How the Communist Party is Organised.

SECOND EDITION

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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MINING AS A SWEATED TRADE.

By SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY.

One of the best known of Coalition writers said on April 10th :—

" The coal-owners proposed the most staggering ' cuts ' in the modern history of wages."

That is true. Never before, in the worst hour of trade depression, have workmen of any class been asked to accept such enormous reductions as have been proposed to hundreds of thousands of miners, with the knowledge and consent of the Government.

Mr. Lloyd George has spoken of the miners as misunderstanding the " psychology " of the British people. The miners with their dependents, form a very large and representative part of the British people. In Great Britain, one person in about every dozen is either a miner or a dependent of a miner.

Let us suppose that the miners had accepted the coal-owners' offer. It would have meant that the psychology of a large part of the British people was so despicable, that it was prepared to consent to the payment of starvation wages for the performance of arduous and dangerous work.

It is fortunate for the nation as a whole, that so large a section of it proved its manhood in such a test. If it had failed to do so, it would have been proof that Britain had fallen very low indeed in the scale of nations.

Durham and South Wales.

Very different are the mining features of Durham and South Wales, and their poulations differ also in many things. We may surely rejoice that the men both of Durham and South Wales refused to accept such reductions as are here stated.

In Durham, the underground able-bodied adult labourers were asked to accept about one-half of their former wages, thus :—

	Old wage.	*Proposed wage*	*Reduction.*
Shifters	66s. 9d.	39s. 0d.	37s. 9d.
Wastemen	65s. 3d.	37s. 2d.	28s. 1d.

These men form 25 per cent. of the miners, and it will be seen that they offered less than £2 per week, and £2 per week now buys what 16s. 6d. bought in 1914.

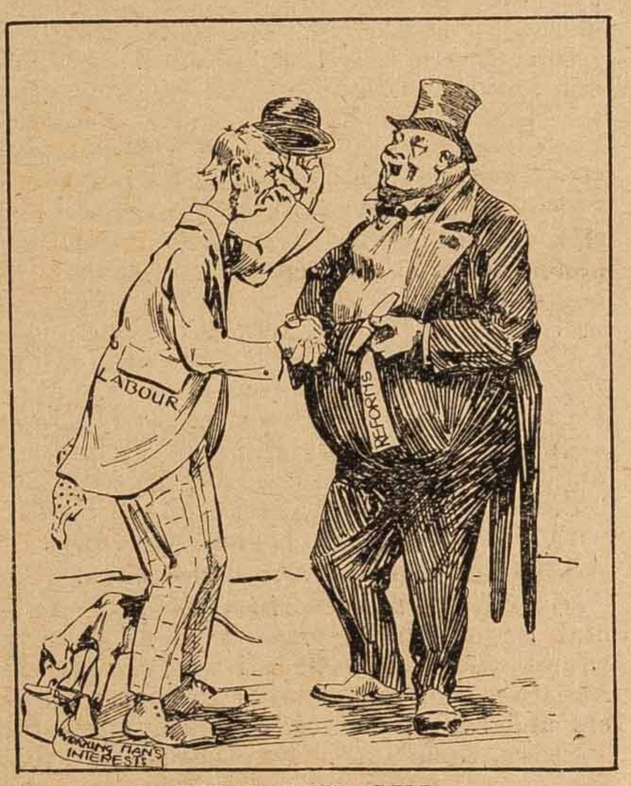
Coal hewers in Durham earning 82s. 3d. were offered 59s. 7d., a reduction of over 23s. a week a blow.

The colliers of South Wales were asked to accept 35s. 8d. a week less, reducing them to 53s. 6d. South Wales labourers were offered 39s., a reduction of 35s. upon their wage of 74s.

Lancashire and Somerset.

It should be understood that the rates vary from district to district, and that in some areas such as Nottingham, the proposed reductions, although severe, are not comparable with those mentioned. The number of districts in which the cuts are " staggering " is, however, very great. The colliers of Somerset, for example, are asked to accept a reduction of 26s. 4d., leaving them a wage of 46s. 8d. per week, again a starvation rate. A Lancashire collier (hewer) is cut down by 17s. 11d. a week, to 64s., the equivalent of 24s. 9d. in 1914.

In short, it is an army of adult men, up and down the country, that is, it is suggested, to be suddenly plunged into extreme poverty—into a position far worse than the indefensible one which existed in 1914.



REPARATION BILL.

Labour : We are solid, eh ? And, of course, don't embarrass one another.

Comparison with Sweated Trades.

As is generally known, a Trade Board Act was passed to determine minimum wages for sweated trades. Here is a striking comparison of the Trade Board rates for certain of the sweated industries, with the offers just rejected by the British miners :—

		s.	*d.*
Paper Bag Making	(Trade Board)	65	0
Forest of Dean Miners		43	4
Rope Makers	(Trade Board)	56	0
North Wales Miners		52	0
Tin Box Makers	(Trade Board)	60	0
Bristol Miners		55	6
Button Makers	(Trade Board)	60	8
North Stafford Mining Horse-keepers		48	2

These comparative pairs are of much interest.

Think of one of the lately most sweated industries, Paper Box Making, having a much higher rate than hundreds of thousands of miners! Or consider the last item. We have heard of pity for the pit ponies. Is there to be no pity for the man asked to accept 48s. a week, when the loaf costs a shilling, to take care of the pitied pony?

IN MEMORY OF
THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE
WHO DIED AN EARLY DEATH
ON FRIDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1921.
AT 10 P.M.
FROM INTERNAL WEAKNESS AND
PARENTAL NEGLECT, CUTTING
SHORT A LIFE FULL OF PROMISE.

O passer-by, do not weep or cry,
but ever remember,

R. I. P.

STAGGERING CUTS IN WAGES.

This statement may well be rounded off with a reminder that in many districts, agricultural labourers are receiving a higher wage than was proposed for many classes of mining workers. Thus, in Durham, the Agricultural Wages Board gives the agricultural labourer 50s. 6d. a week against the less than 40s. offered to the Durham underground mine worker.

Finally, let me remind the reader that the wages which it is proposed to cut (not the cut rates) are very little more than sufficient to compensate for the rise in the cost of living. They represented, on the average, an increase of 155 per cent over the 1914 rates, whereas the cost of living is 141 per cent. more than in 1914. Until quite lately, the rates, indeed, were not quite high enough to compensate for the fall in purchasing power. It was admitted by the Attorney-General, in opposing the miners' application for unemployment pay, that the cut wages of the miners left them, on the average, only 91 per cent. above 1914, leaving 50 per cent. to the tightened belts of the miners and their families.

The fact is that the proposed " staggering cuts " in miners' wages would reduce the great and essential mining industry to the status of a sweated industry.

CAPITAL LABOUR'S BEST FRIEND.

Capital is " Labour's best friend." Lord Leverhulme has said so!

In a discussion at the Free Church Conference held in Manchester last month, my lord of the soapsuds actually admitted that " this country would not be content until we lived under ideal conditions," and then he made the qualification in defence of his class : " but the ideal could not be reached by dethroning Capital. Capital was confidence, and it was the best friend of Labour, because when confidence went, when people were afraid to invest their money, unemployment resulted. *Conscript Capital, and they killed the goose that laid the golden egg.*"

Oh! we who have denounced the highwayman proclivities of capital, let us weep tears of remorse, and we who draw the weekly dole, let us renounce our quidlet so that Capital can recover, and all will be well " in the land which the lord god Leverhulme giveth we!"

Is it nothing to us, friends, that Lever Brothers Ltd., the soap company controlling over 130 Associated Companies, of which the Defender of the Capitalist Faith aforementioned is the head chief, holdeth property to the value of more than £50,734,770? Is it nothing to us, especially those who produced for the firm, that out of our labours since 1913, Lever Brothers have paid out to co-partners and shareholders £12,97,140? Of course not! We don't mind. Ha, ha!

On March 5 the "Grocer's Journal" reported the case of an old man, also a Lord, William Lord, 63, who borrowed two wee tablets of soap from a grocer's shop. The value of the soap was 2d.; he was sent to prison for one month. He will be a wiser man when he is released.

Had he done a greater deed than pinching two pennyworth of soap, he would have amassed great wealth, like Leverhulme ; he would become interested in dope schemes for Labour and would have been worshipped as a benevolent pillar of our beautiful capitalist system ; but——

" Capital lays the Golden Eggs and is Labour's Best Friend."

Reverse it, and the real truth is seen : Labour is Capital's best friend ; Labour is indeed the Goose!

SOLD AGAIN!

C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK.

The workers have again been fooled by their leaders. It's an April Fool's strike. When we saw the wangling commence we feared it would become "the strike that won't come off." Time and again have Communists exposed the personalities of the Trade Union and Labour leaders; time and again have our denunciations been justified. *Still, these political chameleons, these slave-class traitors, remain in power—still wangling; traitorous ever!*

Let us briefly note the salient points in the Wangle since the commencement of the miners' lock-out. If the miners would not work for reduced wages, then the owners of the mines would refuse them work until they "saw reason." So they locked them out. Now, they didn't want the engine and pump men to stop work, because they were key-men, protecting "their property" from the encroachments of nature. However, the pump-men decided they were *members of the working class first*, and came out: became part of the sectional lock-out. That did it! Every capitalist Press "rag" denounced this act of sabotage. Their wily method of attack on this occasion was to carefully inform "the public," and attempt to influence the leaders towards the recognition that this sabotage was really inimical to the best interests of the miners; the mine-owners were never mentioned. 'Twas mighty good dope! It washed—sufficiently to help the Wangle. Blacklegs raised their evil dials. Members of the Universities, young bourgeois parasites, volunteered to help pit managers. Strong resistance everywhere caused them to think twice about acting up to their spineless aspirations. Four days from the date of the lock-outs, sailors were drafted to Fife mines, later to South Wales and other parts where (*vide* the Yellow Press) the men showed "a truculent spirit."

