against Capitalism, will win the Trade Unions to its side, or, which is also possible, that gradually the Trade Unions will be directed towards a better course.

This can be attained only through the example. For the raising of the German worker to a higher level, therefore, these new organisations are absolutely indispensable.

The new formation, the Workers' Union, must act against the Trade Unions, in exactly the same way as the Communist parties act against the Socialist parties.**

The servile, reformist, social-patriotic masses can be converted only through example.

Next I come to England: to the English Left Wing.

After Germany, England is nearest to a revolution, not because in that country the situation is revolutionary already, but because the proletariat there is so numerous, and the capitalistic and economic conditions most favourable. Only a strong hit is needed there and the fight begins, which can end only in a victory. And the hit will come. This is felt, this is almost instinctively known by the most advanced workers of England (as we all feel it), and because they feel this, they have founded a new movement, which, whilst manifesting itself in various directions, and searching as yet, just as in Germany—is in general the rank and file movement, the movement of the masses themselves, without, or practically without leaders.†

Their movement is very much like the German Workers' Union and its industrial organisations.

Did you observe, Comrade, that this movement has arisen in two of the most advanced countries only? And from the ranks of the workers themselves? And in many places?†† This proves already in itself that it is of natural growth, and not to be stopped!

**Struggle in England Essential.**

And in England this movement, this struggle against the Trade Unions, is needed more almost than in Germany, for the English Trade Unions are not only a tool in the hands of the leaders, for the maintenance of capitalism, but they are at the same time far more inefficient as a means for the revolution than those of Germany. The way they are conducted dates from the time of the small struggle, as far back often as the 19th and even the 18th century. England not only has industries where 25 Trade Unions exist, but most of the unions fight one another to the death for members!! And the members are utterly without power. Do you wish to retain also these Trade Unions, Comrade Lenin?

Must not these either be opposed, split up, and destroyed? If you are against the Workers' Unions you must also be against the Shop Committees, the Shop Stewards, and the Industrial Unions. Whoever is in favour of the latter, is also in favour of the former. For the Communists in either aim at the same things.

The English Communists of the Left Wing wish to use this new trend in the Trade Union movement to destroy the English Trade Unions in their present shape, to alter them, to replace them by new instruments in the class-struggle, which can be applied for the revolution. The same reasons that we have brought forward for the German movement holds good here.

In the postscript of the Executive Committee of the Third International to the K.A.P.D. I have read that the E.C. is in favour of the I.W.W. in America, as long as this latter wishes only political action and affiliation to the Communist Parties. And these I.W.W. need not join the American Trade Unions! But the Executive Committee is against the Workers' Union in Germany; this latter must join the Trade Unions, although it is communistic, and works in co-operation with the political party.

And you, Comrade Lenin, are in favour of the rank and file movement in England (although this often causes a split, and although many of its members want the destruction of the Trade Unions!) and against the Workers' Union in Germany.

**Executive Committee's Opportunism.**

I can explain your attitude and that of the Executive Committee only by opportunism; and a mistaken opportunism to boot.

It goes without saying that the Left Wing of the Communists in England can go less far than in Germany, because in England the revolution has not begun yet. It cannot as yet organise the rank and file movement all over the country into one whole against the revolution. But the English Left Wing is preparing this. And as soon as the revolution comes, the great masses of workers will leave the old Trade Unions as unserviceable for the revolution, and will join the industrial organisations.

And as the Left Communist Wing penetrates everywhere into this movement, seeking to spread the Communist ideas, it raises the workers by means of its example on to a higher level, also there, and already now. And, as in Germany, that is its real aim.‡

The General Workers' Unions, and the rank and file movement, which are both founded on the crafts, the workshops, and on these alone, are the forerunners of the Workers' Councils, the Soviets. As the revolution in Western Europe will be very difficult and consequently of probably very long duration, there will be a long period of transition, in which the Trade Unions are no longer any good, and in which there are no Soviets as yet. This period of transition will be filled out with the struggle against the Trade Unions, their re-forming, their replacing by better organisations. You need not fear, we will have ample time!

Once again this will be so, not because we of the Left Wing will it so, but because the revolution must needs have these new organisations. The revolution cannot triumph without them.

**Hail the Rank and File Movement.**

All hail! therefore, rank and file movement in England, and Workers' Union in Germany, first forerunners of the Soviets in Europe. Good luck to you, the first organisations that, with the Communist parties, will bring the revolution in Western Europe.

You, Comrade Lenin, wish to compel us to use bad weapons here in Western Europe, where we stand alone, without one ally, against an as yet extremely powerful, extremely organised and armed capitalism, and where we stand in need of the very best of weapons, the very strongest. Where we want to organise the revolution in the crafts, and on a craft basis, you wish to force on us the miserable Trade Unions. The revolution in Western Europe can and must be organised only in the crafts and on a craft basis, because here capitalism has attained such a high economic and political organisation (in all directions) and because the workers (except for the Communist Party) have no other strong weapons. The Russians were armed, and had the poor peasants. What the weapons and the peasants were for the Russians, tactics and the organisation must be for us for the time being. And then YOU recommend the Trade Unions! From psychological, as well as from material grounds, in the midst of the revolution, we MUST fight these Trade Unions, and you try to hinder us in this fight. We can fight only by means of a splitting-up, and you are preventing us. We wish to form groups, that are to be an example, the only way of showing the proletariat what it is we seek, and you forbid this. We wish to raise the proletariat of Europe to a higher level, and you throw stones in our way.

You do not wish them then: the splitting up, the new formations, the higher stage of development!

And why not?

Because you want to have the big parties, and the big Trade Unions, into the Third International.

To us this looks like opportunism, opportunism of the very worst kind.‡‡

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* It has to be borne in mind, of course, that this new combination of individualism and centralism is not given right away in its completed form, but that it is only springing up now, and is a process which will be developed only in the struggle itself, and thus perfected.

** With the sarcastic remark that also the Workers' Union cannot be faultless, you make little impression. It is right only in so far that the union must fight for reforms under capitalism. It is not right in so far as the union fights for the revolution.

† Shop Committees, Shop Stewards, and, especially in Wales, Industrial Unions.

†† That this movement in Germany should have been made from above is slander.

‡ You, Comrade, and many with you, use here the argument that the Communists, by leaving the Trade Unions, loose touch with the masses. But is not the closest touch obtained in the workshops? And have not all workshops turned more than ever into debating halls? How can the Left Communists possibly loose touch, then?

‡‡ Already now the Trade Union question clearly demonstrates where the opportunist tactics of Moscow lead to. The members of the Communist Parties are forced to enter the modern Trade Unions (see the thesis accepted on this point). They are forced, therefore, to become scabs and strike-breakers!! At the same time they must support the Syndicalists!!! Instead of openly saying that neither of these organisations is any good, that new ones have to be formed, on the basis of the industries (the theses themselves declare elsewhere that this is what should be done), they adopt this ambiguous attitude. And why? To add masses to the Third International.

