May Day : Hyde Park Programme (p. 12).

SECOND EDITION

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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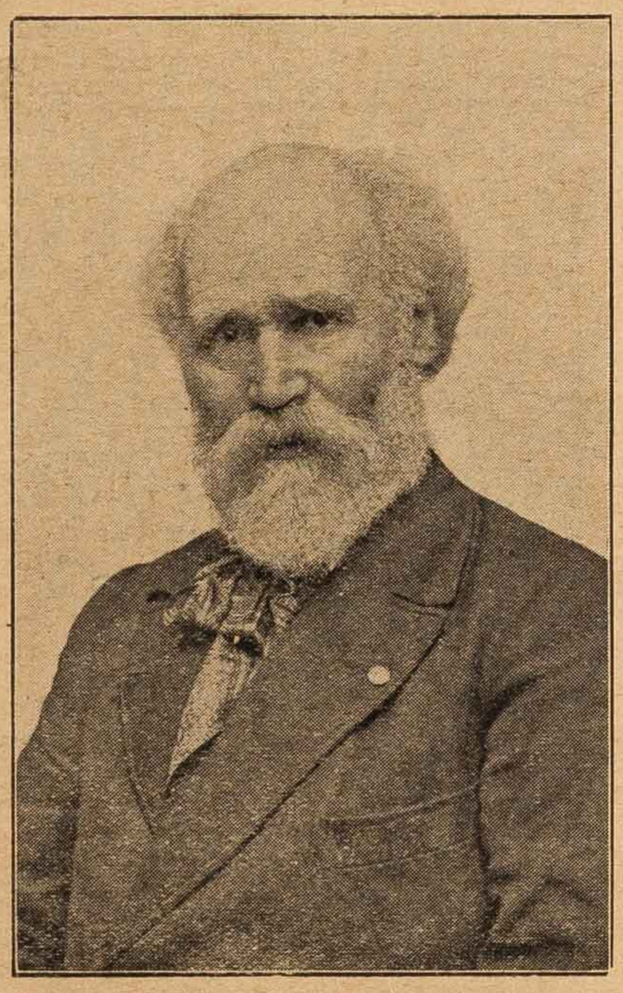
KEIR HARDIE ON TRADE UNIONISM



"It has been said that the workman in his organised capacity as a trade unionist is able to regulate and control the terms and conditions of his employment. This is true within limits in certain well-organised trades; the limitations within which it is true require to be carefully kept in mind. In fixing a rate of pay a trade union can do a great deal, but it has little if any control over the circumstances which in the final resort decide the workman's earnings. In most of the skilled trades and occupations the unions have succeeded in fixing a standard rate of wages which is recognised by the employers. In mining a certain Minimum wage rate has been fixed, and no matter what the state of trade the masters are required to pay that minimum rate so long as the agreement lasts. So far so good, but we must look behind the wage agreement to learn the helplessness of the workman. Take mining: so long as the iron trades of the world are brisk there is a demand for coal and the miner is fully employed, but when the iron trade slackens the demand for coal falls off and the miner goes upon short time. His minimum wage may be honourably paid in terms of the contract for the days on which he is employed, but he may only be employed half time, an experience, I regret to say, only too common in mining districts. He thus finds his income cut down by one half, and his union is powerless to do anything on his behalf. Neither he nor his union had any hand in shaping the circumstances which led to his being fully employed, nor has he or it any control over those which cut his earnings down by one half. He feels himself to be under the sway of forces which work quite without his ken, and which have the power to make him the victim of their caprice. Should he complain, he is told that the employer cannot be expected to keep the mines going at a loss since that would inflict an injury upon capital, and once again the workman finds himself up against something outwith himself. This capital which must not be injured is not his, he neither owns nor controls it, but its claims to consideration have priority over his. If he is of an inquiring turn of mind he may discover for himself that capital must be a plant of healthy growth, since in a single century it has increased its bulk to eighteen times its former size; that every improvement in machinery increases the earning power of capital without materially bettering his lot in life."

ADVICE TO THE WORKING CLASS.

1. It is your duty to keep the capitalist system going. There always *have* been rich and poor, and there always will.

2. Pay your Trade Union officials as much as possible; they will then feel like gentlemen. The more you pay them, the harder they will work to keep the capitalists on your backs.

3. Never do any thinking for yourselves. Let your Trade Union officials make all the rules for you.

4. Never attend a branch meeting. You might get to know too much about your Trade Union leaders.

5. If you find your brains begin to work, read a sports' paper.

6. Never read a Socialist paper or pamphlet. Make a point of only reading the Capitalist Press. You want to hear all the lies possible about your own class.

7. Remember the earth is the landlord's. Always be contented with your lot.

8. If the wife complains that she cannot keep house on your wages, tell her that she is living in a free country, and has the right to starve.

9. Never listen to Socialist speakers. They want to make the world a better place for the workers.

10. Always work overtime, when possible, so as to keep the other men out of a job.

11. Yours is a good old-fashioned union. Keep it as it is, so that you can fight all the other unions.

12. Never listen to any truck about "one big union," or "organising according to industry," or "class-war."

13. Do blackleg labour wherever possible, either as an individual or by voting to keep your union at work to blackleg the other union which is out on strike.

ADVICE TO LABOUR LEADERS.

1. Keep the present system going by every means in your power. It provides you with a good berth.

2. See that your Union funds are invested in the particular industry in which the men are engaged. Railwaymen must invest funds in railway shares; miners in mines. This pacifies them and makes them "reasonable."

3. Forbid any mention of class-war.

4. Encourage every effort to bring masters and men together. Talk constantly of "*industrial peace.*"

5. *Get as many fat jobs* as possible. You don't want the men to call you a "twicer."

6. Make your Union affiliate with Amsterdam Yellow International. *You* may as well get some of the pickings.

7. Keep in with the League of Nations. It is *the thing*. International Capitalism for ever!

8. Avoid a strike unless you are *quite* certain that the men will lose.

9. Never let your Union enter on a sympathetic strike. It *might* make the men class-conscious.

10. If a general strike is in the air, hang out negotiations as long as possible, and break the spirit of the men.

11. If a general strike seems inevitable, you *may* allow your Union to join in, *after* it has done as much harm as possible to the men on strike.

12. If a general strike looks like being successful, despite all you have been able to do to the contrary, you may yet save the situation and get your wage-slaves back to work for the master-class by talking about *democracy* and the *ballot-box*.

ADVICE TO THE LABOUR PARTY.

1. Keep the present capitalist system going. It provides you with good jobs.

2. Never embarrass the Government. Remember that you are the bulwarks of Capitalist Imperialism. Talk much about "making Germany pay."

3. Remember that the capitalist system is based on the real ignorance of the workers. Therefore flatter the workers that they are *educated*, then you can stuff them with as many lies as you choose.

4. Engage in benevolent schemes for helping the poor, and get the rich to assist you with funds. This makes the workers forget that it is *they themselves* who have really produced the wealth.

5. Having got the rich to assist you with funds placade their names in your papers. This makes the workers forget that *these* people—not the German workers—are their real enemies.

6. Affiliate with the Amsterdam Yellow International, because the international capitalist League of Nations has bestowed on it its blessing, and——

7. Set up as many industrial boards as possible in the country, so that masters and men can be brought together in a friendly way. This will take the fighting spirit out of the men.

8. Talk much about the many blessings of democracy. This makes the workers forget that they are now enjoying the one blessing that democracy has always given them—*The Right to Starve.*

9. Tell as many lies as you can about the Soviet system and the tyranny of the Communists in Russia. Remember that it is a workers' government in Russia. If we got a workers' government here, you would have to take your coats off.

THE REAL ESSENCE OF COMMUNISM.

By HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST.

In his pioneer work on "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Friedrich Engels gives the suggestion to Lewin H. Morgan, of an arresting picture of the social life in old, semi-Communistic tribal society, whose institutions and customs survived until the nineteenth century amongst the Indian tribes of North America. At the end of the book he expresses his belief that Socialist society will be a renewal—in a higher form—of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the old tribal society. Equality reigned in the primitive life; a strong feeling of brotherhood united the members, every one of whom, in addition, possessed personal dignity to a high degree. This liberty, fraternity, and personal dignity will be newly awakened in the Socialist society.

The members of the old tribal society were free, because they were not yet divided into classes, and because, consequently, there were no exploited or oppressed masses. Life was often very hard for everybody, sometimes hunger and want reigned, because of their inadequate resources, their great dependence upon Nature, and the low, undeveloped productivity of labour; but no member of society was subject to another; all were free Socialist human beings. Of course, not absolutely free, not free in the licentious meaning of the word; such freedom never has been and never will be, because such freedom would be altogether incompatible with social life. Even in the tribal society, each one had to sacrifice a portion of his freedom to the community; even a considerable portion. There were no laws, no police, and especially no State power, but instead, the customs and usages were strictly observed. The institutions were democratic; the will of the majority of the comrades decided on war and peace. As a rule, the resolutions were passed unanimously in the public gathering. The questions to be decided were transparently simple, and there were no controversial interests, or at least, only occasional and passing ones.