On April 4th Frank Hodges is reported as saying: "If it becomes the view of the working classes that the Government are prepared to starve sections of the community into submission then there will be revolution."

The Loco. Man goes Holidaying.

On the same day C. R. Cramp said: "I believe the railwaymen, miners, and transport workers, united, could succeed, and that being so, I think we ought to have a shot at it."

Again on the same day Ben Smith shouted: "If the workers are to be 'licked,' it will be better if we are all 'licked' together. If the places of workers are taken by volunteers, I ask: 'Are we going to stand by and see it done?'"

Now, from the foregoing utterances, you wouldn't think *these* leaders would be guilty of traitorous compromises, would you? Let us see.

On the 5th the Transport Workers' Federation met (five days to think about it!) and they decided to "postpone their decision." *Meanwhile the authorities got busy.* Havelock Wilson "counselled a policy of caution"; Bromley said his executive, the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, were not interested, and that he himself was going on a holiday. The Railwaymen's executive met on the 6th, adjourned, and met again, and J. H. Thomas made the statement that "There is no element of doubt as to what the railwaymen's decision will be." This was true all along; *the rank and file were with the miners, but the leaders were conferring and wangling with the owners and the other capitalist class representatives.* Every day, nay every night, noon, and night again, we heard of "Peace Moves" on the part of the Bosses, with Ll. G. as their prime spokesman.

J.H.T. Anxious About the Boss.

Meanwhile the authorities got busy. Several large London parks were filled early with trained troops in full war equipment. At last a General Strike of transport workers and railwaymen was decided upon for Tuesday, April 12th. Four days before this Hodges expressed his anxiety because the strike might entail suffering (there is no suffering in workaday existence!), and Thomas said he was "not anxious for a revolution," and wanted only "a fair deal and an honourable settlement" for the "prosperity of the nation"—meaning his friend The Boss. About this time the Capitalist Press, understanding working-class psychology, was very carefully and insidiously trying to convey to the rank and file lies, such as the one about the Lime Street (Liverpool) station workers, to give the impression of division in their ranks, and so break the men's spirit. On the 9th Hodges sent a telegram to miners' branches telling them not to interfere with volunteers (blacklegs). "Lloyds News" gave a free photo of J. H. Thomas, "who announced *the good news.*" If the back of the strike movement was not broken before, it was now, *through the traitorous action of the Union leaders!* Remember it!! The "Evening News" on the 6th, said of J.H.T.: "He really excels in *his negotiating powers*"—that is the Wangler's characteristic! On the 12th a message to their Union branches was signed by Harry Gosling and Robert Williams. It ran: "Stand by; wait for orders!" The orders came alright, and they were to the effect that Tuesday's strike was to take place on Friday night for sure. More "Peace conferences," more "Breakdowns"—but *the strike movement had failed.* The capitalists were toasting one another with "Another Little Hitch Won't Do *Us Any Harm!*" Mr. Thomas, when he read out the announcement that Friday was strike-day, "he was in tears"—poor devil! Henderson and Clynes here entered more fully into trying to throw oil on troubled waters in favour of The Boss. Thursday, April 14th, saw "The Star" announcing Mr. Thomas's "Gesture of Despair" (it ought to have been framed)! He also said: "I see no hope"—but there was *one hope*, just one more white (Guard) hope—the Triple Alliance were to meet the National Executive of the Labour Party—just one hope! Then the Trypy Alliance slept till Friday, held secret session with the Bosses, and so, Mister—the adorable Mister Thomas — on Friday night made "a dramatic announcement"—this time without tears! There was to be NO STRIKE. Saturday's Press was filled with "official explanations." The position up to date is that the officials of the Alliance stand by their friends The Boss, as against the mine-workers, but the rank and file all over the country are restive, and demand a strike in sympathy with the miners. If the leaders have proven traitors, *sack the lot*, we say; set up your own Strike Committees, arrange amongst yourselves all the necessary local and national work, and *carry on—for your class! Your leaders have proven traitorous. Sack the lot, and fight The Boss as a class united.*

MESSAGES TO COMRADE SYLVIA PANKHURST

We have celebrated in Paris, with a successful meeting, the International Women's Day.

Both in the Parisian suburbs and in the provinces meetings of similar character took place with equal success.

Through these meetings the French Communist women have joined in spiritual communion and respectful remembrance for the women who have given their lives to the Cause.

They also remember those who in all capitalist countries are now suffering in prison for the workers' welfare.

To the victim of British Capitalism, our dear Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, they specially sent their expressions of sympathy and solidarity.

"La Voix des Femmes," our Socialist paper, has been entrusted with the pleasant task of conveying this message to her, and also of making known that the French Communist women are in complete solidarity with their sisters across the Channel.

For the French Communist Women,
MARTHE BIGOT.

[From the Information Bureau of the Communist International Secretariat for Work amongst Women.]

The working women of the town of Moscow, at a meeting held on the occasion of the International Women's Day, when 3000 women were present, sent their hearty greetings to the brave and dauntless fighter for the proletariat, Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst.

"On the day on which the Communist International held a review of their forces, which number many millions of women, and who are ready to fight for the great cause of Communism, you, dear Comrade, are not amongst us.

"But the day of victory of the proletarian world-revolution is near at hand. The revolution will destroy the bourgeois world order and will sweep it away together with its domination and oppression.

"We are convinced that you will always be found fighting in the front ranks of the great proletarian army which is raising itself against its exploiters.

"Long live the proletarian revolution.

"Long live the Communist International."

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Brought forward £31 4s 6d, A Friend 2s 10d, J. E. Mathews 3s 3d, J. H. Parker 5s, total £31 15s 7d.

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TO ALL WORKERS IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

OUR COMMON ENEMY, the Capitalist Class, are busy carrying their lies and mis-statements into the homes of the toilers by leaflets, and door-to-door visits, well knowing the power that there is in printed matter.

They particularly attack the WORKERS' Government of Russia and Nationalisation.

THEIR LIES are bound to hurt our Cause if we don't counteract them with the TRUTH.

The enclosed leaflet,

"TRUTH WILL OUT,"

has been specially written in a simple style, for door-to-door distribution, to reach the masses of Workers who can be reached in no other way.

HELP ALONG the LEAFLET CAMPAIGN by sending for

100 3s. 3d. (post paid) 500, 15s.

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BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER.

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

Continued from last issue.

This relationship of the masses to the leaders also has been excellently characterised by Comrade Pannekoek:—

"Parliamentarism is the typical form of the fight by means of leaders in which the masses themselves play but a minor part. Its practice consists in this: that representatives, individual persons, carry on the actual fighting. With the masses it must therefore awaken the illusion that others can do the fighting for them. Formerly the belief was that the leaders could obtain important reforms for the workers through parliament; many have even had the illusion that the members of parliament, by means of laws and regulations, could carry out the transition towards Socialism. To-day, since parliamentarism acts in a more honest way, the argument is heard that the representatives may do great things in parliament for the propaganda of Communism. Ever again the importance of the leaders is emphasised, and it is only natural that professionals should decide about politics; be it then in the democratic guise of congress discussions and resolutions. The history of Social Democracy is one series of fruitless attempts to let the members determine their own politics. Wherever the proletariat goes in for parliamentary action, all this is inevitable, as long as the masses have not yet created the organs for self-action; as long, therefore, as the revolution has not broken out. As soon as the masses can act for themselves, and can consequently determine, the disadvantages of parliamentarism become paramount.

The problem of the tactics is how to eradicate in the proletariat mass the traditional bourgeois way of thinking that saps its strength; everything which strengthens anew the traditional view is wrong. The most firmly rooted, most tenacious part of this mental attitude is dependence on the leaders, to whom it leaves the decision in all general questions, and the control of all class matters. Parliamentarism has the inevitable tendency to crush in the masses the activity needed for the revolution. No matter what fine speeches are delivered to inspire the workers to revolutionary deeds, revolutionary action does not spring from such words, but from the keen and hard necessity that leaves no other choice whatsoever.

Demands of the Revolution.

The revolution also demands something more than the fighting-action of the masses that causes the overthrow of a government system, and which, as we know, is not at the command of the leaders, but only can proceed from the deep-felt impulse of the masses. The revolution requires that the great questions of social reconstruction shall be taken in hand, that difficult decisions shall be made, that the entire proletariat be roused to one creative impulse; and this is only possible if first the advance guard, and then an ever greater mass takes things in hand—a mass that is conscious of its responsibilities, that searches, propagates, fights, strives, reflects, considers, dares and carries out. All this, however, is hard and toilsome: therefore, as long as the working-class imagines there is an easier way, that of letting others act for it by carrying on an agitation from a high tribune, by taking decisions, by giving signals for action, by making laws, it will hesitate, and the old ways of thinking and the old weaknesses will keep them passive."