*To be continued.*

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## WHY WE CELEBRATE A COMMUNIST WOMEN'S DAY.

**By DORA B. MONTEFIORE.**
**Member of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.**

In Frank Anstey's book, *Red Europe*, we read on page 26:—

"It was then too late—the Revolution was moving. March 8th was 'Women's Day' in Russia. The factories closed, the trams stopped, the women broke into the food shops and plundered them. The Duma went on talking."

It was in memory of this day, when the Tsarist Government, through its continued participation in the world war, had destroyed the economic organisation of the country and brought famine and misery on the people, that the working women of Russia, stung by the thought of their empty cupboards and starving children, decided on direct action, and possessed themselves of the food and clothing their class had produced.

The Soviet Government has in memory of that revolutionary action, decreed that March 8th shall be known as "Women's Day" in Russia; and, in order to link up those of the Third International in every country, they have written to the various Communist Parties, asking them to celebrate that day by making a special effort to organise women comrades on a revolutionary basis, with the object of taking over by mass action, when the moment comes, the commodities and means of life which the workers themselves have produced.

Never were the workers in every European country in a worse economic condition than they are at present moment. *The capitalists and financiers are counting on them to pay, by their intensified wage-slave labour, for the orgy of destruction and devastation caused by the late war.* The women have already paid in blood and tears and ruined homes; now, they and their men-folk are to be compelled, by enforced labour, to pay during generations to come. It is only occasionally that the workers of Great Britain get glimpses of the horrors which a wicked war and a pretended "Peace" have forced on the workers of Austria, Hungary and the Balkans; while the standard of living among workers of neutral countries has been terribly lowered.

Here, in Great Britain, the workers feel every day, in their homes, the misery caused by the lack of proper housing, by the high cost of living, by unemployment, and underemployment and by the menace to their standard of living in the threatened fall of wages. They have a Labour Party in Parliament, but what does that Labour Party there do to help them? Even, if, after a General Election, in which the women voters helped to send a majority of Labour representatives to Parliament, there were a Labour Government, how would the Working Woman be helped? Parliament is a talking machine made to express the will of the capitalist class; not an acting machine, made to express the will of the producing class. It, like the Duma, would go on talking!

That is the reason the Communist Party asks the working women who are up against present-day economic conditions, to come into its ranks. That is why it is, with the Communist women of France and of Germany, celebrating "Women's Day" in 1921. It is true we are celebrating it a month later than the Russian date; but the Dictatorship of Capitalism uses all its cunning and violence to keep the organised revolutionary workers out of touch with one another, and we do not, in consequence, always get our messages through as soon as we should.

*But the important thing is that we get them.*

The Communist women of Western Europe have therefore agreed, this year, to celebrate 'Women's Day"—the anniversary of the Russian women's direct action of 1917—on April 8th. Next year we shall celebrate it with our Russian comrades on March 8th. Meanwhile, a year of work is ahead of us; and, as we stretch out the hand of comradeship to our Communist sisters in every land, we dedicate ourselves to the task before us by saying in the words of William Morris: "WE WILL IT!"

## WHO ARE THE PATRIOTS?

The attack by the employers on wages in nearly every industry has roused the workers of Britain out of their usual apathy, for they have begun to realise that they have not too much to live upon before that cut takes place, the cost of living not having gone down to any very appreciable extent. It is true that certain foods are cheaper, such as eggs, tomatoes, bananas, and butter, but then the workers did without these commodities when they cost more. Bread is still 1s. a quartern, milk 10d. a quart, and meat has not gone down. Bacon is quoted as cheaper, but the quality is so bad that the workers refuse to buy it. Rents have not gone down; in fact, they are likely to rise; and rates are still increasing, the workers having to pay these separately now. Coal is still up and likely to cost much more, and gas is going up, too.

If you ask a working woman what difference the fall in the cost of living has made to her, she will tell you "It doesn't make such a wonderful lot of difference; it takes all I've got to live, anyway. It is a decrease of a few pennies."

The insurance and unemployment stamps cost more and some of the Trade Unions have increased their contributions. The increase in wages never rose in the same proportion as the increase in the cost of living, so that if the wages are decreased now, the workers will be worse off than they were in 1914, when the majority of them were living below subsistence level. The official estimates of the increase in the cost of living never gave a true indication of what it was, as it was on a fallacious basis. When it was officially reported to be 176 per cent., it was in reality 250 per cent. The workers are no longer content with the under-nourishment of the pre-war days, employers having been forced, during the war, to pay them higher wages to enable them to purchase more nourishing food in order to work at high pressure. The strain of the war, which was suffered by those who actively took part in it and by those who stayed at home, reduced the vitality of the workers, so that they are less able to withstand starvation or semi-starvation.

Then the number of wage-earners who are unemployed has to be taken into consideration. There were 1,375,400 on the live registers of the Employment Exchanges on March 18th, to which must be added 790,000 short time claimants and a large number who are tired of registering. The increase of unemployed between March 11th and 18th was 57,286.

### Workers Learn by the War.

The war has taught the workers many things. Amongst others that it was fought in order to secure commercial advantages for the capitalists, and that they, the workers, have gained nothing by it but wounds, ill-health, the loss of their loved ones and wage earners, unemployment and misery. They have seen the huge profits made by many employers and have realised that these have been at their expense.

The capitalists have proved that they are incompetent to deal with the economic situation which has arisen as the result of the huge expenditure upon the war, their only solution being to call upon the workers to make further sacrifices and to provide the money to pay the bills and to rehabilitate trade under the old system.

The workers see through the hypocrisy and sham of it all, and in nearly every industry are putting up a fight against the reduction of their wages. The teachers, engineers, builders, ship-repairers and ship builders, the rag and waste workers, railwaymen, vehicle makers and hosiery workers are some of those who are taking action, but the big and immediate fight centres round the miners, who have rejected the mine owners' offer.

### Mines Dispute.

These so-called patriots, the mine-owners, have neglected to improve the methods of obtaining coal during the time of Government control, when they made enormous profits out of the Government subsidy and the prices they were able to obtain for the exports to foreign countries, and now they are squealing. Their greed has been their own undoing. The price of home coal was limited by the Government in order to placate the home consumers and the miners who stood by them, but the owners made up for this by charging exhorbitant prices for their export coal as long as there was a demand for it.