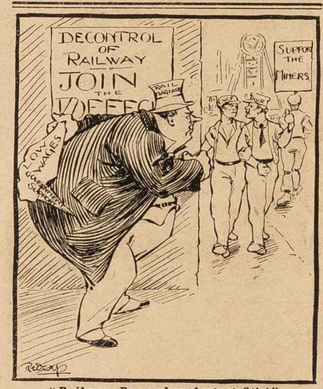
Equality of obligations.

The old freedom, which was a result of the economic equality, and which is inseparable from it, will exist once again in the Socialist society. There, too, it will not be unlimited. All will have work to perform; every one must conquer his natural laziness, so that no one will have to work too hard or continually. Only, when, in the course of the development of Communism to its highest stage, man has become so fully accustomed to the social life, that work has become something self-evident to him, will he be freed from all compulsion. Domestic service will also continue, as long as it is necessary, to defend the Commonwealth against the people still remaining under capitalist barbarism. But already in the early, lower stages of Communism, the social duties of the people will not be forced upon one class of exploited: the masses will determine that themselves, as is already the case in Russia. That is the freedom which Engels means. Work will be done, not to make a small section of insatiable, big financiers and merchants ever richer, to make them immensely rich, but to satisfy the needs of all the members of the community. In the case of a certain work which all, without exception, refused to perform, because it appeared too repulsive to them, this work would not be undertaken, and the community would have to do without its products. Perhaps this will be the case in future ages, when man has become fraternally sensitive to every creature; for instance, with regard to the slaughtering of animals. No economic supremacy of a ruling class will compel men to work or to fight, but only their own deliberate mutual decision.

Higher Freedom.

So will the freedom of the tribal society return in the Socialist society; but in a higher form. The primitive men were exceedingly limited in regard to Nature; they were almost ruled by her, and were filled with a superstitious fear of natural phenomena. The world was full of demons for them, which had to be propitiated and reconciled. The Socialist man on the other hand, will dominate Nature to an ever greater extent; it will be his highest delight to probe ever deeper into the evolution of everything; not only for practical purposes as in the materialistic, industrial, capitalist epochs, but also contemplatively.

And now to fraternity! It was remarkably strong in primitive society. The feeling hardly discriminated between the particular I and the others; the comrades were a part of the particular I. The products of the work executed in common (hunting, fishing, hewing wood), were fraternally divided; it never occurred to anyone to defraud, to outwit or to outdo the com-



"Railmen, Remember August 8th!"

rades. It was considered disgraceful to keep something for oneself or to have something better to eat without inviting one's friends and neighbours to the feast! Hospitality, charity, solidarity and fidelity towards the comrades in need and in danger, were not, as in the capitalist society "inaccessible aims," but were universally practised by poor, ignorant "wild men." It is only centuries of the private ownership of the means of production, of the opposition of the classes and of exploitation, that have made men into such hard-hearted beings, that they can look calmly and coldly upon the poverty and want of millions of their fellow-countrymen, and even speculate upon this want and misery to make fresh profits out of them.

Identity of interests.

In the Communist order of society, this hard-heartedness will be gradually overcome, and the horrible, monstrous egoism, which capitalist economy has developed so highly in mankind, will be eliminated. When there are no longer any conflicting class interests, which all the Christian teachers and eloquent preachers continually allow to crop up in the insolence of the ruling classes, horribly self-seeking and the envy and hatred of the oppressed, just as bad land always produces fresh crops of weeds, so will the old Socialist instincts and inclinations freely develop once more. These instincts were deeply ingrained in mankind during the many, many thousands of years of the primitive Communist childhood of the human race, and the new Communist production will develop them tremendously—one huge, mighty interest will unite all the members of the community: the interest in its prosperity, growth and development. The products of the work, and the endeavours of each one will benefit all, and upon the common interest in this sphere of production, which is the deepest and most fundamental, will a whole world of harmonious fraternal feelings be built up. The education in the schools, in the workshops connected with them, and in the Communist children's colonies—an education of fraternity, kindness, and the comradely assistance of the weak by the strong—will greatly strengthen the social instincts, and will breed a race which will look down upon the old greediness and selfishness, with the same contempt and horror as the American aborigines did when they got to know the Europeans, or as we look down upon the cannibals.

Nevertheless, although the brotherly spirit in the primitive communist society was strong and deep, yet their expansion was exceedingly restricted. All members of the tribe, all races, comrades helped and supported each other with brotherly love. These Commonwealths were very small, sometimes consisting of not more than a hundred, at most, of a few thousand people; outside began the world of the strangers and the strangers were, in the majority of cases, the enemy. No gentle, brotherly feeling existed towards him, but mistrust, cruelty and a fearful vindictiveness.

Brotherhood.

In the highest development of Communism kindness will embrace all fellow men; "all men will be brothers"; the Socialist feelings will reach to the whole human race. For the whole of mankind will form *one* whole, an economic, moral and spiritual unity. Of course, this beautiful ideal will not be realised at once, possibly it will take centuries of Communist development to arrive to it. And yet, are we not experiencing to-day what we never hoped to live and see: the beginning of the world unity? The awakening of the East, that "beehive of peoples," the commencement of the mutiny of the Asiatic millions against British Imperialism, has a tremendous significance. The Congress in Baku was the dawn of the union of the masses of the East with those of the West, of the fight for the new society without oppressors or oppressed, and in those Eastern lands, among the Persians, Indians, Chinese, etc., all peoples who have not experienced to the full the capitalist development, and who might possibly skip the stage partially or totally, there remains amongst them much of the old spirit of brotherhood, of the spirit of feeling themselves one with the Commonwealth, with Nature and the whole world. The entire oriental culture, religion and philosophy generate unity from these sentiments. Through the common struggle of the masses, under the guidance of Communism, it will be drawn in as a valuable element into our ultra-individualistic outlook on life.

This fraternity of the communally-producing feeling, and thinking people, will not only embrace all their fellow-men, but every living creature, and existing things. Its sound will proclaim ever more deeply the homogenity of all living things, its heart will bow down before all sentient beings. This feeling of being one with everything and everybody, which has dwelt within the great and profound human souls from the most ancient times, and which is shown forth so beautifully in our beloved Rosa Luxemburg's letters from prison, in her delightful contemplation of clouds, of flowers, birds, in her eternal pity of the poor oppressed Roumanian buffalo*—this feeling will be ever stronger and more universal in the society of the future. The feeling of unity in knowledge, understanding and sentiment with everything and everybody, the perception of being one with the universe, will be the religion of Communism.

Personal Dignity.

In conclusion, a few words about the third, the personal human dignity which distinguished the old primitive society and which will be also revived in a higher form in the Socialist life.

A strong universally-diffused feeling of personal dignity can only be found in a society where there are no masters and no servants. One result of this feeling is the consciousness of social equality. In a Commonwealth that knows neither castes nor ranks nor classes, cringing towards the socially higher people is as impossible as pride towards the subordinates and a humble slavish state of mind, can no more exist than haughty, contemptuous behaviour. Each one feels himself to be an equal comrade—and therein lies dignity. The other root is the consciousness of being able to do the same things and to understand them as the others do. In capitalist society, the manual worker, the simple labourer and small peasant feel themselves small and inferior compared to the upper classes; their property, and no less their knowledge and general and special culture, impress them. The proletarian has not mastered any foreign languages, not even his own; all theoretical learning is foreign to him, pictures and works of art are incomprehensible to him; if he comes in contact with the members of the ruling classes, he feels he has not attained to their self-possession; his behaviour is a mirror of his lack of confidence. The bookworm too, the man of letters, or the official who has been chained to the desk all his life, behave awkwardly in practical life, his gestures and his whole conduct bearing the stamp of this one-sidedness and weakness. Take only the petty tradesman in the town, how awkward and ugly are their manners, movements and grimaces! It is only the fully-developed man who has grown up in complete freedom, who moves calmly, in a dignified way, and with a noble bearing. But where are such men to be found in capitalist society? Still only in the aristocracy, but even here their contempt for men, which degenerates into grimaces, spoils true dignity.

The lack of physical culture, the lack of exercise and games in the open air, is partly responsible for the inharmonious, ignoble and rough appearance of modern people. Further, the hurry and constant striving, play a great *rôle*. Why are we astonished at the beautiful, dignified bearing, the noble swaying movements, the beneficient harmony of the barbaric races of Africa and of the civilised orientals? Because they do not know the hurry and striving which are the direct accompaniments of Capitalism.

Communism will alter all these horrible conditions of life, which are unworthy of mankind, it will give back to man, to every man, the feeling of personal dignity with universal culture, self-reliance, rest and leisure, which expresses itself in every movement, in every trait and in every gesture. This feeling will ennoble the relations of men to one another, will engender noble and pleasing intercourse between them.

The future Communism will represent a much more advanced stage in the development of the human race. The new society, the heir of riches, accumulated during a very painful development even in mankind itself, will consist of people, who, although not individualistic, are certainly stamped with strong individuality, which will lend great variety to the expression of personal dignity.