The workers of Western Europe, let it be repeated a thousand and, if need be a hundred thousand or a million times—and whoever has not, since November, 1918, learnt and seen it is blind—the West European workers must in the first place act for themselves—in the Trade Unions and also politically, and they must let their leaders act, because the workers stand alone, and because no clever tactics of leaders can help them. The greatest impetus must come from them. Here, for the first time, to a far higher degree than in Russia, THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKERS MUST BE THE WORK OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES. That is why comrades of the Left Wing are right in saying to the German comrades: Leave the elections alone, and boycott parliament—politically you must do everything for yourselves—you can not win unless you know this and act up to it—you cannot win unless you do so for two, five, or ten years; unless you train yourself to it man by man, group after group, from town to town, from province to province, and finally the entire land, as a party, a union; as industrial councils, as a mass, and as a class. You cannot win unless finally, through incessant training and incessant fighting, and through defeat, you advance to that stage, the great majority among you, where you can do all this, and where, at last, after all this schooling, you constitute one united mass.

And that is why the comrades of the K.A.P.D. are right, perfectly right—history demanded it of them—at once to proceed to a secession, to split the Trade Unions; as this covers the entire political question, there is an urgent need for the fight, the example, the lead.

An Example Needed.

But these comrades of the Left Wing, the K.A.P.D., would have committed a grave mistake had they done nothing but preach and propagate this. Here even more, perhaps, than in the case of the party, when the Spartacus League, or rather the Spartacus Zentrals, refused to stand this propaganda of theirs. For what the German slaves, what all workers of Western Europe needed in the first place, was an example. In this nation of political slaves, and in this subjected West European world, there had to be a group, that gave the example, of free fighters without leaders, that is to say, without leaders of the old type—without members of parliament.

And once again all this must be, not because it is so beautiful, or good, or heroic, but because the German and West European proletariat stands alone in this terrible fight, without help from any other class, because the cleverness of the leaders is of no avail any longer, because there is but one thing that is needed, the will and firmness of the mass, man for man, woman for woman, and of the mass as a whole.

For this higher motive, and because the opposite tactics, parliamentary action, can but harm this higher cause, infinitely high as compared to the small profit of parliamentary propaganda, for this higher motive the Left Wing rejects parliamentarism.

You say that Comrade Liebknecht, if he yet lived, might work wonders in the Reichstag. We deny it. Politically he could not manœuvre there, because all the bourgeois parties oppose us on one united front. And he could win the workers no better in parliament than outside it. On the other hand, the masses, to a very great extent, would leave everything to be done through his speeches, so that his parliamentary action would have a harmful effect.*

Big Numbers of no avail.

It is true that this work of the Left Wing would take years, and those people who, for some reason or other, strive for immediate results, big numbers, large amounts of members and votes, big parties, and a powerful (seemingly powerful!) International, will have somewhat long to wait. Those, however, who realise that the victory of the German and West European revolution can only come, if a very great number; if the mass of the workers believe in themselves, will be satisfied with these tactics.

For Germany and Western Europe they are the only tactics possible. This holds good particularly for England.

Comrade, do you know the bourgeois individualism of England, its bourgeois liberty, its parliamentary democracy, as they have grown during some six or seven centuries? Do you really know them? Do you know how utterly they differ from conditions in your country? Do you know how deeply these ideas are rooted in everyone, also in the proletarian individuals of England and its colonies? Do you know into what an immense whole it has developed? Do you know how generally spread it is? In the social and personal life? I do not think there is one Russian, one inhabitant of Eastern Europe, who knows them. If you knew them, you would rejoice at these among the English workers who totally break with this greatest political formation of all capitalism in the world.

If this is done with full consciousness, it demands a revolutionary mind, quite as great as that which once broke with Czarism. This rupture with the entire democracy of England constituted the era of the English revolution.

And this is done, as it must inevitably be done in England, with its tremendous history, tradition, and strength; it is done with the utmost firmness of purpose. Because the English proletariat has the greatest power (potentially it is the most powerful on the earth), it makes a sudden stand against the mightiest bourgeoisie of the earth, and with one stroke rejects the entire English democracy, although the revolution has not yet broken out there.

That is what their advance guard did, just like those of Germany, the K.A.P.D. And why did they do it? Because they know that they also stand alone, and that no class in all England will help them, and that before all the proletariat itself, and not the leaders, must fight and win there.**

A Great Day.

It was an historic day, Comrade, when on this June day in London the first Communist Party was founded, and this Party rejected the entire structure and government apparatus of seven hundred years. I wish Marx and Engels could have been present there. I believe they would have felt a great, a supreme joy at seeing how these English workers rejected the English State, the example for all States of the earth, and which for centuries has been the centre and stronghold of world-capitalism and rules over one-third of humanity; how they reject it and its parliament, though only theoretically as yet.

These tactics are all the more necessary in England because English capitalism supports the capitalism of all other countries, and will decidedly not scruple to summon auxiliaries from all over the world, against every foreign, as well as against its own proletariat. The fight of the English proletariat, therefore, is a struggle against world-capital. All the more reason for the English Communists to give the most elevated and brilliant example. To wage an exemplary fight on behalf of the world-proletariat, and to strengthen it by its example.†

Thus there has to be everywhere one group that draws all the consequences; such groups are the salt of humanity.

Here, however, after this theoretic defence of anti-parliamentarism, I have to answer in detail your defence of parliamentarism. You defend it (from page 36 to 68), for England and Germany. The argumentation, however, holds good only for Russia (and at the very utmost for a few other East-European countries), not for Western Europe. That, as I have said before, is where your mistake lies. That turns you from a Marxist into an opportunist leader. That causes you, the Marxist, radical leader for Russia, and probably a few more East European countries, to sink back into opportunism where Western Europe is concerned. And, if accepted here, your tactics would lead the entire West to perdition. This I will next prove in detail, in answer to your argumentation.

Comrade, on reading your argumentation from page 36 to 68, a recollection was constantly recurring to me.

Amongst the Social Patriots.

I saw myself once more at a congress of the old Social-Patriotic Party of Holland, listening to a speech of Troelstra's—a speech in which he depicted to the workers the great advantages of the reformistic policy, in which he spoke of the workers that were not social-democratic as yet, and that were to be won, by compromise; in which he spoke of the alliances that were to be made (only provisionally, of course!) with the parties of these workers, and of the "rifts" in and between the bourgeois parties, of which we were to make use. In just the same way, in almost, nay in absolutely the same words, you, Comrade Lenin, speak for us West Europeans!

To be continued.

* The example of Comrade Liebknecht is in itself a proof that our tactics are right. BEFORE the revolution, when imperialism was as yet at the summit of power, and suppressed every movement by martial law, he could exercise an enormous influence through his protests in parliament; DURING the revolution this was so no longer. As soon, therefore, as the workers have taken their lot in their own hands, we must let go of parliamentarism.

** It is true that England has no poor peasants to support capital. But the middle class is only the greater, and is united with capitalism.

By means of this advance guard the English proletariat shows how it wants to fight: alone, and against all classes of England and its colonies.

And, exactly like Germany again: by giving the example. By founding a Communist Party that rejects parliamentarism, and that calls out to the entire class in England: Let go of parliament, the symbol of capitalist power. Form your own party and your own industrial organisations. Rely on your own strength exclusively.

This had to be so in England, Comrade; it had to come in the long run. This pride and courage, born out of the greatest capitalism. Now that it comes at last, it comes in full force at once.

† In England, more even than elsewhere, there is always a great danger of opportunism. Thus also our Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, who from temperament, instinct and experience, not so much from deep study perhaps, but by mere chance, was such an excellent champion of Left Wing Communism, seems to have changed her views. She gives up anti-parliamentarism, and consequently the cornerstone of her fight again opportunism, for the sake of the immediate advantage of unity! By so doing she follows the road thousands of English Labour leaders have gone before her: the road towards subjection under opportunism and all it leads to, and finally under the bourgeoisie. This is not to be wondered at. But that you, Comrade Lenin, should have induced her to do so, should have persuaded her, the only fearless, consequential leader in England, this is a blow for the Russian, for the world revolution.

One might ask why I defend anti-parliamentarism for England, whereas above I have recommended it only for those countries where the revolution has broken out. The answer must be that in the struggle it may often prove necessary to go one step so much to the Left. If in a country so diseased with opportunism as England, the danger should arise of a young Communist Party falling back into the course of opportunism, through parliamentarism, it is a tactical necessity to defend the anti-parliamentarism. And thus in many countries of Western Europe it may continue to be!

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T. M. G.

According to the Press Association, J. H. Thomas has issued a writ for alleged libel against the printer of *The Communist*.

We assume it is with reference to the article appearing over two pages, 6 and 7, of the last issue of *The Communist*, which is still on sale, and should be obtained.

The case being, by the issue of the writ, now *sub-judice*, we cannot comment upon it, further, remembering the common saying, where lawyers assemble: "the greater the truth, the greater the libel."

In certain political quarters, J. H. Thomas had been spoken of as the probable Prime Minister of England, should official Labour get to power, his emotional qualities well fitting him for the post.

Class-conscious Trade Unionism might decree otherwise.