But when the Versailles Treaty was put into effect, which of course the owners supported, and the Germans had to supply France with 7,000,000 tons of coal a year, and a further amount not exceeding 20,000,000 tons a year, which was more than France needed and enabled her to export it at a much lower price than that charged for British coal, and when America also supplied the European countries at a lower figure, the British orders were cancelled and the profits fell. Under Government control the miners were given a rise of 2s. a shift, to raise their standard of living above that of 1914, known as the Sankey Award, and their war wages were guaranteed. The miners had been led to believe, under the Coal Mines Emergency Act, that decontrol would not take place until August, 1921, when it was expected that the industry would be prosperous. But when the coal owners found that they could only charge a limited amount to home consumers, and that they had lost their export trade and had to pay the miners a fixed wage, they successfully brought pressure to bear on the Government, and the industry is to be decontrolled on March 31st, despite the protests of the miners.

Under control the profits were pooled between the various districts, thus enabling the poorer districts to work their mines without making a loss.

The owners now demand a big reduction in wages, calculated to run up to £2s. 2s. per week, each district to be determined on the ascertained results in each coalfield, which would be fixed upon the February results. A further revision would take place in May and so on, which would mean a continuous fall in miners' wages.

### Coal Owners' Proposals.

Mr. Evan Williams, the president of the Mining Association, gave the following summary of the owners' proposals:—

"The base rates now in force at each colliery with the percentage additions paid in July, 1914, shall be the point below which wages shall not automatically fall. Wherever additions have been made, as, for instance, increased base rates, or percentage increases to pieceworkers as a result of the reduction of hours, these will remain.

"As to profits, the owners claimed that the aggregate of the owners' standard in each district shall be taken as 17 per cent. of the total standard wages in that district. If the selling price of coal leaves a surplus, their proposal is that 80 per cent. should go to the workpeople in the form of a percentage addition to wages and 20 per cent. to the owners.

"These principles were intended to apply in more normal times. To meet the present abnormal conditions in the industry they are prepared to depart some way from a strict application of them, and for the time being waive their share of the surplus."

Remember there is no limit to the price which may be charged for coal, so it is the consumer who will have to pay this money to the coal-owners, and the working-class consumers are also threatened with reductions in wages!

The miners demand that the industry shall be treated as a single unit with a national standard of wages and a national pool. They also suggested that there should be a joint application to the Government for financial assistance during the abnormal period, but the owners refuse to consider the miners' proposals.

### Miners Reject Owners' Proposals.

On March 24th, at the miners' national delegate meeting, the mine-owners' proposals were rejected by 1123,000 votes to 231,000, and in so doing they declared their determination of adhering to their own demands for a National Wages Board and a National Pool. The districts which voted in favour of the owners have agreed to abide loyally by the policy laid down by the Federation, and there will be no split in the ranks. Frank Hodges told a *Daily Herald* representative that "the owners may say they do not propose a lock-out on March 31st, but what else can it be if they post up terms which the men have rejected, and say "You can take the wage we fix, or we will close the pit"?

Thus the situation which has arisen is acute. The lock-out notices expire on the 31st. The coal-owners have declared war on the miners and on the consumers, for it means a general stoppage of the coal industry. The miners look upon the industry as one which should be run for the good of the community and are endeavouring to protect the consumers as well as themselves. What two alternatives are left to them? To knuckle down to the rapacious coal-owners? No, why should they starve themselves and their families and force the other workers to pay still higher prices for coal, in order to make profits for people who have proved that they cannot run the industry profitably? Take over the mines themselves and run them for the benefit of all the people? Would you call them unpatriotic if they did this, or would you support them as the real patriots?

Let us suppose for a moment that they do decide to take control. They get the coal and bring it to the surface, but then they are faced with the transport difficulty, for the capitalist owners of the railways will not allow their trucks to be used for the benefit of the miners, so that things will be no better for the consumers. Therefore it will be necessary for the transport workers to decide whether they are going to continue to be on the side of the capitalists or on the side of the workers, and they would have to take their decision quickly. Again Marx's slogan is true, "Workers of the world unite," for this also applies to the large industrial enterprises.

### Is it the Revolution?

Is it possible that the coal-owners, by their greed and inefficiency, have set the ball of the revolution in Britain rolling, and that this is going to be the most momentous week in the history of this country? The workers will have to decide this week for the slavery or freedom of a whole nation, nay of a whole empire or possibly of the whole world.

**Over the Northern Waves bounding away from Capitalism—The Nightless Region—The Soviet Welcome—Tamara Ketlinsky—Pale-Faced Garment Worker, Gorielova, works hard and lives poorly—The Red Army Interpreter.**

### CHAPTER I.

### TO SOVIET RUSSIA ACROSS THE ARCTIC SEA.

Across the deserted quay I went, in the pouring rain, with two new-found comrades; the big, blonde Norwegian skipper and the little, dark-eyed Finnish boy.

No Government officials were there to stop us. Only the "duty man," a very informal Customs' officer in plain clothes, looked into my bag, gave me a hand down the wooden steps, and came with me and the skipper in the ferry boat to the craft that would carry us over to Soviet Russia.

I had been told that I should go over in the 'Soviet Steamer," and had imagined a smart vessel painted bright red, not large, but new and well-fitted.

I found instead a little old motor fishing boat, unpainted for many years, her deck scarcely eight feet across and her gear battered and weatherworn. As a matter of fact, she was not a Soviet boat at all; but the property of the skipper, a Norwegian fisherman.

"You'd better have stayed in England, than be going to Russia a day like this," the Customs' officer said, a little sourly.

"You'd like to be going yourself!" I retorted.

And so, from the low-lying Northern shore, we bounded over the waves, away from Capitalism.

But the sky was dark, the wind cold, and the rain and spray would drench the stoutest clothing. Three steps down the ladder led to the tiny cabin, strongly smelling of oil, with the four-foot bunks and a rusty stove.

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

I protested that I should not, but who could be anything else in such a gale, in that boat that tossed and pitched and plunged like a mad horse rearing? It was as cold as the grave.

The skipper offered to "put some fire in her," but I fancied the oil stove would fill the place with smoke, and I groaned: "No, no."

The hatch was clapped down. Hours of misery passed.

I found myself waking to a gentle swaying, which melted softly and never jarred. A comforting warmth and a sweet scent of burning wood filled the cabin. The skipper sat slicing with his sharp knife another faggot for the good stove; how I had misjudged it!

We were at anchor, and the noisy thud of the little engine had ceased.

The storm had forced the skipper to make for the nearest shelter, and he had found harbourage in Russian waters beside a rocky, deserted shore.

### STORM BOUND.

We lay tranquil here, and the hours slipped by us.

Sometimes the skipper and his mate poured hot coffee from the old copper kettle, and fried Norwegian fish cakes on the stove. Two brown-faced Finns clambered on deck to examine the skipper's credentials.

Night and day were alike; sunrise following sunset without a pause, the orb scarcely hiding itself for a moment behind the horizon's rim.

The following evening we re-started our journey. A heavy swell still prevailed, drenching the deck of our small craft over and over again, and keeping the mate busy pumping up greasy, black bilge-water from below.