The new Communists will not be all alike, like the primitive ones; but in their differentiation, freedom, fraternity and dignity, will give a common resemblance, just as lack of freedom and dignity, and selfishness, characterise the people of the capitalist epoch.

*The Rumanian Buffalo refers to the wild animals which were taken to Germany as war trophies and were used as beasts of burden by the soldiers.

U. V. W. PROVISIONAL COUNCIL.

On the 21st, about forty representatives of the London Transport Workers visited the headquarters of the United Vehicle Workers, ostensibly to get information regarding the cancellation of the sympathetic strike. They raided the offices and attempted to get the information themselves, which had been refused them by Mr. Stanley Hirst, the general secretary. Mr. Hirst ordered the staff to leave, and the raiders remained in the offices all night and declared they would remain until a national delegate conference of the Union was called to investigate certain charges they have made against the officials. If the officials refuse to call the Conference, they said they would do it themselves. On the next day the "Provisional Committee" left the building, on the promise of the E.C. to call a Delegate Meeting the following Wednesday.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE NOTES.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE.—CENTRAL BRANCH.

A splendid lecture was delivered by Mr. E. Williams on the subject "Christianity and the Communist Ideal." This Saturday a chess tournament will take place at 6.30 p.m.; lecture commencing at 8 p.m. Next week's lecturer will be Comrade Watson on "Value and Surplus Value." On May Day the branch will assemble under its banner with the East London contingent at Mile End Waste.

The Real Essence of Communism.—*contd.*

"RECONSTRUCTION" IN BELGIUM.

Capitalist "reconstruction" is going on apace in Belgium, and, like in our own country, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MASTER-CLASS. These are some of the figures (gains of the Belgian coal-barons in the year 1919):—

Amer Cœur, with capital of 1,309,000 francs, made 2,080,000 francs profit, a percentage of 150; Bois de Cozier, 1,000,000 fr capital, 696,594 fr profit, 70 per cent.; Charleroi, 7,500,000 fr capital, 6,354,000 fr profit, 85 per cent.; Bonne Espérance, 795,000 fr capital, 1,575,896 fr profit, 200 per cent.; Taminos, 2,000,000 fr capital, 2,131,000 fr profit, 107 per cent.; Sart Culport, 2,500,000 fr capital, 3,750,000 fr profit, 150 per cent.; Masse Diarbois, 1,000,000 fr capital, 1,535,000 fr profit, 150 per cent.; Aisean Prestes, 390,000 fr capital, 1,638,000 fr profit, 400 per cent.; Centre de Inmet, 1,250,000 fr capital, 2,000,000 fr profit, 160 per cent.

See, miners, what you can do for your bosses if you produce more and live on less. Surely a life of starvation and misery is well spent if you enrich the coal owners at this rate!

These huge profits are not confined to the coal industry, but similar brilliant results are to be seen in the metal industry. The forges of Clateeq, with a capital of 6,000,000 fr, showed a net gain of nearly 9,000,000; Cocc Evence Coppec, with a capital of 650,000 fr, shows a profit of 1,399,000 francs.

"Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery" says Leopold, of Congo fame, looking out of his particular cosy corner in the hell to which company promoters go, when he surveys the work of Belgian stock-jobbers.

ATTENDANT: No, it does not do anything, but it costs us £1,000 a year to keep it up.

CORRESPONDENCE.

May I take this opportunity, through your columns, of replying to our friend Ward Newton. In his "Industrial Jottings," under the heading "An Internal Danger to Trade Unionism," he condemns sectionalism such as that which manifests itself in the A.S.L.E. and F., and he goes on to say that although the Union has decided to support the miners by a conditional use of the trains, it is really a menace to the Triple Alliance. Our friend does the A.S.L.E. and F. a great injustice. This Union never has and never will be a menace to any organisation of labour who is fighting for its rights. The A.S.L.E. and F. asked permission to join the Triple Alliance some time ago, and were rebuffed by Thomas. Also I would point out that the reason that the A.S.L.E. and F. did not go in wholeheartedly with the Triple Alliance at the outset was because we were of the firm opinion that they were not sincere in their desire to help the miners, which has since proved true. Our friend Ward Newton asks us to combine with the N.U.R. whom he terms as "these weaker unionists." He asks us to sacrifice our ideals and combine with an organisation alive with politicians and parliamentarians of the Thomas-Hudson-Wilson type. He asks us to combine with an organisation rampant with Conciliation Boards, which only succeed in leading the workers further into the mire. So far from being an internal danger, the A.S.L.E. and F. is really a help to Trade Unionism. Our friend evidently forgets the magnificent help rendered by the smaller union to its fellow workers in the National Railway Strike of 1919. He forgets Bromley's threat to strike over the Mallow incident, and the kind of assistance we received from the rank and file of the N.U.R. Can friend Newton tell me how many of the rank and file of the N.U.R. decided to support Bromley in his fight for the oppressed people of Ireland. The A.S.L.E. and F. maintain that each section of workers can best manage its own business, but it is always ready to help any organisation in the great fight for emancipation. When the A.S.L.E. and F. is asked for help, it never refuses. "ASSOCIATED."

FREE AND FOR NOTHING.

"There is a lot of hot-headed talk going about to-day . . . " Is there? Yes. At any rate, if we haven't heard any of it, there are Special People told off—I mean paid off and kept agog a-telling us that it is so. It is Special Work and needs Special Brains to pamphleteer it among us, laddie. And the Special Brains are known as the Industrial Publicity Bureau. What's in a name? Need we scrutinise? Shall us? Let's!

Somebody's doing some propaganda. Somebody's paying for it. 'Tis thee and me, Henry, who give, and the Special People who take, to give again in changed form. And it seemeth gratis, nixie blinkus!

One form of this useful Bureau's work is the diminutive pamphlet series called "Pay Day Talks"—the title is very expressive!—the subject matter is meant to be very impressive; to some it will be—hence our exposure; to others 'tis as a bourgeois "comic-cuts," full of unconscious humour; to others, again, the matter is simply depressive.

Let us take number one. But, in case ye ken not the noo, these little brochures, these dowdy pamphlets, are given free and for nothing in many workshops with the week's wages (oh! ye starving dole-snatchers, look what ye are missing)! To proceed. Number one is out to tell us about certain "hot-headed talk" that is going about. "Agents of the Russian Bolsheviki are busy in this country telling the workers what a paradise Russia is now." Horrible! Now, I don't say they are lying;—obviously, either the bold, bad, Bolshevik brigands or the Special People are—or—prevaricating. Personally, I've never heard about a paradise anywhere outside of heaven, and as that place was built specially for good Christian profiteers, politicians and pious males and females like Benderson, Tom Ass, and Ethel Iceberg, I'm not, as a mere slave member of the working-class, interested. There's no paradise here, anyway; now, is there?

"In Russia you are compelled to work by armed guards . . . " is that freedom?" Ask me! In Britain there are armed blackguards and White Guards, but no work . . . . is that freedom? Now, in Russia, it is true that erstwhile Grand Dukes and Captains of Industrial Exploitation have to aid in the socially necessary toil, whilst here, in Free England, a Leverhulme, or a Selfridge, or a Vickers can bleed the ignorant masses, so can the Union officials, and Ll. G. and Co. Ah! don't worry about it!

"Millions are short of food in Russia, because the Bolshevik Revolution destroyed the previous orderly arrangements of the country," etcetera. Ha! ha! Now we know that Czardom was paradise indeed; yes, for the Lordly Ones, cousins to the Special People behind our Industrial Publicity Bureau!

"Money has practically ceased to have any value." Boo-hoo! Give me back my War Certificates! Money, that is to say the whole of the system of currency, banking, credit, is in such a devil of a mess that . . . but look not at home, think only of Communist Russia, where they are gradually learning to do without money, curse them!

Now comes the choice bit:—"IF YOU HEAR ANYBODY TALKING ABOUT BETTERING THE CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY BY ANY OTHER MEANS THAN THE STRAIGHTFORWARD AND CONSTITUTIONAL WAY OF PARLIAMENT"—call in the Police, of course. This isn't the Labour Party speaking, Henry, not even the I.L.P.—only the Brains of the I.P.B. in motion. The Brains go on to state that our present system of government "has been built up of the accumulated experiences of a thousand years." What do YOU think of YOUR "present system of government"—not much, eh?

So discourage "all Bolshevik talk"; "see your true opinions are expressed through your Unions." Yes, help Mister Thomas, Mister Hartshorn, Mister Hodges, and all the straightforward constitutional Wanglers—sorry, I mean Negotiators!

"Your interests and the interests of your employees are identical." Swallow it! Go on, swallow it! "This is a Free Country." It fair bowls me over, Henry; bring the smelling-salts. Nearly Three Millions on the streets, and this is a Free Country! The rest of us still slaving away are going to have our wages pinched. "OUR INTERESTS ARE IDENTICAL."

EX-SOLDIER COMMUNISTS GAOLED.

The Birmingham police are keeping up their reputation and have arrested four more Communists for speeches delivered in the Bull Ring on April 18th. Three of the men were ex-Service men. Lockett and Jesson were sentenced to two months each, and Scoole to six weeks. McHugh was also charged with being in possession of a leaflet for circulation among soldiers, for which he was sentenced to four months, receiving a sentence of two months for the speech he was supposed to have delivered. The sentences are to run concurrently.