The Railwaymen might say, as we do now, independently from the case now pending: "Thomas Must Go."

THE FOOD OF THE FAMISHED.

There are some who live to eat: mine-owners, politicians, labour b-leaders, for instance. The many eat to live—when they *can* eat. Selling their all—their labour power—wages they receive. Masters, profits receive; Fakirs are kept, they live to *de-ceive*; Politicians concur. Thousands, millions, starve on a dole. Trade is slack, profits are a little less than last year; then "We Must Reduce Their Wages" cry the plutocratic industrial parasites!

Are profits less? Not much!

A few items of food, let us consider; food and light; for light is needed as much in the proletarian piggery as in the magnate's mansion, the Right Honourable *roué's* Ritz.

The working man, and his "better half," who has most of the worry of providing slave fodder for a perpetually famish-ng family, live not by bread alone (what a price it is!); sometimes they can afford margarine, which is advertised "good as butter." Manufacturers of this delicious grease do well, evidently. Recently, a director of the Maypole Dairy Co., Ltd., entered those regions celestial, about which we hear so much and know so little. Being but a mortal, the margarine man had to leave behind "his" fortune, which is stated to be worth £470,922. £250,000 was left to charitable institutions; they all do that trick, thinking the Lord might forgive them for evil doings.

From Marge to Milk let us meander.

The United Dairies, Ltd., made last year, £279,668 clear profit, with a balance of £84,923 from the previous year; making a nice little sum of £364,591. Now this concern supplies probably the major portion of London with milk. I'm not going to suggest for one moment that they are a profiteering trust!

We cannot afford the health injunction to drink plenty of milk; when we do get it, we dilute it considerably with a certain dye known as tea, so that we hardly know the true flavour of either.

The Russians wonder why we make tea as we do; the Chinese laugh boisterously (I've never seen one laugh boisterously; I've read about them doing so); anyhow, we enjoy "the cup that cheers." Here again our taste is exploited.

Take one well-known Company, the Mazawattee Tea Company. During the last three years, this firm hath raked in £191,921.

What! another penny? Godstruth! the gas is always going out!

Light! Light! Well, I can't go on until the meter is satisfied, so here goes. Turn forward, turn backward, and—Light! Which reminds me. Last January the price of gas went up again in our quarter of the Metropolis. We were one of 830,000 customers affected; and the folk reponsible trade under the name of the Gas Light and Coke Company.

The price rose from 4s. 8d. to 5s. 6d.—just 10d.—per 1,000 cubic feet of gas. When I mention that this makes 120 per cent. increase in price since 1914, you'll not wonder at folks getting wild when a penn'orth amounts to next to nothing. Of course, at the time, the Controller of the Company's gas sales blamed the miners' strike (they're a regular nuisance these 'ere miners, Henry!). His name is Goodenough; but the stuff he came out with wasn't good enough for this child. I happened one day to glance out of the corner of my eye at a Financial rag, and there, behold, was an item of gaseus interest, which let light on the subject.

The Company's revenue merely for tar and ammonia, by-products, was £1,018,300 last year; 70 per cent. greater than the previous year's income; gas itself was not mentioned.

Radiation Limited has done well in the gas stove business since 1919—just about £289,451. "Goodenough," let us proceed!

Because £2,000 was secured in a recent "hold up," in Regent's Park, need we worry? It is written that the result of the Salvation Army's "Self Denial Week" is as much as £167,842; who said "Daylight Robbery"? But let us not be o'er frivolous, Henry, dear; remember, we are supposed to be getting hungry, wondering how food pirates, in broad daylight, have the audacity, et cetera . . .

"One man's meat is another man's ——"; but let us proceed.

The British Argenta Meat Company made only five hundred and two thousand, five hundred and eighty-four quidlets last year; it's a damned shame, for in the year 1919, they made £87,000 *more* that is £589,584. Ah! forget it.

Give the babies Glaxo. Why Glaxo?

Well, that is so that Joseph Nathan & Co., Colonial merchants, who have the run of that milky dust, can "carry on." You see, last year's profits covered their dividends more than five times over, and this year they have been increased, that is £89,206, and £56,259 last year.

What! you will take such statements with a pinch of salt, that commodity necessary for melting the snows, and for making prison grub palatable. You can have your little joke, but facts are facts.

As for salt—well, the Salt Union made £397,741 last year, and £411,182 this year: "some" salty profit!

Then there's Lipton's round the corner; that provision purveying concern profiteers more and more yearly, thus: 1917, 258,530; 1918, £374,043; 1919, £401,363; 1920, £411,192. Good old Tommy Lipton! Let's hope he wins the next yacht race!

One of the smaller fry in this line, C. & E. Morton, Ltd., managed £188,495 last year.

Now just along the road, past the Red Lion, where Dubb slips in "to have one," day and night, is the Aerated Bread Company's place; just one wee shop out of their many, helping the whole to capture in food profits, more this year than last, which soared up to £165,000.

Interesting, is it not? And before we retire let us have a glass of —— I mean a cup of Bovril.

Now "Bovril never profiteered," the firm's press announcements tell us so, so it must be. All the same (I could hardly believe my eyes, but there it was in cold print), I noticed in the columns of the *Grocer's Journal* for February 19th last, that in 1920, Bovril, Ltd. made over 219,788. Isn't it scandalous? Sh! don't tell anybody!

Food, the chief necessity of the toiling, slave-millions! But *don't* strike, "when we want to make the purchasing power of your wages less"; oh! no—profits are profits, while wages are simply wages; and we common, ignorant working or workless males and females do not understand such deep matters. *Noses to the Grind-stone, Dogs.* Don't Look Up! The class interests of the workers and their employers are identical; therefore ——. Of course, of course!

RED YOUTH NOTES.

An International Letter.

I have received the following letter from Comrade Bamatter, secretary of the Y.C.I.: "I have just received your letter and the 'Workers' Dreadnought.' Thanks for sending it on every week, because it contains so much information regarding the movement in your country. I am more than delighted to see that you have begun writing those Red Youth Notes. They are splendid, and the 'Dreadnought' has always been so kind as to allow you to use its columns on behalf of the Red Youth. Communist greetings to yourself and all in connection with your valuable paper."

We are glad that the comrades of the Y.P.C.I. think our notes are good.

Irish Youth.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy, in the House of Gas (sorry, I mean Commons) stated he had reliable information that, owing to torture, Kevin Barry collapsed before his execution, and was hanged dead. Irish Youth have shown the world the way to fight. To the Youth of Britain the call to fight for the Revolution has not yet been sounded, but in the meantime they should join the Proletarian Schools and the Young Communist League, and concentrate on the perfecting of their organisation. Young comrades of the working class, we call you to the fray.

Blessings of Civilisation.

The cartoon in the April "Red Dawn" is splendid. The artist is Babe. It depicts two men—savages and heathens—laughing about your civilisation, and your God and Saviour. They are looking at a poster: "England, the Home of the Free. Military Conscription. Defence of the Realm. Right of Asylum. Secret Spies. Criminal Amendment Law. Industrial conscription. And MORE TO FOLLOW." Oh! and they do think it a capital joke judging by the way they are laughing about it. It contains other fine things by well-known writers in the Young Movement.

A Red Social.

The comrades at Glasgow intend holding a social for the children on the first Sunday in May, in the S.L.P. Hall, Renfrew Street. They intend holding games, dancing, etc. All young rebels will be welcomed.

The Power of Youth.

"Give us the young," said Benjamin Kild. "Give us the young, and we will make a new heaven and a new earth in a single generation."

Our Maxim No. 4.

Thou shalt not take part in any bourgeois war, for all modern wars are the result of the clash of economic interests, and your duty as an internationalist is to wage class-wars against all such wars.

In Case of Mistake.

The bourgeoisie is your master; but for fear any of you should make a mistake, might I tell you that every bourgeois is not always fat. Some of them are lean, some are squint-eyed, some of them are bandy-legged, some of them are hunchbacked, some of them are tall, others short; some of them have whiskers, others have not; some of them are Christians, others are not, but the most of them have a sneaking regard for Christianity, for Christianity has been the most powerful "safety valve" ever called to their aid.

The Wisdom of Youth.

FORCE is the proletarian religion, because we know that capitalism is based and maintained by force, and by force alone can it be destroyed.

In Holland.

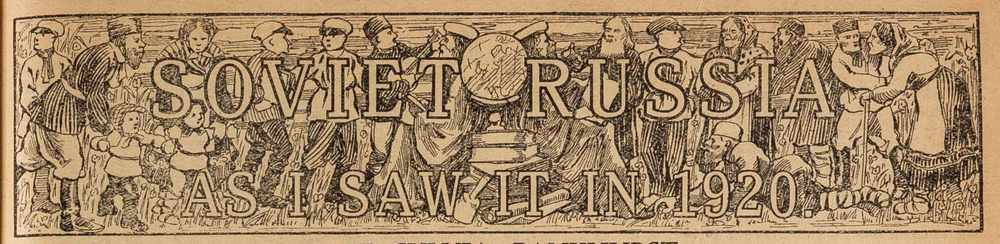
The only organisation of young workers in Holland that is affiliated to the Communist Youth International, is De Zaaier, with 300 members. The organ, which was formerly called the "Yonge Socialist" (the Young Socialist), has, since the Congress of May 23rd—24th, 1920, been called "De Yonge Komunist" (the Young Communist). The young Anarchists have also an organisation of their own, the S.A.Z.C., which, especially lately, shows itself very anti-Communist. That is a pity, for the S.A.Z.C. has much revolutionary sentiment.