### MURMANSK.

The sun was high and the heavens a splendid blue, as at four o'clock in the afternoon, or nine at night by Russian time, we reached Murmansk, a two years' old, war-built town of wooden houses.

Big grey ships, flying the Red Flag, and one of them newly picked out with scarlet paint, lay in the foreground. Their sailors and white-coated kitchen-workers waved us a cheery welcome. A long line of railway waggons bordered the wide harbour, but many of them were broken and useless, and behind the big ships were battered and rusty submarines and various other craft that had been submerged and hauled up again from the deep. Damaged cranes, smashed gun-carriages and sentry boxes, army huts and stacks of old iron and other relics of the Alied Military occupation, were the principal features of the place; but all had been tidily arranged and sorted out, with a view to converting the material to the best possible uses.

Our skipper and a Finnish Comrade, named Christiansen, whom we had taken on board the night before, from Vaida Gouba, a fishing village, were well-known to the friendly crowd of people who awaited us at the landing.

Every one had an air of genial friendship and happy confidence. A group of Comrades guided us through the town, over the unpaved roads, where one's feet sink into the soft sand, and where innumerable little pigs, playing like children, race each other round the houses. Murmansk is evidently preparing a great stock of bacon!

### THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL HOUSE.

Our destination was the commercial Post Office and the local headquarters of the Third International, which occupy one end of a one-storied building, where live several working-class families.

The official part of the building, which is also the guest house and the dwelling of Comrade Wastein, the Third International representative, of a colleague of his and their wives, consists only of three rooms, a kitchen and a square entrance hall which serves as store-house and waiting-room. Each of the three rooms is used both as office and bed-room. The walls are covered with a sort of oil-cloth painted white, the wood-work is unpolished, the boarded floors cleanly scrubbed and without mats or carpets. Electric light, several typewriters and an abundance of literature combine with its otherwise primitive features.

Everything is clean and in order.

It is a place of constant work, carried on in quiet harmony, of homely and informal kindness. Parcels of literature and letters pass constantly through this office to and from many countries. Communists, journeying as exiles and fugitives or as deserters, students and propagandists come here on their way to Moscow and Petrograd, from America, Britain, Norway, Sweden and other lands. Peasants and fisher-folk from the neighbourhood are always calling. Yet the atmosphere of the house is as restful and smooth as the best managed English home.

Comrade Mrs. Wastein, a charming girl, dressed in white, brought in the supper—a little salt fish, black bread and butter and glasses of coffee. After the meal was over and she had cleared the table, she drew a white curtain across the room, converting it into two, in one of which she made up a bed for me, and in the other a bed for herself and her husband. So, in Russia one uses one's household accommodation to the full.

Next morning was Sunday.

All the Comrades in the house were so busy that I went alone to take a walk in the sunshine.

People were strolling about with happy, holiday faces; mothers and fathers with their children. All were plainly and comfortably dressed. There were no signs of poverty or suffering.

Men were fishing at the quay side bringing up curious black and grey monsters with huge mouths, and other fish that looked like plaice. The Chinamen, of whom there were many, seemed to be getting most of the lucky catches.

I searched out the little Norwegian boat and hailed the skipper.

### ONE OF THE "WHITES."

Hearing that I spoke English, a man came forward and said obsequiously:

"I have been in the British Army."

"How was that?" I asked.

"I have been an interpreter for both the British and French Armies."

"But how was it that you were willing to help them against Soviet Russia?"

He looked sulky and disappointed that I, being English, had not applauded him.

"I know nothing of politics. I was mobilised. If I had refused I should have been shot. I was mobilised then, as I am mobilised now by the Bolsheviki."

"For which side would you prefer to work?"

"I care nothing for politics," he answered crossly, then added in a burst of anger, "I hate these Red politics."

"Why?"

"We have nothing to eat; we die of hunger; we live like dogs."

"Why?"

"The Russian people are backward. The country is backward. It has always been so."

"Many people were hungry before the War also and under the Czar?"

"Oh yes, poor people, but not everyone. I was a ship-owner and an officer in the Czar's volunteer fleet. It is worse now than in the Czar's time for people like me. The Russian people will not work, except when forced by the baton. No one works here now."

"But in England they say that there is forced labour in Russia, and that everyone is compelled to work for long hours."

"Yes, we are slaves! We are forced to work. I am forced to work. We die of hunger. We have nothing but the Red Flag! The leaders have all that they desire; the citizens nothing."

"Have you any proof of that? Can you give me the facts?"

"No one cares to work," he went on, ignoring my question. "We have tremendous quantities of fish, but no one will go fishing, because each must give what he catches to the community."

"That would be selfish. But look, people are fishing all around us!"

Close beside us a man, sitting at the quay's edge, had laid aside his rod and line for a moment, to cut himself a big slice of bread and smoked salmon.

" Oh yes, they just fish for themselves. People don't work now, they sleep till noon."

So he perpetually contradicted himself, in a way which certain people from Russia had already made familiar to me.

" Pay no attention to him, he is one of the ' Whites '—a lying fellow; he asks me for tobacco, but I always say : ' None for you!' " interposed the Norwegian skipper, climbing out of his boat.

A Comrade soon summoned us to dinner with Comrade Wastein : " One of the leaders " of whom the " White " Russian had spoken.

Breakfast had consisted of black bread and tea, with condensed milk brought by a delegate from Norway the week before, and carefully husbanded as an unusual luxury. For dinner there were small helpings of thin soup, a very little salt fish and a few slices of potato, meagre portions with which people in England would not be content.

### THE MEETING BESIDE THE TRAIN.

A meeting had been hastily summoned to welcome me to Russia, and beside the train for Petrograd contingents of Red soldiers and sailors were lined up, wearing captured British uniforms and displaying red flags and banners, with a big crowd of men, women and children of Murmansk in the rear. The " International " was sung with a vigour I had never heard before.

Looking down on the people from the top step of the railway carriage to speak to them, I was impressed by their robust and comfortable appearance.

Tamara Ketlinsky, who stood beside me, narrow-chested, thin and pale, was a marked exception.

She was not a proletarian like the rest, and when in London before the war, she lived in a fashionable district near Hyde Park.

Her father was Military Commander of Murmansk at the outbreak of the Bolshevik Revolution. He took the part of the Soviets and was murdered by the counter-revolutionaries.

Tamara had been ill from overwork in the proletarian cause. She was engaged in an office ... also in the women's and young Communists' organisations, trying to do the work of three persons.

Some of the Comrades decided to come an hour's journey in the train with me. One of them, I was told, had fought like a wolf in the hills against the " Whites," blowing up bridges, cutting telegraph wires and stopping trains.

Tamara Ketlinsky told me that a Soviet had been set up in the Murmansk district at the time of the first 1917 revolution, but like the other Soviets at that time, it possessed no power.