RURAL LIBRARIES.

The Moscow Agricultural Department has organised circulating libraries for the spreading of agronomical science throughout the province, and 300 such libraries have already been dispatched to the rural districts.

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SOLIDARITY WILL WIN.

The miners are standing solidly together despite all the attempts of the press to cause dissension amongst them, and the traitorous action of the Transport Workers towards them. They realise that no temporary patching up of their differences with the coal-owners is of any use, and that the question of a National Wages Board and a National Pool must be adhered to.

The Miners' Federation has issued a statement pointing out that the National Pool is no more a "pool of profits," as claimed by the Miners' Association, than the funds of the Miners' Federation It explains that:—

The Miners' Federation is not asking for an allocation of a percentage of profits of the various firms in the industry to the national pool; it is suggesting a tonnage levy which would in actual practice be contributed by the mine-owners and the miners—by the former out of the profits, and by the latter out of wages.

The spear head of the miners' case is that mines are now "supported" by the workers through low wages, and that the real proposal of the owners is that the miners should continue to subsidise these mines by accepting wages based on what these districts can pay—whether because of natural conditions or inefficiency. Is it economically sound for the miners to "support" the less favoured and less efficient mines?

It is interesting to compare the wages and profits for 1918 and 1920:—

	WAGES.		PROFITS.
1918	£91,000,000	...	£21,000,000
1920	£264,721,000	...	£27,000,000

The wages in 1913 were divided among 1,100,000 miners, and in 1920 among 1,200,000, so that they were not up to the increase in the cost of living. How many owners divided the £27,000,000?

The owners are getting uneasy at the firmness of the miners. They thought they were going to have a walk-over, as usual, and that the failure of the Transport Workers to stand by the miners, which they had secured through their good friends the leaders, would have disheartened the miners and broken their solidarity. But the owners miscalculated this time. Sensitive as they are to the pulse of the workers as a rule, this time they failed to realise the rapid advances that have been made of late. Education and organisation produce surprising results, and the miners have not been idle. They have had definite aims to which they have been working for years, and now the results of that steady plodding are beginning to show. When they got rid of Hartshorn and Brace, their work was made much easier, and Smillie's resignation removed another restraining influence. They know what they want, and they mean to get it, and they know, too, that each time they have given in, they have lost, and have had to start all over again. Their firm stand this time is one of the results of the basic principles for which they have been working—organisation from below and not from above.

Effect on the Government.

This firmness has had its effect on the Government, the owners and the Press.

At first the Government said it would not interfere, but when it saw that the pumpmen and engineers were to be withdrawn, it came to the assistance of the owners, by taking part in negotiations, moving troops to the areas affected, and calling up reserves. Again, at first the Government said it could not possibly give any financial assistance, but now that it has had to spend over £1,000,000, it admits that it will have to help. Lloyd George is getting worried; the net is gradually being drawn round him.

Owners Climbing Down.

And what about the owners? They too are getting worried, and are holding conferences with the miners and making new offers, which are practically the same as the old ones, dressed up in new phraseology, by which they hope to hoodwink the miners. But they are not to be caught so easily, and if something really worth their consideration is not put forward, the delegates are going home for an indefinite time.

The owners have tried bluff, they have tried to make out a good case for themselves and win the sympathy of the public; but they are forced to admit that "there are occasions when the owners almost despair of the possibility of communicating to the public within the necessary limitations of space and time, a true appreciation of conditions that are so familiar to themselves." They think that if they repeat a lie often enough, it will be believed. But more precise information is required. When Mr. Lloyd George asked them on Friday how their proposals would operate, and what the wages would actually be under these proposals, they said they could not get the reply ready before Monday. At the same time, the hoardings were placarded with posters purporting to show what they meant. On Monday, the owners still could not produce the figures. The *Evening News* reported "that the owners were much more ready to discuss alternatives to their proposals than they were—that is one of the beneficial effects of conferences. On the contrary, it is the result of the no-compromise attitude of the workers! And this attitude has had a beneficial effect upon public opinion and the Press. We no longer read the slanderous attacks upon the miners: they have won the respect of the public, who always admire courage.

The *Evening News* of the 25th further reports that "it is extremely improbable that there will be a resumption of work for at least a week yet, as no instructions have been given to prepare the pits, and that will take longer than usual, owing to the operation of the 'all-out' policy."

During the first week of the strike, the press informed us that it would be months before work could be resumed, and inferred that many of the pits would be ruined for ever. On the 25th, Mr. Bridgeman said in the House of Commons that the number of pits now wholly flooded was 44.

And what are the other workers doing meanwhile?

Some of them are contributing to the support of the two and a half million children of the miners, but of the 8,000,000 inhabitants of the Metropolis, who had an opportunity of showing their solidarity and giving monetary assistance at the meeting in Trafalgar Square last Sunday, only a few thousands were present.

Direct Action.

The Transport Workers have been instructed not to handle coal coming from abroad, and the railwaymen are refusing to move coal from colliery sidings. The International Transport Workers' Congress passed a resolution unanimously calling upon the European and American Transport and Railway workers to refuse all labour services for the transport, shipment, and handling of coal likely to be sent to Great Britain during the present lock-out of the miners. Already energetic steps had been taken by Germany.

General dissatisfaction at the failure of the Triple Alliance to call the general strike is being expressed by the transport and railway workers, and some of the districts are demanding that one shall be called now. The Glasgow dockers have refused to unload 10,000 tons of coal brought in five Welsh ships from Cardiff.

And what about the miners' wives? All reports show their unanimous support of their husbands. The whole cry is: "No surrender," and they say, should the men show signs of weakening, they would refuse to prepare their pit-clothes! That is the spirit that is needed, and that is the only one that will secure victory for the workers.

THE COMING CRASH.

By P. HAYE
Secretary London District Council of Unemployed

To anyone to-day who is capable of clear thinking, it must be apparent that the capitalist system is crumbling up. Can it be imagined for one moment that it will regain the position it occupied prior to the war.

Little the master-class of this country, and of the world, realised when they started the workers warring against each other, how swift and how sure the tide would turn against them, as it most surely has done.

The gear wheel of capitalist machinery has lost several of its teeth since the war, and instead of the master-class being able to replace them, it has had several more knocked out of it, and consequently, as a gear wheel without any teeth is useless, and has to be scrapped, so too will the capitalist system of society.

Wherever one may travel nowadays, the one topic of conversation seems to be: Is there going to be a Revolution? How much longer can things go on as they are? Is the country going bankrupt?

The answer to the first question is YES. And it's coming quicker than many people imagine! Politicians may endeavour to hoodwink a section of the population, and incidentally themselves, into thinking that the present crisis will blow over, and that there is a period of prosperity (for them) coming along. We who are class-conscious understand differently, and gladly realise that the climax is very near at hand, and are prepared to meet it, knowing full well that arising out of it will emerge a system of society wherein all will have an equal opportunity, unemployment will vanish, the aged will be cared for, and man and woman will not hesitate to bring children into the world because they are confronted with the proposition of how to keep them. Let us all hope that the Revolution will be bloodless.

The second question: "How much longer can things go on as they are?" Not a great deal longer, and not a moment longer than some of us can help. Just review the situation. There is the terrible problem of unemployment, there are great upheavals in the industrial world, next to nothing is being produced, the workers are surrounded by luxury, and they themselves are starving. How much longer? How much longer will it be allowed?

Is the country going bankrupt? Isn't it? Ask American capitalists.

We must not be particularly concerned because the crash does not materialise tomorrow, next week, or the week or month after, there is no necessity. It is coming, let that be sufficient, and let it find us prepared to receive it.

Class-conscious workers are not the only class with their perceptive faculties alive to the possibilities of the situation. The class-conscious capitalists (and without exception they are class-conscious) are fully aware of the brilliance of the red light, and are using their own particular muddle headed methods to shield themselves.

We await the crash, knowing full well that the parasitical class are assisting us to knock the last few remaining teeth out of the gear wheel.

Therefore, workers, buckle on your armour, prepare to receive the foe. Never let it be said that the workers of this country shirked the fight when it confronted them. BE READY FOR THE COMING CRASH; YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN.

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.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY and the PROLETARIAN WOMAN of TO-DAY

By A. KOLLONTAY.

At the present time, when the capitalist economic system is drawing near its end, when the sufferings, sacrifices and deprivations of the Proletarians of both sexes are reaching a climax, the task of welding the proletariat together internationally, of uniting the workers of both sexes of all countries has a special importance if we would ensure the victory of Communism over Capitalism.

Solidarity is one of the most effectual means of class war. Without the development and maintenance of this feeling of solidarity, without a feeling in one's own flesh and blood, of community of class duties, and class interests of workmen and workwomen of each nation and race, the realisation and establishment of the Communist and economic system, and the building of the Communist order of society is an impossibility.

True Foundation of Communism.

Solidarity is the foundation of Communism, even as the foundation of individualism was the separation of each individual from the whole by a strongly developed competition, a foundation on which the long-continued period of the rule of the bourgeoisie, of private property and of capital was built up.