Those S.S.S.

So long as the Socialist Sunday Schools, the young reformist organisation of Britain, have only one motto on their flag, "Love and Justice," the "masters" will tolerate them and their Press will give them kindly notices, for they well know that these words mean absolutely nothing, as they are the interpreters of these words and not the working class. Let our cry be: "Revolution! Ours is the World, Despite All!"

Esperantists!

If any young worker is learning, or intends learning, the international language, will he or she kindly correspond with me. Don't forget.



By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Experience teaches—Russian Communist Leaders steeled and broadened by necessity—Peter of the "Cheka"—Joyous Melanchansky—Leather and Bark Shoes—A useful old man.

What Delegates from Other Countries think of the Communists.

Delegates from other countries had been discussing the Russian Communist Party throughout the Congress. All admitted Lenin's pre-eminence in the world movement and recognised him as the leader of the International. Not only was every delegate prepared to acknowledge his political greatness, but all expressed a regard for his personality.

"He is a very nice old man," said a British delegate, who was perhaps the most critical and unenthusiastic of all.

Trotsky too, is universally acclaimed. As to the others, there is much diversity of opinion. Many express admiration for Bukharin, Zinoviev, Lunacharsky and others, but there is no general concensus of opinion. Some delegates express profound respect for all the prominent Russian Communists and for all the Russian Communist Party as a whole; others acclaim the Party, but declare, that after Lenin, it contains no especially remarkable personalities. Some insist that the Russian people are the best of the world's population in these days. Others belittle constantly the Russian people and the Russian Communist Party, saying that the Russian Communists have no capacity for organisation, and that they had no hand in making or moulding the Revolution, which "just happened." When the getting of *probusks* and the sameness of black bread and weak tea become irksome to them, these people complain that the Russian Revolution is an example of "how not to do it."

Yet if we ask even the most critical delegates to leave out of account the movement in their own country, and to compare the Russian Communist Party with the Communist Party of any other country, they will at once, unhesitatingly, give the palm to the Russians, even though they may sigh ruefully for the paucity of great people, and of greatness in those called great.

The Greatness of the Russian Communist Party.

To me it seems that, in surprising numbers, the Russian Communist Party possesses heroic, clear-thinking and powerful personalities. I look in vain for their like in Britain. Perhaps the future may develop them, but I see absolutely no sign of it at present. In a generation of autocratic persecution and revolutionary fighting, in which even the bourgeois reformist had to face stern sacrifices and grave and constant risks of which we in this country have no experience and little comprehension, the Bolshevik Party came to the front and proved its paramount qualities in the time of acutest trial. The leaders of the Bolsheviki Party only came to the head of that Party of truest and strongest stalwarts and clearest thinkers, by virtue of special qualities, tested in time of danger, when courage and strength of conviction are of most account. Having won through to the positions of foremost power and responsibility in the State, that proletarian State which is faced with bigger opportunities and difficulties than ever State faced before, the Bolshevik leaders have been broadened and steeled by the necessities and experiences of their position. The habit of command and leadership makes leaders and commanders of those who have capacity; the practice of administration makes administrators of those who are fit.

The representatives of Communism in other countries have been tried, for the most part only, as irresponsible propagandists. Amongst the Russians, not only the score of leaders whose names are known the world over, but thousands of other Communists have been tested, refined and strengthened by battle and responsibility. In the Conference Chambers of the Kremlin, a woman comrade of the proletariat, who passed uneventful days in London, and attended our Trafalgar Square meetings there, all unknown to us, told me that she had just returned from the Polish front. Since the Bolshevik Revolution, she had spent most of her time with the Red Armies. The Party had called on her always to do the work most repugnant to her. She had been a spy for the Soviet Government in the White Army, and in the Red Army too, on the look-out for counter-revolutionary elements there. She had also been a member of the "Cheka," the extraordinary commission for combating the counter-revolution, which has to try men and women charged with counter-revolutionary crime. She loathes this work, but it is necessary; the Party calls on her to do it, and she obeys.

Beside her in the Kremlin was the President of a far-Eastern Republic situated within the territory which once comprised the old Empire of Russia. He wore an immense fur head-dress. He too, had spent years of unknown proletarian poverty as an exile in London.

As the sittings of the Congress closed for the last time at three in the morning, I went out with Comrade Peters, made notorious by the "yellow" press of the world because he was a member of the Cheka.

The press has said that Peters of the Cheka is Peter the Painter of the Sydney Street affray. Peter the Painter was a cousin of Comrade Peters and much older than he. He brought Comrade Peters into the Marxian Socialist movement, but later drifted away and became "spoilt" from the point of view of Peters of the Cheka. Nevertheless, the object of Peter the Painter and the other Sydney Street burglars was to obtain money to propagate the Cause. That is doubtless why Winston Churchill was so eager in exterminating them, and went himself to take part in burning out their place of refuge.

Peters of the Cheka.

Slim and boyish-looking, with small-featured brown face and wearing a simple cotton blouse, no one would guess that this was Peters of the Cheka. Carrying my bundle of literature, helping me as we groped our way in the dark over the cobble-stones, he talked earnesly of the Bolshevik Party's hard struggle; how it was smashed to pieces again and again, with only a few branches left to it. Even after the Soviets came to power and it rose to the height of Government, it was rent asunder, with only half a dozen stalwarts left in the Central Executive, watching, waiting and working throughout the night, with a world of militant Capitalism and unawakened workers against them.

CHAPTER VI.
To Kolomna with Melanchansky.
How the Communist Party is Organised.

One morning, Melanchansky, a prominent official of the Russian Trade Union movement, offered to take some of us to see the big metal factory of Kolomna, more than sixty miles away from Moscow; Minkoff, an organiser of the Moscow Communist Party, was also going to Kolomna to attend a quarterly conference of the local Party which he wanted us to see.

Melanchansky is a genial fellow, big, blonde and burly, with a broad, cheerful face, ruddy, healthily tanned and clean shaven. In his blouse of bright brown sateen and light grey cloth suit, he looked both spruce and comfortable. He is an old revolutionary, and has spent long years in Russian prisons. He was also an exile in America, and speaks English as though it were his mother tongue, with a wealth of idiomatic slang and humorous anecdotes.

Minkoff is in most things Melanchansky's exact opposite. He is a Jew, dark and sallow, wears ugly black clothes and is apparently quite careless of dress and outward appearances. He is exceedingly serious, always near the boiling-point of enthusiasm and ever ready with information.

We set off from Moscow, four British, a Swede and the two Russian comrades, in a big motor car, using the railway track as our road. Trains are infrequent, and roads often bad or non-existent in Russia.

William English Walling in "Russia's Message," Hodder and Stoughton, published in 1908, said:—

"I have seen almost no paved roads, except for a few miles down the towns and across some of the properties of the Grand Dukes and the Czar. The mileage of paved roads in France is one hundred, and in Great Britain, six hundred times as great as in Russia."

Occasionally we came to a bridge, where we always halted, that our driver's pass might be examined by the Red soldiers stationed there.

On the return journey, the soldiers seemed dissatisfied with the pass, which ought perhaps to have been renewed; there were many discussions over it. One sentry fired a shot in the air to summon his superior officer, to decide whether we might go forward. Another sentry ordered us back to the preceding station, but seeing the driver preparing to obey him, decided to be merciful and allowed us to go on.

Melanchansky's personal credentials would have proved his authority, but he did not intervene, except once, when the soldiers, instead of being at their post, suddenly sprang out upon us, a couple of hundred yards from the bridge.

Mrs. Sheridan, in her diary of Russian experiences, tells that when a sentry stopped Trotsky's car and she asked him to reveal himself, Trotsky abruptly silenced her. *The Times* inferred that Trotsky was afraid to make himself known. That is ridiculous; the Russian organisers rightly desire that where there is a rule that only persons carrying permits shall be allowed to pass, the rule shall be obeyed irrespective of personalities.

Melanchansky only laughed at the various stoppages and told us that Lenin once said to a sentry: "I am Lenin."

The soldier answered: "You might be Lenin, but let me see your pass."

On nearing Kolomna we left the car and found the carriages, each with a pair of horses, waiting for us on the high road.

The country was luxuriant, and Kolomna, a quiet, pleasant place, with very wide cobbled streets, large detached wooden houses and many fruit trees.

The Metal Factory.

We took a glass of tea with the young manager of the Kolomna metal factory in the one-time Board-room of capitalist directors, where portraits still hung on the walls.

The manager had begun his working life as a child employee of those directors, and had remained at the factory ever since. He was an enthusiast, keen and eager for production and progress. He told us that out of 6,000 employees in the factory, 600 were members of the Communist Party. They were the guiding spirits of the concern. On the whole, he was well pleased with the general atmosphere and discipline of the place, and with the rate of production, the difficulties being considered. The factory was not so well provided as he would wish, either with fuel, raw materials or skilled workers. Nevertheless, the programme of work, which consisted mainly of the construction and repair of locomotive engines for this half year, was much greater than the last, and the present production was exceeding the programme.