Two days after the Revolution of October 1917, when the Bolsheviki seized the power and handed it to an All-Russian Congress of Soviets which had assembled, the Murmansk Soviet received a telegram conveying the news and calling upon it to assume the power of government in its own district.

### MURMANSK UNDER THE ALLIES.

Ketlinsky's father, who was Naval Commander of the district, informed the officers under him that they must submit to the Soviet Government.

The Murmansk Soviet therefore came into power without difficulty.

A British warship, *Glory III*, already lay in the harbour, but, as yet, the Allies took no hostile steps.

One of Ketlinsky's subordinate officers journeyed often to Petrograd, and it was rumoured that he went there to visit the Allied Embassies.

Gradually he gathered a counter-revolutionary clique around him, and presently Ketlinsky, the good Commander, was assassinated by order of this clique. Afterwards the counter-revolutionary officer began to work openly in Murmansk Soviet for separation from Moscow.

On July 12th, 1918, representatives of the British, French, and American Governments, including the British Consul, Major-General Poole, appeared in the Soviet to advocate separation from Moscow. When the Allied representatives had spoken, the President of the Soviet said : " You see, comrades, if we refuse to separate, the Allies will suppress us; if we separate, they will continue allowing us to manage our own affairs." Then a motion was put, and, though only a minority of those present raised their hands for it, the motion was declared carried, without the contrary being put.

Railway-workers in the meeting protested against this verdict, declaring that it would lead to war. The counter-revolutionary newspapers asserted that the motion had been carried unanimously.

The sailors on board the Russian cruiser *Askold*, which was stationed at Murmansk, held a meeting and decided to adhere to Moscow.

The Allies then seized the *Askold*, arrested the Russian sailors and sent them to Soviet Russia; put a British crew aboard the *Askold* and took her off to England, since when she has never returned.

In August 1918, the Allies took Archangel, and at the beginning of November, an order came from the Allied representatives that the Murmansk Soviet was to be dissolved and its place taken by a Governor named Yermoloff.

In the spring of 1919 the Murmansk revolutionaries planned an attempt to recapture power. Held down by the autocratic discipline of the Allies, they asked their permission to hold a demonstration to celebrate the anniversary of the March Revolution, intending to make this gathering the cover for their revolt.

The Allies somehow got wind of their scheme, took precautions to forestall it, and forced the ex-President of the Soviet and the Trade Union leaders to issue a declaration that Yermoloff and the Allies were acting in the best interests of Russia.

All this Tamara Ketlinsky told me with much earnestness.

She added, that anyone caught attempting revolutionary propaganda during the Allied occupation, or speaking against the counter-revolutionary North Russian Government, which the Allies were maintaining, was sent to Yorkanger, an isolated part of the coast, surrounded by mountains. Its climatic conditions were very bad, and not a tree existed there.

The situation of the prisoners was kept secret until some of them were brought to Murmansk to be tried for an alleged attempt to escape. Then it leaked out that the prisoners were only allowed to rise from their beds between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m., and that if they attempted to do so at other times, they were shot by a sentry who pointed his gun through a window. There was much illness amongst the prisoners, and many died.

The British gradually withdrew from Murmansk between September and October 1919, leaving behind the North Russian Government, which, in the effort to stabilise, they had expended so much life and treasure. On February 21st a revolt against the North Russian Government took place. The soldiers seized the guns and ammunition and arrested the officers, eleven of whom were killed on the spot, whilst three or four others lost their lives in attempting to escape. The greater part of the North Russian Army, which had been formed by the "Whites," was then at the front, near Petrosavodsk, fighting against the Soviet troops. The Murmansk revolutionaries could not tell what the North Russian Army would do. Should it side with the counter-revolution they would be overwhelmed. The soldiers of the North Russian Army declared for the Revolution; the officers fled to Finland and Norway.

Thus the Murmansk Soviet took control.

Long before Tamara had finished her story, we were all drinking the inevitable Russian tea, without milk, but with much sugar.

### GORIELOVA.

Helen Goriélova, an organiser of Petrograd women, was also with us, and she was going all the way to Petrograd. Her work is to organise into groups women who are occupied with the care of their children and homes.

One would guess that Goriélova had been a garment worker. She has her prototype amongst the revolutionary proletarian women of Russian origin in many European cities, and you may find her like on the East side of New York.

She is pale-faced, short and thick-set. She cares nothing for dress; her hair is twisted in a tight little knob on the top of her head. She wears a man's tweed cap, an old navy blue serge coat and skirt, heavy boots, and a dingy, grey-striped flannelette blouse, worn Russian fashion, outside her skirt. Her luggage consists of a few impromptu parcels. Either she gave too much away, or brought too little for her journey, for on the third day, I discovered that all her tea was gone and she had nothing left to eat.

She works as hard and lives almost as poorly now that the Workers' Soviets are in power, as she did under Capitalism. She is a most ardent Communist, and lives for nothing but to serve the Cause. Having passed through the Revolution, she had learnt to shoot, and can handle a revolver or a carbine; the rifle is too heavy for her.

### CHAPTER II.

### FROM MURMANSK TO PETROGRAD.

The Comrades had arranged that I should have a compartment to myself during the nights. The seats were of bare uncushioned wood, but Goriélova brought me a sack of hay for a mattress, a sheet, a flannelette blanket and a pillow.

I discovered next morning that she had given me the bedding she had brought for herself, for I found her lying, most uncomfortably, on a sort of shelf in the corridor with her luggage under her head.

She swept out my compartment with a broom of twigs from time to time and, until her stock was exhausted, brought me a glass of sweet hot tea at frequent intervals.

After the Murmansk Comrades left the train, I was only able to communicate with my fellow-passengers by signs, till a young Red Army political instructor, who spoke French, joined us.

This young enthusiast assured me that " even the bourgeoisie love Comrade Lenin and Comrade Trotsky." He told, with great pleasure, of the thousands of classes on history, economics, literature, languages and so on, held daily for the Red soldiers.

The train stopped frequently because, for the lack of coal, the engine was fed with logs of wood, and fresh supplies were often required. Now that Soviet Russia has begun to use electric trains,* the journey between Petrograd and Murmansk, which takes four days, will presently be accomplished more swiftly.

During the first days we passed through swampy lands and woods of thin and feeble birch trees. There had been many forest fires and over wide stretches of country the trees were scorched and scarred or burnt to the ground; for long distances neither a house nor a human being was to be seen, but everywhere evidences of labour; trees felled and logs piled together, mile upon mile of new ditch cut to drain the land, of road newly made of logs laid crosswise and covered with earth; mile upon mile of railway track repaired.

Many of the wooden houses occasionally passed were new, and the new were larger and better built, with more carving than the old. In the doorway of one of the newest houses, with beautifully carved eaves and chimneys of red and white glazed bricks, a woman was standing with two fat bare-foot babies who waved hands vigorously to the train.

Occasionally we came to a place where the train stopped longer, and quite a number of people were at the station. All the passengers jumped out to stretch their legs and get hot water for their tea.