All forms of the fight of the working class, from Unions and withholding of labour, to the insurrections and armed fights at the front of the bourgeois war, are nothing else but the establishment and expression of the proletarian spirit of community and solidarity. Every common action, every common advance of workmen and workwomen, especially an action that is done in the name of the class, and of the readiness for sacrifice, produces the qualities of self-denial and devotion in the proletariat.

The strongly-developed feeling of the blending of all workers of both sexes with the whole community, the interest of each individual in the success and well-being of the community of workers—these are valuable qualities which must be developed in the proletariat; for the existence of these qualities in the workers of both sexes insures not only the victory over the individualistic, selfish bourgeoisie, but also tends to lighten the building up of the Communist society.

Opportunism, which is the policy of concession and adaptation to Capitalism, is ruinous on that account, because it hinders the unanimous will of the proletariat from coming to expression; it demands no sacrifice of the workers, and consequently does not establish the feeling of camaradie and solidarity in the working class. The more passive the proletariat remains, the less it takes up the common duties, the common fight, but gives itself up to individual interests, the slower is the development and establishment of this quality which is so valuable for the proletariat.

The duty of the party in national and international measures, consists in making its policy seize every opportunity of feeling solidarity, and in imparting a teaching of comradeship in a practical way to the more backward workers.

Women's century-long Social inferiority.

The feeling of solidarity is especially lacking amongst the women, even of the working class. While the man was trained for centuries in the consciousness of his connection with and dependence on the social whole, of the family, of the community, of the Corporation, of the State, and finally of the class—woman remained, on the contrary, centuries and decades of centuries separated and isolated from the whole. Those feelings, qualities, habits which are the foundations of class solidarity and lighten the duties of the proletariat as masterbuilders of Communism were systematically rejected in the woman in the whole of her environment. Shut up in the narrow cell of the family life, the wife accustomed herself to consider only the members of her own family as her nearest and dearest; the rest of the world, which lay outside her own home, seemed to her strange and hostile. She knew and recognised no task in common with other people, who were outside her family, she even felt no responsibility for the whole. The poor development of the feeling of class-consciousness is one of the drawbacks of the women of the working-class, and this must be overcome. If in the *man*, in the worker, there are still some individualistic qualities left over from his past, how much more difficult it is to root out these qualities from the woman.

In the framework of this narrow circle, the women, even more than the men, possess the valuable qualities of self-sacrifice, unselfishness, boundless love and sympathy; yet, outside this circle of her family, the woman turns away indifferent, incapable of that strong living bond of union, and unable to see that her own well-being is bound up with the well-being of her class.

It is not so much the want of these qualities and feelings and the foundation of solidarity, that is preventing the broad masses of the women-proletariat in taking part in the great movement for the emancipation of the working class, as the lack of that clear idea of that unity of the working class with which the fate and interests of the woman are bound in far greater masses than that of the family cell.

What Women must learn.

Since the idea of class solidarity is less developed amongst the women than with the men, there arises for all the parties of the different countries the following necessary task: On the one hand, the outlook of the women must be widened; she must become clearly conscious of her position in the class war; on the other side, at the cost of the narrow family virtues, we must develop in the woman, self-denial, capability of sacrifice, loyalty, patience; these are most valuable qualities in the time of hard conflict for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the bourgeois countries, or maintaining the same in the Soviet Republic; but only under the condition that these qualities are filled with live meaning.

What must be done in order to awaken this class-consciousness in the millions of women proletarians, in order to establish and develop in them the feeling of solidarity, of the blending of her own personal fate with the fate of the world proletariat?

The first step is the setting up of some apparatus, of a leading organ whose duty it is to look after the carrying out of this most important duty for the Communist movement.

Not only every Communist Party, but also the Communist International would be obliged to have a special organ, which concerns itself with the training of the broad masses of working women in the spirit of Communism, and in bringing them on to the class war. Arising from that, the First International Women's Conference was called together by the Communist International, which took place in connection with the Second Congress of the Third International, in the July of 1920, in Moscow. Already even, the fact of calling the Conference was an event which worked in a revolutionary way upon the habit of thought of the working women of all countries. The sending of a delegate to Red Moscow, the heart of world-Bolshevism, evading "illegally" the growing laws of the bourgeois Governments, this act demands, already, a great degree of boldness, consciousness, and developed feeling of unity with the whole world proletariat.

First Communist Women's Conference.

The reports of the first Conference bear witness to the fact that the Conference occupied itself with the forming of organs which bind the women proletariat together and which are responsible to the Party for the training of the broad masses in the spirit of the revolutionary fight for Communism.

The resolution was taken to form among the parties of individual countries, women's departments; in this way, the work was taken up in an international way, by forming an "international secretariat" for work amongst the women, and this has been working since November 15th, of last year.

This is a most important step, and the merit of this first modest international conference of women Communists consists in the fact that thereby through this chief task which forms a firm foundation for work amongst the proletarian women, is to be considered as carried out. Of course, this is only the first step. The apparatus must be filled in with the living soul.

School of Solidarity.

This living soul—the birth of the feeling of solidarity amongst the working women, the review of the class army to which they belong, and of the class-consciousness—is given by the International Women Workers' Day. This day is the best school of the solidarity of working women. The more the crisis sharpens, which humanity has to go through on the border-land of two economic and social epochs, the more then it becomes plain that only a common united fight of the proletariat of the whole world, in pursuit of a common aim—of the victory over the greedy Imperialists—can bring the working class out of that *cul-de-sac* into which humanity has been led by the disorder of the capitalist method of production. Hunger, want, economic ruin in Soviet Russia, in the same way as unemployment and the terrible housing crisis in other countries, side by side with the rise in prices and the growing chaos in production, can only be abolished by the rising of the world proletariat against world-capital and its agents, the capitalists. Soviet Russia, alone, is too weak to uproot the confusion of Capitalism in the world. Here the common revolutionary co-operation of the workers of all countries is necessary. The community of duties and interests of the proletarians of all countries comes out clearly. One of the same gallows is ready for the workmen and workwomen of every country. The decay of people and world economy is the same. All ruinous consequences of the war are here now. The productivity of labour has fallen, the forces of productivity are restricted all over the world. Humanity is impoverished. Hunger and want are the lot of the proletariat. Infant mortality has reached terrible dimension; sexual diseases and prostitution are rotting the physical and moral health of the population. Unemployment is growing. In some countries it is brought about from lack of raw material and fuel, in others from overstocking the market with cheap goods of capitalist countries which have suffered less through the war. The whole chaos of the capitalist method of production is shown in all its sharpness.

Only Way out of Social Disorder.

There is no other way out for the proletariat than to shake off the disorder of the capitalist economic system; to build up on the Communistic basis, by taking over the production and State power of the people's Government.

The "Day of the Working Women" shall be one of the preparatory stages for carrying through this pressing duty. With this aim in view, it must strengthen and make firm the feeling of international solidarity; it is clear to everyone that this feeling can grow and become strong only during the process of practical work. Those who are bad pedagogues of an out-of-date school, who believe that a feeling, a quality, can be suggested or inoculated into humanity by speeches, by logical attempts to convince, and by teaching. The Second International was just such a pedagague. It spoke a great deal of international solidarity, but how timid it was when put to the test.

Under the lead of the Third International, the day of the working women shall become a real fighting day; it shall take the form of practical measures which either solidify the conquests of Communism, as is the case in a country like Soviet Russia, where the power is already in the hands of the workers, or which will prepare the way for the dictatorship of the working class.

The day of the working women in Soviet Russia must and shall become really a day of the school of solidarity, when the working women on this day set themselves out to achieve the following tasks: The emancipation of the woman by the reform of her moral life, and the rebuilding of human society on a Communist

(*Continued on p. 8*).

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER.

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

(Continued.)

And I remember how we sat there, far back in the hall: we, the Marxist Comrades, very few in number—only four or five. Henriette Roland Holst, Pannekoek, and a few others. Troelstra spoke persuasively and convincingly, just as you do, Comrade. And I remember how, in the midst of the thundering applause, of the brilliant reformistic expositions and the reviling of Marxism, the workers in the hall looked round at the "idiots" and "asses" and "childish fools," such as at that time Troelstra called us—such, almost, as you call us now. To all probability things have been practically the same at the Congress of the International in Moscow, when you spoke against the "Left" Marxists. And his words—just as yours, Comrade—were so convincing, so logical, within the compass of his method, that at times even I myself thought, yes, he is right.

Usually I was the one to speak for the opposition (in the years up to 1909, when we were expelled). Shall I tell you what I did, when I began to doubt about myself? I had a means that never failed me: it was a sentence out of the Party Programme:—

"You shall ever act or speak in such a way that the class-consciousness of the workers shall be roused and strengthened."

And I asked myself: Is the class-consciousness of the workers roused or not by what the man over there is saying? And then I always knew at once that this was not the case, and that therefore I was right.