The Russian organisers of production being short of many things, have constantly to make good with something else. He pointed to his own shoes by way of illustration. They were trim-looking and well-shaped, made of light green canvas, with soles of thin three- or four-ply wood, and a hinge under the ball of the foot, so that they would bend comfortably in walking. Owing to the shortage of leather, a large proportion of Kolomna people were wearing shoes of that kind, also the shoes of plaited bark, which have been usual amongst the peasants for generations. Such shoes were very fine in the fine, warm weather prevailing at that time of the year, but in the winter snows they are of little use. It is for the winter season that Soviet Russia must make the great effort to provide leather. Bark shoes have their draw-backs, however, at all seasons in the metal factory. Presently we saw two men wearing them hammering away at a red-hot iron. Sparks flew, and one of the bark shoes caught alight. Its owner kicked out the flame and no harm was done, but the shoes would not last long under such conditions, and seemed a poor protection for the feet.

Do not imagine that the scarcity of leather shoes is a new thing in Russia: it certainly is not. William English Walling who made an exhaustive study of Russian peasant conditions, reported in 1908:—

> "In the South and North in summer, the the shoe is not of leather, but is of woven bark, such as is used by many a primitive race. Even in winter, one sees more boots of felt than leather."

It was not only in summer that poor Russians in pre-revolutionary times were deprived of serviceable leather shoes. A secret report on the Manchurian war by the Controller of State for 1904, endorsed "August 6th, 1905, N. 741," stated:—

> "In the 4th Corps, the winter shoes are in frightful condition; the soles are made from chips of wood covered with strips of leather."

The Czar added a marginal note:—

> "This is disgraceful: How many legs have been frozen as a result?"

As we left the Office Department, the manager called our attention to a photograph of a group of men employed in the factory and a young girl clerk in the office. Every member of the group looked dejected. Under the photograph was a notice stating that these workers had left their posts in the factory without reasonable excuse, and that their fellow-workers had therefore decided to exhibit their photograph here for public condemnation.

In the factory itself, things were going briskly, and the Shop Steward members of our party announced that the poeple were working harder than they and their comrades do in the capitalist concerns at home.

A rugged old man with long white hair called us to his lathe, saying that he had been engaged thus for fifty years, and before the war had won several gold medals for his skill. When the Revolution came and shortage of raw material made it impossible to keep all the machines going, he was told that he had done his share of work, that the community would support him, and that his sons could do the family duty as producers.

"But they couldn't do without me; they had to send for me to come back, old as I am," he added triumphantly.

How the Communist Party is Organised.

The Conference of the Kolomna Communist Party met in a sort of open-air shelter. The delegates came from units of the Party in factories, villages, agricultural Communes, the adult staffs of children's homes and schools, the staffs of hospitals, Soviet institutions and offices, Red Army Units, Young Communists and so on.

At one time it was the rule that each member of the Party Executive must directly represent a large unit of the Party, having at least fifty members. It was found by experience, however, that the best committees were not obtained in this way. Some of the units had no specially able members: some possessed several. It was therefore decided to elect the Executive from amongst all the Party members, without regard to their special units. To secure that the Executive shall keep in touch with all the units, frequent meetings are held between the Executive and the secretaries of the units.

The formation of Party branches in all centres of industry and administration, instead of on a merely territorial basis, is, of course, the right method of organisation for a Party seeking to create a Communist Society administered by Soviets. This method of organisation must inevitably be adopted by the Communist Parties of all countries both before and after the Communist Revolution; but it is especially essential after the Revolution has placed the power in the hands of the proletariat, when the difficult work of social reconstruction is entered upon.

The Kolomna Conference elected, according to custom, a committee, called the presidium, for the temporary duty of attending to the business of the Conference. The Conference also elected a new Executive for the Party, to hold office for three months, at the end of which the next Quarterly Conference would elect another committee, the retiring members being eligible for re-election. Local Party Executives usually consist of from nine to fifteen members. A commissission of three members is also elected to supervise the finances of the local Party.

The retiring Executive of the Kolomna Party having given its report, the delegates proceeded to criticise its work. The chief complaint was that the committee had not arranged enough lectures in the factories. Members of the Executive replied that they had done as much as they could with the lecturers at their disposal. More could have been accomplished had some of their critics been willing to qualify themselves as lecturers instead of sheltering behind the excuse that their position as technicians in the factories left them too little time for study. Moreover, the Party Executive had had to choose its lecturers with care. An instructor had been sent to a certain Party unit; but instead of improving it, he had done such bad work that the unit had to be disbanded. A motion to accept the report of the Executive was finally carried.

Comrade Minkoff addressed the Conference as representing the Moscow Executive of the Party. He reported on the national and international situation, giving the latest news on all important questions, and especially in regard to the Polish front. He declared that the situation necessitated harder work by the Communist Party. Production must be increased; there must be better discipline, and better work in the factories and other institutions. Each Communist must be at his post, careful, tactful and zealous, doing everything possible to sustain Soviet Russia till the workers of other countries should be ready to join the World Revolution.

Minkoff explained that we strangers were delegates to the Second Congress of the Third International, and expressed the hope that our attendance at this ninth Congress of the Kolomna Party would induce us to organise in our own countries on the same basis. It was well, he thought, for us to see the hardships of Soviet Russia, in order that we might understand what we ourselves must face in the struggle for Communism. He urged that where we saw scarcity, we must remember the British blockade and the attack of the Entente Capitalism on Soviet Russia. We must remember that the workers in the Entente countries were still lagging behind, unready to rise.

Some of us were asked to address the Conference after Minkoff had spoken. We did so with humility.

Russia is struggling through countless obstacles to Communism. Naturally he Communist Party leads the way. Obviously, the lead cannot be taken by people who either do not know what Communism is, or are not sure that they want it. Obviously, too, the Communists, banded together in a strong party, are able to act more effectively than if they were working in isolation and disunity.

Bourgeois democrats of capitalist countries complain that the Russian dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship of the Communist Party. They are shocked when they find that the Communist Party is in command at the Soviet offices. Yet these same democrats do not see anything unfair in the dictatorship of the Liberal, Conservative, or Coalition Party, whichever happeps to form the Government in power in the British Parliament. They do not object to the dictatorship of Republicans or Democrats in America. When the Party which is successful in the election appoints the Ministers at the head of the great Departments of State, and fills all the seats of Government with its Party friends, no outcry is raised by the partisans of bourgeois democracy. They make no objection based on principle, but merely blame the electors for stupidity, and urge the members of their own Parties to redouble their efforts to convert the voters. Ramsay MacDonald, who has talked glibly against Bolshevik dictatorship in Russia, has actually opposed proportional representation in Britain, on the ground that it might militate against large Government majorities. He argued that strong Governments with large majorities are best.

When the Russian people send to their Soviets, as they have done steadily, a majority of Communist Party delegates, it is natural and inevitable that the Communists should control the Government and appoint the heads of Departments; in fact, that is precisely what the Soviet electors instruct the Communist to do, by giving them the majority of seats in the Soviet.

When the majority of the electors in any country have placed a Party in power, we find that not all, even of those who voted for it, fully understand and are convinced of every point in that Party's programme. The same is of course true in Russia. The Russian Communist Party secures big majorities in all the elections; it has greater popular support than any other party in the world. Nevertheless, neither all the people of Russia, nor all those who vote for Communist candidates, are convinced, logical, and unswervingly sincere Communists. Some do not fully understand Communism, some are without settled convictions, some are a prey to self-intereset. Some are even opposed to Communism.

On every question that arises, whether theoretical or political, whether dealing with home or foreign affairs, there are, of course, many different opinions. The Communist Party works out for itself a definite policy on each question, always guided by the final objective: World Communism. When the Communist Party's policy has been settled, the group of Communists in every factory and on every factory committee, in every dockyard, mine and office, in every village and farm colony, in every department of the social structure, methodically set to work to apply and propagate the Party policy, meeting regularly to confer, as we saw them doing in Kolomna. A tremendous driving force is thus generated. The non-Communist elements, inconsistent and vacillating, adopting a hundred different policies and constantly desiring to modify Communist application to suit each temporary and personal interest that appeals to them, are naturally swept aside by the united force of the Communists who, even when they are few in number, are always united, determined and consistent.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Co-operative News.

The Odessa newspapers publish the text of the agreement concluded between representatives of the All-Ukrainian Co-operative Union and representatives of the Roumanian Central Commercial Bureau of Co-operative Societies. The agreement is signed on behalf of all Co-operative bodies of both countries and provides for mutual supply and exchange of raw material and manufactured goods and reciprocal aid in securing transportation from other countries for goods addressed to contracting parties. The agreement is signed for one year, with automatic extension for another year.

In Liquidation.

A telegram from Erivan, Armenia, reports the complete liquidation of the last adventure in the Dashnak Party, which sought to hold the Armenian capital by aid of a nondescript band of Turkish mercenaries and other anti-revolutionary elements from abroad. The Armenian workers and peasants victoriously entered Erivan amid rejoicings of the entire population. Soviets now reign throughout Armenia.

Defensive and Economic Alliance.