### BRITISH UNIFORMS.

What an assortment of clothing! What numbers of British and French uniforms, trophies which the Russians wear gladly and display with pride.

*(To be continued in our next issue).*

* On October 1st, 1920, Makonin's electric train made its first journey from Petrograd to Moscow without a reload. This first electric train was constructed in the Baltic works, Petrograd. It consists of three motor carriages and three tender cars. The cars are of Pullman style, and each accommodates eighty persons. There is also a sleeping car.

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## "SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE . . . !"

**By Ward Newton.**

High up in that dusty printing office, the sun blazed through grimy windows full on the backs of a dozen monotype operators. Its tantalising call to them to come out into the sunshine overbore the nerve-racking clatter of scores of sharp-pointed steel punches dancing up and down in perfect time to the dazzling tattoo of one hundred and twenty nimble fingers and thumbs voraciously devouring what the man in the street would think " perfectly illegible " copy. Suddenly the harsh clatter assumes a softer note; the tapping of those never-weary fingers becomes spasmodic and irregular.

" Air ! " shouts an operator at the end of the line of keyboards, as the clicking of the shining punches becomes feebler.

" Air!" bawls another operator; and down the line goes this warning password, each operator shouting louder—a harmless habit the men have of relieving their feelings. Then, as the noise of tapping almost ceases, save where an operator tries to finish his line, is heard the hiss of escaping air from shining, oily valves. The hiss becomes gentler, finally subsiding altogether, and the last death-rattle of the space-indicating drum, after revolving rapidly to the " rest " position, proclaims that the power is off. The workers are to have a breather.

The clicker—funny they should call him clicker, for his board clicks less than any other operator's !—finds it necessary to swear, a thing at which printers are by no means tyros. " Damn that air-compressor!" he exclaims, " and this job wanted in a hurry!" (Most jobs, are, by the way!) He looks very sorry for himself, and hurries off to find out the cause of all the trouble.

The operators are anything but sorry. They wish it had happened before. A rustle of morning papers is heard—where they come from it would be difficult to say offhand—and soon they have forgotten all about that article on " Speeding Up " and " Greater Output," which is to take first place in an omniscient business magazine. Football is much more interesting.

They don't all turn to the football pages, however, for one of them—a pale, consumptive-looking fellow named Tuber-Cumming, generally known as " Bolshie " on account of his alleged extremist views, and who looks as though his fortnight's holiday had done him very little good—passes his paper to his " side-page." Indicating a certain paragraph with his finger, he says, with a sarcastic chuckle, " Read that " :—

" WHAT IS 100 PER CENT.

*" How Profits are Computed in the Commercial World.*

" The system of computing the percentage of profit in commerce was explained yesterday to a *Daily News* representative. There is no doubt that a general impression that an article which is sold at double the price at which it was purchased yields a profit of 100 per cent., but the universal commercial system of computation fixes the profit percentage at 50.

" An official of an association of manufacturers, explaining, said ' If an article costs £20 and is sold at £40, the gross profit is £20. The turnover is £40 and £20 is half of £40, so that the profit is 50 per cent.' "

" Well, that's pretty cute," said " Side-page," as he handed the paper back. " Wonder if that scheme was devised to beat the income-tax assessors?"

Without replying Tuber-Cumming jumped up excitedly and turned to the other operators.

" Boys," he shouted, " listen to this." Giving them no time to interrupt him, he read the paragraph aloud in a clear voice.

" Now, what I say is this," he added, excitedly. " Let's apply that system of reckoning to our wages. We sold our labour and skill for about £2 before the war. Now we get £5 for it. Five pounds is our total turnover, and the £3 extra we get today is only 60 per cent. of the total turnover. Now, seeing that the cost of living is around 150 per cent. above pre-war days, I reckon we ought to get another £3 a week at least. What's sauce for the goose is——"

But his remarks were interrupted by a sudden hissing sound, followed by the click of a dozen space-drums and the grating, grinding clank of the noisy type-casters in an adjoining room. Further speculations on this novel method of reckoning the increase of their wages must be postponed, for the frowning face of the " clicker " had appeared in the doorway—and they had a " rush " job on.

**A MEETING**

WILL BE HELD

**Outside Holloway Gaol,**

EVERY SUNDAY AT 4 p.m.

Followed by a meeting outside

**Pentonville Prison.**

... and cheer our Comrades Pankhurst and Malone.

## WAGES, MIDDLEMEN'S PROFITS, AND PRICES.

**By PETER MARSDEN.**

May I point out and correct what I consider to be errors in the serial, " What are Economics?"; in the issue of the *Dreadnought* of 19th March, 1921, these errors have to deal with (1) middlemen and their profits and (2) indirect taxation.

According to the author of the article in question the prices of commodities are raised by the amount of profit which the middlemen add to what they pay for the commodities. Consequently the workers pay more for the commodities than they ought, and the middlemen are robbers, etc.

It is quite true that the middlemen's selling prices are greater than their buying prices by the amount of profit they derive. But it does not follow that with the elimination of the middlemen prices would fall; or, if they did, that the workers would benefit.

In the economic development the middleman was useful as a distributor of goods; consequently, in that position, he drew on the national income for useful work performed. Though a non-producer, he did useful social work, just as the capitalist did when originally owner and manager of the factory.

The author rightly points out that the amount of real wages (the amount of goods which the worker can buy for his wages) tends towards the fodder level. Therefore from a theoretical basis, we must consider the " fodder " level as being the normal.

Thus, if prices rise, real wages would lessen, and are below the fodder line. Then, by strikes or otherwise, they are brought up to fodder line.

Should prices fall, then, real wages have risen, because with lower prices the same wages buy more goods. Then, owing to competition among the workers, wages fall to the fodder line. An arithmetical example will explain more clearly.

Let us suppose that the worker needs ten quartern loaves per week at 8d. per quartern at the fodder level. That is, he must expend 8d. multiplied by ten, 80d. or 6s. 8d. per week on bread. Let the price of the quartern rise to 1s, then the worker's 6s. 8d. will buy only 6 2-3rds quarterns—in other words, his real wages (10 quarterns) have fallen to 6 2-3rds quarterns. It is below the fodder level. To rise to the fodder level he must have enough money to buy 10 quarterns at 1s. per quartern, or 10s. In other words, the money wages must rise from 6s. 8d. to 10s. Let the price fall from 8d. to 6d. per quartern, then the money to buy 10 quarterns is 6d. multiplied by 10—60d. or 5s. Wages will fall from 6s. 8d. to 5s : the new fodder level as measured in money.

Suppose, then, the middleman buys a quartern loaf at 8d. and sells it at a 1s., the worker does not pay the difference, 4d. If the fodder level be 10 quarterns, and the quarterns be 1s., then the wages will be 10s.