It was quite the same on reading your brochure. I hear your opportunist arguments for co-operation with non-Communist parties, with bourgeois elements, for compromise. And I am carried away. It all seems so brilliant, clear and fine. And so logical also. But then I consider, as I used to do long ago, just one phrase, which some time ago I had made for myself, for the campaign against the Communist opportunists. It is as follows:—Is what yonder comrade says of such a nature that it strengthens the will of the masses for action, for the revolution, for the real revolution in Western Europe—yes or no? And with regard to your brochure, my head and heart answer at the same time: No. Then I know at once, as surely as one can possibly know anything, that you are wrong.

This method I can recommend to the comrades of the Left Wing. Whenever you want to know, Comrades, in the severe struggles ahead of us, against the opportunists of all countries (here in Holland they have been waging for the last three years) whether and why you are right, ask yourself this question!

Lenin's Three Arguments.

In your opposition against us, Comrade, you use only three arguments, that constantly recur all through your brochure, either separately or combined.

They are the following:—

1. The advantages of parliamentary propaganda for winning the workers and the petit bourgeois elements to our side.

2. The advantage of parliamentary action for making use of the "rifts" between the parties, and for compromises with some of them.

3. The example of Russia, where this propaganda and the compromise worked so wonderfully well.

Further arguments you have none. I will answer them in turn.

To begin with the first argument, the propaganda in parliament. This argument is of very slight importance. For the non-communistic workers, that is to say the Social-Democrats, the Christian and other bourgeois elements do not, as a rule, read one word in their papers about our parliamentary speeches.

Often these speeches are utterly mutilated. With those, therefore, we achieve nothing. We only get at the workers through our meetings, brochures and newspapers.

Action Speaks Louder than Words.

We, however (I often speak in the name of the K.A.P.D.), get at them especially through action (in the time of the revolution, of which we speak). In all bigger towns and villages they see us act. They see our strikes, our street fights, our councils. They hear our watchwords. They see our lead. This is the best propaganda, the most convincing. This action, however, is not in parliament!

The non-communistic workers, therefore, the small peasants and bourgeois, can be reached quite well also without parliamentary action.

Here one part in particular out of your brochure, "Infant Disease" must be refuted; it shows where opportunism is already leading you, comrade.

On page 52 you say that the fact of the German workers coming in masses to join the ranks of the Independent Party, and not of the Communist Party, is to be attributed to the parliamentary action of the Independents. The mass of the Berlin workers, therefore, had been as good as converted through the death of our Comrades Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, through the purposeful strikes and the street-fights of the Communists. Only a speech of Comrade Levi in parliament was lacking as yet! Had he but delivered this speech, they would have come to us, instead of to the double-minded Independents! No, comrade, this is not true. They have gone to the double-minds first as they were afraid as yet of the one-minded: the revolution. Because the transition from slavery to freedom lies through hesitation.

Look out, Comrade, you see whither opportunism is already leading you.

Your first argument is of no importance.

And if we consider that parliamentary action (in the revolution, in Germany and England, and all Western Europe) abets the workers in his idea that their leaders will do things for them, and dissuades them from the idea that they must do everything for themselves, we see that this argument does not only bring no good at all, but that it is exceedingly harmful.

The second argument: the advantage of parliamentary action (in revolutionary periods) for profiting of the rifts between the parties, and for compromises with some of them.

An Uncongenial Task.

To refute this argument (especially for England and Germany, but also for all Western Europe), I shall have to go somewhat more into detail than with the first. It is most uncongenial to me, Comrade, that I should have to do this against you. This entire question of revolutionary opportunism, for it is no longer reformistic, but revolutionary opportunism) is a vital question, literally a matter of life and death for us West-Europeans. The matter itself, the refutation, is easy. We have refuted this argument a hundred times, when Troelstra, Henderson, Bernstein, Legien, Renaudel, Van de Velde, etc., all the Social-Patriots, used it. Why Kautsky, when he was still Kautsky, has refuted it. It was the greatest argument of the reformists. We did not think we would ever have to do it against you. Now we have to. Well then:

The advantage of profiting in parliament by the "rifts" is utterly insignificant, for the very reason that since a few years, since a score of years, those "rifts" have become so insignificant. Those between the big-bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois parties. In Western Europe, in Germany and England. This does not date from the revolution. It was so long before, in the period of peaceful evolution. All parties, also the petty-bourgeoisie and the small peasants, had been AGAINST the workers for a long time already, and between themselves the difference in matters concerning the workers (and consequently on nearly all points), had become very slight, or had often quite disappeared.

This is an established fact, theoretically as well as practically. In Western Europe, in Germany and England.

Theoretically, because capital concentrates in banks, trusts, and monopolies to an enormous degree.

In Western Europe, and especially in England and Germany, these banks, trusts and cartels have assimilated nearly all capital in the industries, commerce, transport, and to a great extent even in agriculture. The entire industry, small scale industry also, the entire transport, also the small enterprises, the entire commerce, big as well as small, and the greater part of agriculture, great and small, has consequently become absolutely dependent on the great-capital. They have become one with it.

Comrade Lenin says that the small commerce, transport, industry and agriculture, waver between capital and workers. This is wrong. It was so in Russia, and it used to be so here. In Western Europe, in Germany and England, they are now so largely, so utterly dependent on the great capital, that they waver no longer. The small shopowner, the small industrial, the small trader, are absolutely in the powers of the trusts, the monopolies, the banks. It is from these that they get their goods and credit. And even the small peasant, through his co-operative and mortgages, is dependent on the trust, the monopoly, and the banks.

Comrade, this part of my argumentation, the argumentation of the "Left Wing," is most important of all. The entire tactics for Europe and America depends upon it.

What elements do they consist of, Comrade, these lower layers that stand nearest to the proletariat? Of shop-owners, artisans, lower officials and employees, and of poor peasants.

Let us consider what these are in Western Europe! Follow me, comrade. Not only in a big one—there the dependence on capital is a matter of course—but in a small shop in a poor, proletarian quarter. Look around you. What do you see? Everything: nearly all the goods, clothes, foodstuffs, implements, fuel, etc., are products not only of the big industry, but often of the trusts. And not only in the cities, but in the country likewise. The small shopkeepers are for the greater part storekeepers of the great capital. That is to say of the banking-capital, for this rules the great factories, the trusts.

Look about you in the workshop of a small artisan, no matter whether in the city or in the country. His raw material, the metals, the leather, the wood, etc., come to him from the great-capital, often even from the monopolies, that is to say from the banks also. And in so far as the purveyors are small capitalists as yet, these in their turn depend on the banking-capital.

And the lower officials and employees? The greater majority of them in Western Europe is in the employ of the great-capital, the State, of the municipality, finally also of the banks, therefore. The percentage of employees and officials nearest to the proletariat, that are directly or indirectly dependent on the great-capital, is very great in Western Europe. In Germany and England, as also in the United States and the British colonies, it is enormous.

And the interests of these layers are one therefore with those of the great-capital, that is to say of the banks.

The poor peasants I have already dealt with, and we have seen, that for the time being they cannot be won for Communism, for the reasons already mentioned, and also because they are dependent on the great-capital for their implements, goods, and mortgages.

What does this prove, Comrade?

That the modern West-European (and American) society and State have become ONE big, organised, thoroughly organised whole, which is entirely controlled, moved and regulated by the banking-capital. That society here is a regulated body, capitalistically regulated, but regulated all the same. That the banking-capital is the blood, flowing through the entire body, and nourishing all its branches. That this body is one, and that the capital renders this body enormously strong, and that therefore all the members will stand by it to the very end—all except the proletariat, which makes this blood the surplus-value.

Through this dependence of all classes on the banking-capital and through the enormous strength of the banking-capital, all the classes are hostile to the revolution, so that the proletariat stands alone.

And as the banking-capital is the most pliable and elastic force in the world, and increases its power a thousand times through its credit, it upholds and maintains capitalism and the capitalist State, also after this terrible war, after the loss of thousands of milliards, and in the midst of conditions that to us seem like bankruptcy.

And it is through this that, with all the more force, it collects all classes around it, combining them into one whole, against the proletariat. And the force and pliability, and the unison of all classes are so great, that they will last long after the revolution has broken out.

Cause of Revolution's Delay.

It is true that capital has been terribly weakened. The crisis is coming, and with it the revolution. And I believe that the revolution will win. But there are two causes that are still keeping capitalism very strong. Those are the spiritual slavery of the masses, and the banking-capital.

Our tactics, therefore, have to be based on the force of these two.

And there is one other cause through which the organised banking-capital rallies all the classes against the revolution. It is the great number of proletarians. All the classes feel that if only they could induce the workers (in Germany alone almost twenty millions) to work 10, 12, or 14 hours a day, that then there would be a way out of the crisis. That is also why they hold together.

These are the economic conditions in Western Europe.

In Russia the banking-capital did not have this power yet, so that there the bourgeois and the lower classes did not unite. Between those there were real "rifts" consequently. And there the proletariat did not stand alone.

These economic causes determine politics. It is through this that those classes in Western Europe (dependent slaves as they are) vote for their masters, for these great-bourgeois parties, and that they belong to them. In Germany and England, in Western Europe, these elements have hardly any parties of their own.