A treaty has been signed between Soviet Russia and the Soviet Republic of White Russia, by which the two contracting parties enter into defensive and economic alliance. For its realisation the two governments declare union of their following commissariats: Military and naval affairs, supreme council of public economy, foreign trade, finances, labour, ways of communication, post and telegraph. These united peoples' commissariats of both countries enter into composition of council of peoples' commissars of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and have their plenipotentiary representatives in the White-Russian council of peoples' commisars, subject to appointment and control by the White-Russian central executive committee and by the All-Russian Soviet Congress.

Petrograd Provincial Alliance.

An open session of Petrograd Provincial Council with partciipation of delegates from all principal factories and workshops, deliberated on the best means of realising the Government decree authorising free exchange of goods. Orators are recommended to organise the participation of the factories in the exchange of commodities so as to harmonise it with the general plan of production. The orators also recommended that all factories should be placed on equal footing regardless of the fact that some factories by their nature can not produce commodities immediately necessary to the peasants.

Soviet Decree on the Co-operatives.

The full text of the decree over the Co-operatives is as follows:—

1. All citizens of the R.S.F.S.R. form one single Consumers' Co-operative Society. Each citizen will be allotted to one distribution centre of the Co-operative.

3. Within these Consumers' Co-operatives the citizens of the same profession may unite. All these organisations have the right to purchase products of all kinds through the Co-operative in whose district their activity lies, by levies on their members either in the form of money or of delivered products. The products brought or obtained in such a way will be exchanged among the members of the given group.

4. The Consumer's Co-operative Society has the right to purchase the surplus products of agriculture or of the domestic industry and to exchange them for other products or to dispose of them through sale to its own members. Therefore the co-operatives have the right to purchase all articles from the peasantry, hand-workers, or workers, in domestic industry, and to conclude agreements with them (which, of corse, must not be contrary to the Soviet laws), for example, contracts for the supplying of implements, cleaning of grain, storing and delivery of products.

5. The Co-operatives have the right to organise manufacturing undertakings, and for the improvement of production, and they have the right to organise agricultural undertakings, dairy farms, etc.

6. The Co-operatives have the following duties. They must be the official medium of distributing the exchange articles which are allotted by the State in exchange for other cards and must carry out in the whole country the distribution of food and of the industrial articles which are allotted to them for this purpose. Food and articles of common use can only be distributed throughout the country by the Co-operatives.

7. Concerning the administration of the Consumers' Co-operative Societies the head of each organisation will be a person charged with the control and revision, elected by the members in general meeting. All citizens of the R.S.F.S.R. have the right to vote and to be elected. The only person excluded are those who have been deprived of their franchise according to the constitution of the R.S.F.S.R.

The Labour Army.

A decree of the Council of Commissaries authorises the Commissary for Labour to form special units out of demobilised soldiers. At the same time the Labour Army which already exists will be placed under the Commissariat for Labour until June 1st.

The Increased Food Ration.

"Novij Mir" reports that the number of workers who received the extra food ration has increased as follows: March, 1920, 1,116,894; December, 1920 2,788,886; March, 1921, 3,374,958.

New Polish Chief.

The new chief of the Polish General Staff is Wladislaw Sikorski. He is a former Legionary, confidant of Pilsudski, and one of those in favour of an energetic campaign against Soviet Russia.

Who let this Slip Past.

On April 7th the English steamer "Wimbledon" arrived in Danzig with a cargo of ammunition for Poland.

The Counter-Revolution.

"Golos Russij" reports that Petlura has issued a manifesto to the Ukrainia people in which he announces that he soon intends to return to the territory of the Central Ukraine. He has promised to bring his "government" with him.

Education in Soviet Russia.

"Isvestia" reports that the Council of Commissaries has ordered that the students of the labour faculties and all proletarian students are to receive housing, food and clothes.

Postal Communication with Soviet Russia.

The Norwegian Government has received a note from the Soviet Government, dated March 29th, in which the resumption of postal communication with Russia, via Riga, is requested. The Norwegian Government has decided to meet the Russian Government in this matter.

Denmark and Russia.

The Chief Inspector of the Danish Post Office has stated in reply to a question that Denmark has already resumed postal connection with Russia, through the Norwegian city Vardo. However, it was stated a few days ago by the German authorities that the post can be much more quickly and easily handled over Lettland. The Danish Post Office has begun to use this route since the beginning of the present week, and it can be stated that at present it operates very satisfactorily. The same route will now be used by England.

Farm Colonies for Prisoners.

In the province of Odessa farm colonies have been established for prisoners undergoing sentence, where they will have the opportunity to learn practical work. A large number of vineyards have been allotted for this purpose.

Commercial Agreement with Norway.

The negotiations between the Russian and Norwegian representatives are said to be approaching a satisfactory conclusion. The agreement contains 15 points, and both parties have already agreed upon most of the conditions.

Lettish Railways.

The Lettish Cabinet has voted a sum of 1,640,000 Lettish roubles for the alteration of the guage of the Lettish railways. In order to facilitate the railway traffic between Lettland and Russia they are to be broadened to the same width as that of the Russian railways.

Illiteracy.

"Trud" reports that the Central Labour Committee of the all-Russian Trade Union Council and the special Commission for the Combatting of Illiteracy have issued a circular in which the necessity is pointed out of releasing all citizens from work for two hours in order that they may have an opportunity of learning to read and write. Even military units are obliged to release their illiterates three times a week so that they can visit a school. All workers who attend schools for illiterates are freed from extra work on school days.

Comrade Rakovski Sentenced to Death.

The court martial in Bucharest has found a number of escaped Communists guilty in their absence and has sentenced ten of them to death, and the remainder to terms of imprisonment varying from three to twenty years. Among those sentenced to death is Dr. Rakovski, the president of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

The testing time of Trade Unionism in this country has come and gone. The Triple Alliance, the strongest organisation the workers had, has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The rail and transport workers' leaders were willing to negotiate with the mine-owners on the basis of a temporary arrangement without insisting for the moment on the national pool; the miners replied that the only condition on which a temporary settlement could be arrived at was the concession of a national system of wages and a national pool. Upon this the railway and transport workers' leaders withdrew their support from the miners and the Triple Alliance cracked. Now that the miners are left to fight alone, there is little doubt that they will be beaten as regards their principal aim—the national pool; and although they may succeed in obtaining a few concessions such as a revision of wages in the poorer coalfields, the efforts of the capitalists to reduce wages all round will meet with increasing success now that they have won the first big round in the battle.

"Divided We Fall!"

Although the parties to the Triple Alliance were united in a vague way upon the principle that a united stand must be made by labour against any efforts to reduce the workers' standard of living, they lacked unity both as to aim and the method to be employed in resisting reductions. With no unity of command, they split when the test came. One side was for a policy of compromise and arbitration; the other that of no compromise and a fight to a finish. Apparently, too, there was only a half-hearted conviction on the part of the rail and transport workers as to the advisability or practicability of a national pool. So it it is plain that unless the Trade Unionists in Britain can unite upon some clear and definite policy as to the future of industry, their efforts to make any real impression upon the forces opposed to them will be vain and futile. What is wanted is a revision of Trade Union ideals, the discarding of worn-out and reactionary ideas of sectionalism, and the definite statement of aims and the immediate practical steps to be taken in attaining them. Trade Unionism—unless it is to remain impotent for ever—must assume a new role.

The Real Issue.

The Government, in charging the miners with attempting to coerce it by direct action for political ends—a charge which the leaders and the whole Labour movement denied—have really stated what, to my mind, is the whole issue. Whether realised or not, a strike to obtain a national wage system *is* direct action; it is now up to the Trade Unions to decide definitely whether they will endorse such action and combine for the purpose of using this weapon in the future, or whether they will definitely drop the idea. If they are going to reorganise the Triple Alliance on a sounder basis, or form any other and more powerful combination, they will have to accept once for all the policy of direct action for political ends. The history of this dispute shows that, whereas the parties to the Triple Alliance were absolutely united to the sweeping cuts in wages offered the miners, the real split only came on the question of national organisation. While the miners were adamant on both points, the other parties would not support a *national* settlement. Had there been no question of a national pool there is little doubt that the miners would have agreed to negotiate with the owners, but in refusing to negotiate without the concession of a national pool under Government control, they definitely challenged the Government.

Hobson's Choice.

Even the General Council of Labour, representing the whole Labour movement in all its aspects, condemned the Government for taking the owners' side, more particularly its military preparations. Thus it will be seen, that although the General Council of Labour denied that underlying the dispute "was an attempt to impose a form of nationalisation by direct action," they admit that in fighting the owners they were in reality fighting both the owners and the Government. Therefore any dispute on a national scale, while we have capitalistic government, means direct action. Indeed, the Government always have it in their power to charge Labour with using direct action, for whenever the public is likely to be hit, they at once proclaim that the national life is at stake and immediately bring the issue into the sphere of direct action. So that whether the Trade Union movement boldly decides to adopt direct action as one of its weapons or not, it will always be charged with using that weapon whenever it suits the convenience of the Government. If there is any satisfaction in being hanged, there is much less in being hanged innocent than guilty, but the Labour movement is to be hanged in either case if the Government has its way, so it might just as well make up its mind whether it will fight—and win—openly with direct action as its weapon, or whether, by continually burking the question, it will assure a repetition of disastrous failures like the present one.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

"THE STATE AND REVOLUTION."