Cut out the middleman, and let the quartern sell at 8d., then the wages fall to 6s. 8d. in order to buy 10 quarterns at the fodder level.

This is the same when taxes raise the price of fodder. Of course, wages tend to lag behind in the race when the price of fodder rises. But this is to be expected in social matters, where parts are not so closely bound as in a machine.

So far we have shown that, theoretically, the machinations of the middleman has no effect on wages. Indeed, except in the case of " corners," the middleman has no more effect on prices than the industrial capitalist.

But does not the middleman add a percentage for profit in his selling price? Apparently he does. But if he can add 5 per cent., why not 5,000,000 per cent.? In other words, there is no theoretical law for the amount of profit, but each middleman determines his own profit—according to the author of the article in question. Yet, at the same time, profits tend to stand at the same level with constant productive conditions. How does this come about?

The national income, that is the amount of the national product over and above that required to replace worn-out means of production, is divided into two parts. These are : Fodder for the working-class, and the sum of the surplus.

No matter what the national income, the fodder must be delivered. If productivity falls the amount of surplus is lessened. If productivity rises, the surplus is increased. Therefore, from the fodder standpoint, the cry " Produce more!" is an error. That is why we are inclined to believe that our Labour fakirs are ignoramuses when not traitors.

That surplus income (when the amount of fodder is deducted from the national income) is divided into many parts. If the industrial or agricultural capitalist owns factory and land and himself is responsible for the sale of the product, he pockets the whole of the surplus.

If the capitalist does not own the factory and land, as an industrial capitalist he pays rent for the building and ground-rent. As the ground landlord does nothing useful, and the industrial capitalist believes himself a useful person, the latter is often at war with the ground landlord. These conditions gave us the single-taxers.

If the capitalist has borrowed money to run his business, he must pay interest to the banker or money-lender. That is why, in an industrial state, the dominant clique (the industrial capitalists) believe in a low bank-rate or low rate of interest.

In case the capitalist does not sell retail, the wholesale buyer takes responsibility. To recoup himself, the wholesaler offers a price which will allow him a profit on the capital invested. This is commercial capital.

When the wholesaler sells to the small shopkeeper, the latter can only buy at a price which allows him a profit.

In other words, the whole national surplus is divided as follows : Industrial profit, ground-rent, factory-rent, commercial profit, and financial interest. That is to say, although basically the worker produces all profit, interest, rent, i.e. he is robbed to that extent, he is not robbed once in the factory or field, again when he buys his goods, again when he pays rent, and again on his luxuries—it is merely that the price at which he buys includes all the various forms of profit.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

Communist Party, Hammersmith Branch, meets fortnightly on Friday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush.

On alternate Fridays a Study Circle is held, when we are studying Lenin's book entitled " The State and Revolution."

At our last branch meeting a sympathiser gave a very interesting address on " Back to the Land," and was asked if he would speak again on the subject on a future occasion, which he kindly promised to do.

Our propaganda meetings are held every Tuesday evening at The Grove at 8 o'clock.

The membership of the Branch is slowly growing, but we are sure there are many Communists in the district who are still unattached, and we appeal to them to come and take part in the fight for freedom.

All applications for membership should be addressed to Minnie Birch, 10, South Street, King Street, Hammersmith, W. 6.

## WORKERS' DIRECTIVE ABILITY.

An investigation carried out by Professor Chapman (Professor of Economics, Manchester University) and by Mr. F. J. Marquis (Warden of Liverpool University Settlement) gave the following result, which they put before the Royal Statistical Society :—

" A direct investigation was made in a well-known manufacturing (cotton) town, and it transpired that 60 per cent. of the heads of private manufacturing businesses had begun life in the lowest economic ranks. The investigation being extended to spinning, of 65 directors of cotton mills approached by letter, returns were made from 45, of whom 33 were self-made men. Moreover a spinning district was visited, and a direct investigation made, which showed that 13 per cent. of the managing directors, 42 per cent. of the mill managers, and 67 per cent. of the assistant managers came from working-class families."

In a free Commonwealth that ability would be put to the service of the community instead of being used to assist exploitation, and all the people of the country would benefit by it, and not only—as is now the case—a few money-making concerns.

## OUR COMPETITION.

By March 25th our Competition closed. We have received several MSS., also a couple of letters pointing out that the time originally allotted was rather a short one for comrades who can only write in the evening hours. We have therefore decided to postpone the date of the closing of the competition till April 30th. Comrades who had not the time to finish their MSS. have, therefore, another month in which to complete them.

Since the subject of the pamphlet we intend to publish is one that will remain of actuality for a long time, nothing will be lost by the delay.

Received this week :—

(1) By hand, a MSS. of fifty pages (unnumbered), marked with a figure of four digits.

(2) By registered post, from a provincial town, a MSS. of seventy-seven pages, covered with brown paper, and signed with a nom-de-plume of four words.

(3) By registered letter, from a provincial town, a MSS. of eight pages, marked with four initials.

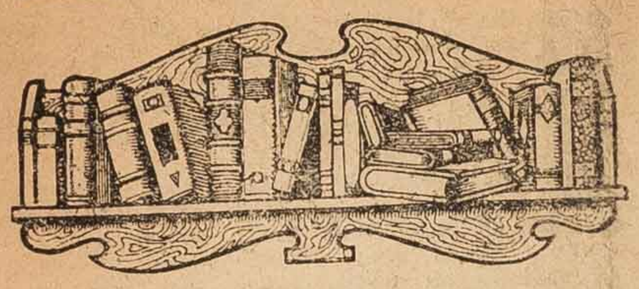
(4) By registered letter, a MSS. on yellow paper of sixty pages, marked with a pseudonym of two syllables.

## DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Carried forward, £27 4s. 6d. ; " Old Man," 2s. 6d.; Mr. A. H. Louis, 10s. ; Miss Sloane, 3s. ; collection at Holloway, 5s. ; total, £28 9s.

## HELP US TO ADVERTISE.

Some comrades have suggested that a special fund should be raised to advertise the *Dreadnought* for a few weeks. We have already received from an Italian Comrade £1. Contributions will be welcomed.



## OUR BOOKSHELF.

ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

(Thesis adopted by the Second Congress of Communist International. Communist Party. 12 pp. 2d.)

A good portion of this Thesis has appeared in the "Workers' Dreadnought."

PARLIAMENTARISM, TRADE UNIONISM, AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(Theses of the Second Congress, Moscow, August, 1920. Communist Party. 16 pp. 2d.)

These were amply discussed in our paper, and in Germany and Italy. In fact, the discussion on "Parliamentarism" or "Anti" seems always to crop up where a few comrades meet, often spoiling their opportunity of doing useful work for their class.

It is a residue of bourgeois education. The reviewer, not wishing to repeat the error he condemns, has left our cartoonist to solve the knotty point. Look at the cartoon. You will say it is not an argument, but you will be forced to admit it is true.

## PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENTS.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### JUST OUT!

### AN APPEAL

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Being the verbatim report of her speech at the Appeal heard at the Guildhall.

PRICE THREEPENCE

From the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.


# THOSE 21 POINTS.

In the stagnant waters of Western Socialism, fouled by Parliamentary immobility for over twenty years, with a clash, came the twenty-one points of the Communist International.

They have cut across the old Social-Patriot Parties like a trenchant sword.

They are disciplinary measures aiming to give a new driving power to the old forces of Socialism; to restore class-consciousness to the united forces of the wealth-producers.

But recently, the Socialist Parties of Germany and France, Italy and America, split over the acceptance of these twenty-one points.

They are now purifying the I.L.P., and will group together on one side the sail-trimmers, the place-hunters, the politicians; and on the other, those animated by the rugged, honest and revolutionary spirit of a Keir Hardie.

It is inevitable in England as it was inevitable in other countries.

To the man in the street—or more truly, to the man in the workshop who does not take a keen interest in his class political welfare—this question of the twenty-one points may appear hair-splitting.

Hair-splitting too, the question of the affiliation to the Third International.

Others may question the wisdom of dividing the workers' forces when the class-struggle, the struggle for the emancipation from Capitalism daily increases in intensity.

It is all-important that this question should be made clear by any one of us to our co-workers in all walks of life.

And the question is one of extreme simplicity. Simply this: is the vast movement which we call Labour, which, whilst being the outcome of our position as wage-earners, embodies all the aspirations for a higher standard of life, both for us and for our families—is this movement to be for ever the breeding-warren of silver-tongued persons who, risen from the ranks, gradually forget the early struggle of their life, the hardship of the factory life, to become, under the disguise of "advanced leaders," the most useful instruments of oppression and deception in the hands of the master class.

Are the early days to be forgotten; when Socialism was a Religion, and a religion of duty, service and beauty?

Shall Labour for ever, with all its power and its forces, its grand promises of happier days and justice for all, for ever be deviated from its true path and go from one disillusionment to another?

Or, on the other hand, shall not Labour keep its self-determined discipline, dictated by the rank and file, independent from opportunist considerations and proceed straight to its goal?

Acceptance of the twenty-one points put forward by the Communist International as a condition to its membership simply signifies this: shall we talk or shall we prepare to act?

Is it possible, is it advisable to change this capitalist state of society that oppresses all—every one of us in various degrees—and breeds poverty, crime and injustice—into another more human and more humane, born of a spirit of fraternity and freedom, where the combined efforts of the individuals and of the nations shall promote common welfare and happiness instead of wars and incessant useless and wasteful competition?

Is is possible, is it advisable to do that? Yes or No? Simply that and nothing more!

If yes—then workers' parties of all lands must unite with the Communist International at all costs, even at the cost of breaking ties of old friendship.

If not—then why grumble at your lot? Doff your hat and the profiteers will give you a morsel and a dole. Leaders speechifying meanwhile.

## BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

If travellers' tales were coffin nails, then Red Ruddy Russia ought to be buried deep by now. But there is yet one more nail left for the *Evening Standard* to hammer into the coffin.

An Englishman born in Russia has recently arrived in London, and he hasn't disappointed the truthful reporter. He has resided in Petrograd during the last ten years. How he escaped, thrills the young journalist, is his own affair. But judging from other cases I have an idea. He probably went and got a passport.

The horrors this veracious "escaped" guest of the Bolshies went through were so ghastly that he wakes up trembling at night. Robbery and outrage, he says in perfect grammar, *is* one of the many things he has seen at their fell work. Every night about twenty armed ruffians burst into his room and carted everything off until only the wall-paper was left.

The daily ration of one pound of bread is notoriously insufficient, but that, he says, is the inevitable result of the cessation of *honest* work. How, then, the bread comes to be there is a mystery. We can only presume that Lenin comes by it dishonestly. Probably makes a flying visit to Paris every now and then and robs the bakers' shops.

And even then we have to account for the one pound of salt, one pound of sugar, and three pounds of dried herrings, which, we are assured, is "the nation's menu." As there are several millions in the Russian nation, it seems to be a wonderful sort of magic.

This Russian-born Englishman seems rather rocky at finance. First he assures us that a labourer gets the enormous wage of 5,000 roubles a month, and he knows several cases where workmen are making 600,000 roubles monthly out of property stolen from the Bolsheviks. Then he proceeds to tell us that the £1 is worth 100,000 roubles.

So that our overpaid labourer only earns about one solitary boblet a month, and the enormous 600,000 roubles monthly made by dishonest workmen from equally dishonest Bolsheviks amounts to a mere £6. An Aldgate pickpocket could make more in a day in beautifully free Coalition England.

We were not long ago invited to groan with horror at the compulsory labour of twelve hours a day introduced by Lenin or Trotsky—I forget which. The *Evening Standard* was one of the groaners. But the Editor has a pretty short memory, for he lets his truthful reporter—pardon, traveller—tell us that 10,000 roubles are demanded for any work after the *official* hours of 10 to 4.

And as we have seen that 100,000 roubles make a quid, the Russian worker is undercharging at the rate of a mere two bob. What I like about lie is that it should at least be a good lie.

And what I should like to know about the property stolen from the Bolsheviks by the workmen at £6 a go is who are the extremely honest people who buy the said stolen goods—and anyway how do they happen to come by 600,000 roubles?

Russia, we are assured, has slipped back 1,000 years. And cos why? Because *butter* is unobtainable and a box of matches is unheard of. So far as the butter is concerned, I can point out a good slice of our working-class districts that has slipped back 1,000 years, but the *Evening Standard* turns a blind eye and its Advertisement Editor willingly prints advertisements of margarine, which, we are told, is not only as good as butter, but makes that fruit of the dairy quite an unnecessary commodity.

Still, however, there are a few more choice bits to come. Polish up your smoked glasses and put on your masks—one, two, three. Here goes:

"Debates are held thrice weekly, and if you don't vote with the chairman your body soon how gets mysteriously lost in a sewer on the way home."

Well, well, the article smells like it, too, for our sewerman concludes:

"I have witnessed several executions. They are more like a human pigeon-shoot. A lorry drives up with fifty prisoners. The Chinese guard open the doors and shout 'Run for it.' The prisoners run, and, amidst shrieks of ghoulish laughter, are gradually shot to bits."

One would like to know more about that Chinese rifle which shoots one to bits. Our War Office is looking for such a good weapon for the next Last War.

COMMUNIST PARTY.

### PUBLIC MEETING,

400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW,

**Friday, April 8th,**

At 7.30 p.m.

**"What Communism will mean to Women and the Family."**

Speakers: Dora Montifiore and Melvina Walk

Chair: Nora Smyth.

Come and hear all about life under Communism

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