All this was very strong already before the revolution and before the war. Now through the war it has become intensified to an enormous extent—through nationalism and chauvinism, but especially through the gigantic trustification of all economic forces. Through the revolution, however, this tendency—unity of all bourgeois parties with all petty-bourgeois elements and all poor peasants—has again been immensely strengthened.

The Russian Revolution has not been in vain! Now we know everywhere what we have to expect.

(To be continued.)

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Hard Work and Sacrifice for Communists—The "Responsible Worker"—Tea Substitute—The Soviets, what they use, how they work—Is their power growing?—Kameneff's Report.

It is important to notice that the first resolutions on the programme of the ninth Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party, in March and April, 1920, dealt with "Immediate Problems of Economic Construction," "The Increased Productivity of Labour," "Uniformity of the Economic Plan," "Mobilisation of the Skilled Workers," "Mass Mobilisation for Compulsory Labour Service," "Food Problems," "Locomotive Repairs and Construction," and so on.

The following passages from the resolutions adopted by the Conference are instructive:—

"It is the business of the Party to explain to every one of its members that at the present moment, when the Russian Communist Party is responsible for the economic life of the country, the most lowly and common work in the economic sphere is of the greatest importance, and is to be considered responsible Party work. The following are the principal forms of Party work at the present time: factory work of groups led by Communists, Party organisation on railways and transport generally, work in connection with compulsory labour service, work of Communists in organisation for the supply of wood, Communal feeding organisations, barracks and house committee organisations, the repair and proper working of public baths, cleaning and repair of houses, guidance and control of work carried on in public gardens and public places, schools, social maintenance institutions, etc.

"The chief organising problem of the Party is the proper distributon of Party work amongst every one of the 600,000 members. The general rule is that loyal organisations send each of their members to work at his trade or speciality. The regrouping of Party forces in every town, province and factory must be carried out from the point of view of their use in the various processes of production. The most important concerns should be the first to be supplied with Communist workers, whilst within the latter, the Communists are to be distributed in such a way that every workshop possesses a formidable Communist nucleus capable of independent initiative . . . .

"In the registration of the members of the Party, both the local organisations as well as the Central Committee should pay particular attention to the member's trade, economic and organising qualifications, and to the part he can take in the economic revival of the country."

A further resolution instructs the various sections of the Party to prepare lists of the members, giving records of their past work and indicating the work for which the section considers them best suited. These lists are to be sent from the Party units to the local sections of the Party, and from thence to sections covering wider areas and dealing with more responsible and centralised work. The units of the Party in factories, Trade Unions, Soviets, and so on, are all asked to compile such lists.

Similar investigations and records are carried on in regard to non-party conferences and non-party workers in all branches, in order to discover efficient and suitable workers for the various branches of Soviet activity.

During my stay at the Djelavoi Dvor in Moscow, a girl typist engaged in connection with Third International work, who had lived in the East End of London, told me that she and her colleagues had each been asked by the department to write an account of their lives, giving details of their experiences, capabilities and training, and stating what they desired to do and to be in the future.

Membership of the Russian Communist Party entails hard work and sacrifice. The Communist must always be ready to obey the call of the arty to any work of difficulty and danger. The ignorant and malicious sometimes assert that membership of the Communist Party opens the door to special privileges, such as additional rations of food and clothing. This is untrue. On the contrary, the Communist Party has expected its members to lead the way in sacrifice for the general good, cheerful acceptance of low rationing and every other hardship.

The rule of the Communist Party on this point, clearly reiterated at the ninth Congress in March-April, 1920, is unmistakable:—

"Communists who form part of the staff of factories or works enjoy no advantages whatever over the rank and file of the workers.

"Their duties, however, are far greater than that of the average worker. Every one of them, as far as the every day life of the enterprise is concerned, must present an example of zeal, precision and performance of duty.

"The Party groups, which are to be found in industrial enterprises, take care, without interfering in the administration of the latter, that all the directions are carried out unconditionally.

"Communists are to render every assistance, both to the administration and to the factory or works' committees, in all the attempts of the latter to raise the productivity of labour. They are to use all their Party authority and influence to this end, and to spread them as widely as possible amongst the working masses.

"In all labour mobilisations, and the organisation of labour Saturdays and Sundays, the local committee must keep a strict watch on the conduct of the Party members, in accordance with these instructions.

"All those who in any way elude the fulfilment of their labour duty, are not only to be expelled from the Party organisation, but are also to be entered upon a black list, so as to prevent them in the future from occupying any post requiring public confidence."

Communists are more severely punished than others, for any neglect of duty. By frequent re-registration of members, searching inquiries into their *bona fides* and the demand for the production of reliable references on admission, the Communist Party seeks to limit its membership to sincere and convinced Communists, prepared to act always, in conformity with the above instructions. In spite of the barriers and obligations which the Party imposes, many persons seek membership in the hope of securing important and remunerative positions. I had scarcely arrived at the Hotel International in Petrograd, before a young woman of bourgeois education and antecedents asked me to recommend her for membership of the Communist Party. I pointed out that she was quite unknown to me, and advised her to apply to some Communist friend. She replied:

"I only know Balabanova, and she says: 'I cannot understand, if you are really a Communist, why you have been so long in joining the Party; you have had so many opportunities for doing so.'"

Of course, I was obliged to tell the young applicant that I could not attempt to intervene on her behalf.

The practice of giving additional food rations to persons termed "responsible workers" who are engaged in work for the community entailing great expenditure of energy and long hours of work has lately been introduced.

The extra rations are granted to these persons to ensure that the work shall be effectively done.

The long-continued food shortage in certain areas and especially in the cities, has reduced the working capacity of the people. The evil has been counteracted, firstly by equal rationing, and, latterly, by increasing the ration at the points of acutest necessity. Thus additional rations are supplied to the children, to the Red Army, to munition workers, workers in essential industries, responsible workers. The basic ration itself has been steadily increased, and the supplementary rations have been constantly extended to wider and wider sections of people.

As the responsible positions are naturally and necessarily filled by members of the Communist Party, these particular Party members, of course, get the supplementary rations accorded to "responsible workers," but masses of Communist Party members, who are working in the ranks of industry, have no such privileges.

The giving of special rations and privileges for the more arduous or skilled work cannot be theoretically justified as a Communist principle. Only necessity can justify such exceptions, in conceding which, the interest of the community, not of the individual, should be the sole guide. Such exceptions are regretable; they inevitably tend to excite jealousy and to encourage petty corruptions. The high pay to bourgeois technicians and experts which Soviet Russia has been obliged to concede, and the various scales of pay and bonus that have been built up to secure increased output, are evils, minor evils of the transition period, and very small as compared with the gross and firmly-buttressed differences which are essential features of the capitalist system of which they are a heritage.

All such distinctions are repugnant to Communism, which, in its complete fulfilment, will bring equality and unstinted sufficiency and freedom of use in all things material.

As we left the Kolomna Party Conference, a pale, dark-faced man in poor clothes, unshaven and looking ill and neglected, called to us saying he was a member of the I.W.W., newly arrived from the United States. He seemed thoroughly discontented and his expression was most rueful.

Life in Russia was very hard, he said, and the food nasty and insufficient.

Mrs. Philip Snowden has described as "loathsome," the sour, black rye bread, which is the staple bread of Russia and of Europe generally

excepting our own little island, and this American "wobbly" doubtless agreed with her.

He repeated the story, which he probably believed, that the Communists get extra rations, explaining, as though the reason were an all-sufficient one: "They are the predominant Party here."

By this time we foreign delegates were all very hungry and pleased to learn that the next function would be dinner.

We went with a part of the crowd streaming away from the Conference, to one of the Soviet dining-rooms. Already a number of men, whom one could tell, from their hands and dress, to be outdoor manual workers, were seated at small tables eating their meal. Others were passing in, in a constant procession, showing their ration cards at the buffet and receiving in exchange, the plates of food that come up in a t from the kitchen.

As we were the guests of the day, our hosts politely refused to allow us to carry our own food from the buffet, and had it brought to us at the table; but both in quantity and quality, our meal was just like all the rest. It consisted of pickled fish, soup with fresh tomatoes in it, meat and small green cucumbers, of which our hosts consumed a large number, cutting them in half and spreading them liberally with salt. Black bread was added, of course, and then, rather to our surprise, for the portions of other things had been more than ample, enormous plates of Kasha were brought in. Knowing that there is no food to waste in Russia, I left quite ashamed at being obliged to leave most of the last dish. Kolomna appeared to be a district in which there was no scarcity of food, at least, not at that time.

The American I.W.W. fetched his dinner with the rest and sat alone at one of the side tables. Looking so poorly and dismal, he was a striking contrast to the strong, cheerful, sun-browned Russians in their coloured blouses. Minkoff and Melanchansky had at once noticed his discontent. They made a point of getting talk with him before we left, and evidently arranged for him to come to Moscow, for a few days later, I saw him there taking his meals with the delegates at the Djelavoi Dvor, and looking considerably better.

CHAPTER VII.

At a Public Meeting.