No student of the revolutionary movement should be without this splendid work among his books, as it is such convincing proof of the hollowness of any reformist policy and the arguments of the lower middle-class democrats that are to be found drifting into the Labour movement.

Comrade Lenin, in this book, by submitting many quotations from Marx and Engels, followed by brilliant explanations, very plainly points out the necessity and the inevitability of a revolution by force. He also very ably exposes the distortion of the works of Marx and Engels by a number of people, among whom Kautsky and his followers, the bourgeoisie, the social chauvinists, and the opportunists within the Labour movement, come in for a great deal of attention. He shows, too, the fallacy of the idea that it is possible to achieve any fundamental change, or, indeed, any sound advantage whatsoever, by working constitutionally through the State.

The first chapter in particular is a vivid explanation of the purpose and vindication of the existence of the State, and affords a clear idea of the programme which must be adopted by those who have indeed interpreted Marx and Engels aright and from a Left Wing standpoint.

The general interpretation, or rather "misinterpretation," of the works of these great writers, by the Social-Democrats of the Right—whom Lenin very accurately terms "lower middle-class democrats with a phraseology very nearly Socialist"—is that society must develop along constitutional lines, undergoing a slow, continuous change; that the *destruction* of the State by mass industrial action will not be necessary, but that the State itself will gradually decay. This is the conclusion drawn by those who talk so freely about the "peaceful transformation of society," the people who would speak with disdain of a violent revolution leading to complete economic freedom, but would always be ready to submit a considerable amount of data to support their arguments in justification of an imperialist war!

Lenin gives a detailed exposure of the manner in which the official Socialist parties have thus distorted the teachings of the founders of German Socialism, the real revolutionaries.

Great emphasis is laid upon the important passages which are very discreetly "forgotten" by the Mensheviks and Social Chauvinists, and also such passages which justify a proletarian dictatorship, relying upon the armed force of the workers for the purpose of subduing the resistance offered by the privileged classes. And a clear idea can be formed of the necessity for a sufficiently strong organisation to take the reigns of power at a given moment for the purpose of guiding the masses in the work of reconstruction during a period immediately following a revolution. With this point Lenin deals at great length, attacking certain views held by many Anarchists who are opposed to a proletarian dictatorship, and at the same time affording a strikingly clear idea of the trend of events which existed in Russia under the Kerensky regime.

Another very interesting characteristic of the book is the attention which is paid to the Paris Commune of 1871. A detailed analysis of the most important events of the Commune, is given, in which Lenin elucidates its many interesting features and lays particular emphasis on the great lessons that are to be learned from the significant experience which was thereby extended to the masses who took part. It is most important to notice, as Lenin states, how the work began by the famous Commune of Paris, has been continued under different circumstances in Russia by means of the Russian Revolutions. Also that although Lenin wrote this book on the eve of the 1917 revolution, his many prophecies have been confirmed with remarkable exactitude.

The chapter dealing with the first phase of Communist Society clearly demonstrates the great need for the enormous amount of constructional work which will fall to the lot of the industrial workers, who, owing to the role they have played in capitalist society and the experience gained thereby, will be empowered to carry on this great work of Communist construction of society. The reader is also afforded a clear, concise, conception of the many difficulties that may confront the struggling proletariat, and above all this chapter should serve to banish from the minds of many the fallacious idea that a fundamental change in society can take place without a period of transition.

When studying the highest phase of Communist society as depicted by Marx and Engels, and very ably concentrated upon by Lenin, there comes before the mind of the reader the many possibilities that will result from complete economic freedom being the order of the day.

It should be clearly understood that it is by no means claimed that all Communists will agree on all points raised by Lenin. Nevertheless, the book is invaluable to students of the revolutionary movement of the world. MIRREX.

THE LUCK OF THE ALMANACK.

There is no mistaking the fact: Labour is coming into its own, and this is the eventful year.

The Miners have been let down by the most powerful alliance of workers of modern days, but that, indeed, is a very small matter, compared to the fact that the ponies have been saved, and that the kiddies of the miners will be saved by a shower of pennies on the plinth of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square next Sunday, and by the joint sympathy of the *Daily Herald*, of a few well-meaning ladies and of some idle and Sunday-dressed passers-by.

Our "big Bob"—as soon as he can be spared from his present pressing duties—will go crusadering against Militarism—in foreign countries.

Peace is restored at home, or nearly. The "Guineas" will be run next week, and we shall be able to make pots of money by following "Templegate" selections, as the posters blazoned on the delivery cars of the *D.H.* invite us.

Next week, an event of first magnitude will crown the success of Labour. The luck of the Almanack.

First of May falls on Sunday!

Hyde Park, in all probability, open once more.

Contingents with banners, the huge, big "artistic" standards of the Unions, will move toward the "great lung" and "safety valve"—carried by stalwarts—declaring the International solidarity of Labour,.

First of May on a Sunday!

All of us able to celebrate it without the need to postpone it, as we were wont to do, and without danger of "getting the sack."

Busy pens already are putting to paper the resolutions that—on a Sunday—our best clothes on—we shall pass, *nemo con.*, demanding the "abolition of Capitalism," protesting against wages reduction, declaring our solidarity with Soviet Russia.

Speeches! "Some." Against Lloyd George, of course, against J. H. Thomas, of course. Yes, it will be fine, and the weather will be fine, too.

Labour is coming to its own, with the First of May on a Sunday.

The Miners are down. What matters?

We shall all be rich by the First of May, for the whole of the German gold reserve will pass into our hands.

Think of that, 'Enery!

WAGES AND COST OF PRODUCTION

It is quite easy to understand employers saying that it is high wages which are responsible for the high cost of living. As a matter of fact they have been reiterating that ever since the cost of living began to be alarming. But why some workers should agree is unexplainable. If you thought about the matter for yourselves instead of letting your masters think for you, you would not be so ready to repeat such a lie. For it is a lie, and its untruth can be demonstrated.

Let us assume that, if wages were reduced 10 per cent, the cost of production would come down by one-tenth in every industry. Now, supposing the cost of living came down by ten per cent., would you be any better off? Remember, your wages are 10 per cent. lower. But the wages of the other workers, who buy your commodities in England, are also ten per cent. lower, and do you think they would be able to buy any more of the commodities you help to produce? The answer is plain. They would not. It is conceivable, of course, that employers would be able to sell cheaper in the foreign markets through this ten per cent. reduction of wages, and that more trade would result in more work for our unemployed. But it would mean that some other workers would be put out of work in some other country, and the net gain to the workers of the world would be nil.

Now, it does not take much intelligence to see that the cost of production is an important factor in regulating the cost of living. But when it is tacitly assumed—and deliberately reiterated by the capitalists—that wages are the main factor in determining the cost of production, you are deceiving yourselves, and the capitalists are deceiving you. The truth is that the cost of living determines your wages. During the war you have seen your wages go up. What for? Because the cost of living was rising—and all the time your wages were painfully and vainly trying to catch up to the cost of living. The Press described this as the "vicious circle," and the false assumption was made that if wages stopped rising the cost of living would cease soaring. But they omitted to tell you a few facts that would have given their case away immediately.

Just consider these astounding facts. Sir L. G. Chiozza Money, in his "Riches and Poverty," says that—

> "Nearly half of the entire income of the nation is enjoyed by but one-ninth of its population, and that more than one-third of the entire income of the United Kingdom is enjoyed by less than one-thirtieth of its people.
>
> "It will be seen that of a total of £277,000,000 per annum, as much as £197,000,000 is left at death by only 3,907 persons, giving an average of over £50,000 each. Eighty-sever persons die per annum worth £150,000 each; forty-eight die worth over £250,000 each; seventeen die worth over £500,000 each; and eight die worth nearly £3,000,000 each. Thus in an average year eight millionaires die leaving between them three times as much wealth as is left by 644,000 poor persons who die in one year. Again, in a single average year the wealth left by a few rich people who die approaches in amount the aggregate personal property possessed by the whole of the living poor. In an average year 27,000 persons die worth £257,000,000, while 686,000 persons die worth only £29,000,000."

How comes it, if wages are such an important factor in the cost of production that the people who receive wages are so dreadfully poor? If wages are such an important factor in costs, one would imagine that there would be little left for anybody else? But you can see from the above figures that somebody gets quite a lot after wages have been paid. These figures were compiled before the war, but they are as true to-day relatively, as they were then. Last year Bradford earned the name of the city of the 3,000 per cent. wool profits. And now the workers who helped to pile up those profits are in thousands of cases walking the streets starving.

The larger proportion of the wealth taken by the idle drones is the surplus left after wages have been paid. The rest is rent and interest. But you who made the wealth only received a pittance. Do you really believe that what you take from industry—your jerry-built houses, single rooms, shoddy clothes, third-rate furniture, cheap and nasty food, inadequate recreation, and meagre provision for sickness and unemployment—do you really think that this reward for your industry represents an important part of the cost of production?

If it does, how is it that there is so much surplus wealth left for your masters and their class for joy riding, travel, banqueting; wintering in Switzerland, commodious mansions, town and country houses, etc.?

Does it not strike you that the greater portion of the cost of production is due to profit? And does it not occur to you that instead of high wages being responsible for the cost of living, it is the low standard of living of the workers which is primarily responsible for the piling up of millions by a handful of drones?

The only way to reduce the cost of existence is for all workers to take over the industries themselves.

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