We roamed about the offices of the Kolomna Communist Party for some time before Minkoff and Melanchansky met us there. The staff had left for the day and we were quite alone. At Petrasavodsk we had seen guns in the Party office, but Petrasavodsk was near the front, there were no guns here.

The caretaker brought us tea, the first tea substitute I had had, though Mrs. Snowden has reported that one cannot get real tea in Russia. She would have known the difference had she tasted this. It was rather musty, but Melanchansky showed us how to improve it, by putting into it small green apples cut in slices. Meanwhile he told us stories of the Revolution, giving each one a humorous turn, so that even the most heroic and dangerous exploits were enveloped in an atmosphere of light-hearted gaiety.

Since the Communists came to power, he had often been obliged to exercise authority; but he always seemed to regard himself with amusement in that guise, as though some other self of his had been playing a part upon the stage. Curiously enough, one of his early duties had been to inspect a Sovietised factory in which he had once been employed under the capitalist *régime*. He found the place now in a state of chaos and mismanagement; indeed, it was because of this that he had been sent there to intervene. He appeared in military uniform, and having inspected all departments, he summoned the factory committee, composed of his one-time workmates. He told them frankly and forcibly that the condition of affairs was a disgrace to proletarian Russia, and could not be tolerated. The committee, fully aware that his condemnation was justified, and impressed by his military uniform, at once agreed to resign and arrange for the election of a new committee. The manager, a member of the Communist Party, pleaded to be allowed to remain at the factory under any conditions, but Melanchansky sternly insisted that he should leave for Moscow that very day.

I was sorry when Minkoff broke into Melanchansky's stories, telling us that a meeting had been arranged and we must go there to make speeches. The prospect of inflicting speeches in English upon a Russian audience seemed tiresome; but Melanchansky and Minkoff made the affair go with a swing, and the evening proved full of interests.

We made our way to a pleasure garden where throngs of men, women and children of the neighbourhood, a handsome, shapely crowd in their simple garments, strolled amongst the flower beds, whilst the band played.

The meeting hall, with the sides only partially walled in, was filled with a waiting audience. The children in the front rows sat as quietly as little mice through the English speeches, and followed the translations with intense earnestness applauding vigorously. These eager little figures, responsive to every word and gesture, were lavishing selfless ardour of which children and few but children are capable, upon the proletarian cause.

What a splendid period is this for the youth of Russia! How much nobler, how much finer, as a builder of character, is the environment of great enthusiasms in which Russian boys and girls are spending their childhood and developing to maturity, than that of the superficial, spurious Empire-worship and snobbery of the elementary schools erected under British Capitalism, combined with the selfish mercenary cult of "getting on," taught by anxious parents, desirous of securing the material welfare of their offspring in a cruel competitive world. The parents and teachers who, under Capitalism, enjoin on the young that they must love their neighbours as themselves, even placing the welfare of others before their own, are preaching a doctrine which capitalist society renders impossible of fulfilment, and with which their example is perpetually at variance. The guides of youth, under Communism, are able to place before their pupils an ethical rule of conduct which is practically possible, and to stand unashamed before them, having followed their own precepts.

Soviet Russia is producing an enormous generation of young Communists, by whom Capitalism is regarded as altogether evil. Reared during the strain and turmoil of a world war, and yet safeguarded by Communism from the poverty which kills off millions of children in the capitalist Empires, these Russian youngsters are growing to be of soldierly metal, eager to do battle against the ancient barbarism. In a few years, many millions of them will be in the fighting ranks. The war that Capitalism is making upon their parents is one of the factors preparing them for the world struggle to extinguish it.

The cinema show began as we left the meeting. We saw the first sections of a Yankee comic burglary story, and wished that a shortage of films had not prevented Soviet Russia from altogether banishing the capitalist product.

In the cool, black night, so grateful after the great heat of the day, Melanchansky calling occasionally to members of our party lest any one might be straying from us, we went home to supper. The table was laden abundantly; tea and black bread, soup, salt fish, apples and a great bowl of freshly-picked tomatoes, of which, led on by Melanchansky, we consumed unprecedented numbers.

Melanchansky again told us stories, this time, of his imprisonments and the ingenious measures by whch Russian prisoners used to communicate with each other. In one prison, to economise material, one iron table and one iron bedstead had been used to serve for two cells, the wooden partitions dividing the two cells being shaped to divide in half the bed and table Thus, each cell had on one side, half a bed, on the other half, a table. The prisoner drew a thread out of his stocking and tied this tightly, one end to the bed, the other to the table. An impromptu telephone was thus made, and by its use, lectures were given to the entire range of cells.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Soviets.

All-Russia Congress of Workers' Delegates.

The Soviet system of organising society is a system of Councils of workers' delegates. The assembly of all men and women inhabitants over eighteen, which transacts the affairs of the smallest community and sends a representative to a council of delegates from a group of such communities, is co-ordinated with Councils covering wider and wider areas, and with the which appoints the Central Executive Committee for the entire country. The Central Executive Committee appoints the Council of People's Commissaries and the Executive Board or Commissariats, which administer the various departments of the Republic.

The Soviet electors are, as far as possible, grouped upon an occupational basis. Work is the main qualification for voting; no one may vote who lives on income arising from interest on capital, from industrial enterprises, or landed property. No one may vote who employs another for private gain.

The Constitution of Soviet Russia is not regarded as a rigid finality, on which the coping has been placed; it is constantly being developed and improved. The seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held in 1920, instructed its Central Executive Committee to prepare a scheme for a new administrative division of Soviet Russia on an industrial basis, instead of on that of the present historical provinces and districts, which do not follow the lines of modern industrial development. The Congress also instructed the Executive to elaborate for submission to the next Congress, further regulations on the organisation of village Soviets and "Volost," or district Executive Committees, and on the functions of the presidium of the All-Russian Executive itself.

The Seventh Congress adopted a number of new resolutions.

In a report read by Kameneff, and adopted by the Congress, occurs the following declaration:—

"We are faced with the task of attracting to the Soviets, even greater masses of the people. Our Constitution says, and we must again confirm it, that should we even be forced by the heavy struggle, in which we have been involved against our will, to experience a temporary weakening and decline of the work of these organs of labour representation and labour government—this manifestation is not normal, being the result of temporary circumstances. In spite of all difficulties created by the war by the backwardness of the population and the economic disorganisation, our task is to make the Soviets of Workers, Peasants', and Cossack deputies attract ever greater masses of the working population, to get these Soviets actually to take the administration of the country into their own hands, to take over the control of the entire administration and the entire industry and to create in the Soviets a constantly alternating cadre of workers and peasants who will cope with the tremendous difficulties met by those, who, for the first time in history, realise the government of the workers for the workers."

This report of Kameneff to the Seventh Congress of Soviets, admitted that hitherto the duties and the relations of the All-Russian Central Executive and its presidium had not been precisely defined, and that the Central Executive Committee had met too seldom, because its members had been over-burdened with military and local work. The Congress therefore adopted the following regulations:—

The presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive conducts the sittings of the Central Executive, prepares the material for the sittings, submits projects for decrees to be considered at its sittings, sees to the execution of the Central Committee's decisions, negotiates in the name of the Central Executive, is the centre for guiding the work of the central and local institutions, considers questions of amnesty, solves questions of administration and confirms presentations of the Order of the Red Flag.

When the Central Committee is not sitting, decisions of the Council of People's Commissaries must be submitted to its presidium for confirmation. When the Executive is sitting, such decisions must receive confirmation from it. The presidium may suspend decisions of the Council of People's Commissaries till the meeting of the Central Executive, which may confirm or reject such decisions.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee must be convened by its Executive for session every two months. Special sittings will be convened on request of the Council of People's Commissaries or of one-third of the members of the Executive.

Until the Seventh Congress of Soviets, the Constitution had not embraced all the Soviets which had sprung up in Russia. In some places where war had absorbed masses of the most enlightened workers, it was difficult to maintain efficient Soviets. In some districts, a general meeting of Soviets was said to be rare, and even when an assembly was held, it was only to obtain information, to hear a few speeches and so on. But, declared the Congress:—

"We do not consider this normal. We find that if fifteen or twenty men take in the administration, they will, against their own will, become bureaucrats, however much they speak against bureaucracy."

These regulations were therefore adopted:—

Soviet Congresses shall consist of delegates from all the Soviets within the given administrative unit, including delegates from those localities, settlements, factories, works and so on, where questions of administration are decided, not by delegates, but by meetings of all the electors.

The largest administrative area in Russia is the "Goubernia," a government or province. A Goubernia is divided into a number of districts, each of which is called a "Ouyezd." A Ouyezd is divided into a number of smaller areas, each called a "Volost."

A Goubernia Soviet Congress consists of delegates from Soviets of towns and factories and with a poulation of more than 5,000, on the basis of one deputy for every 2,000 *electors*, and from Volost Congresses, on the basis of one deputy for every 10,000 *inhabitants*.

A Ouyezd Soviet Congress consists of one deputy from the village Soviets for every 1,000 inhabitants, and from the Soviets of towns, factories and works, one delegate for every 200 electors.

Volost Congresses consist of delegates from every Soviet on the territory, on the basis of one delegate for every 100 inhabitants.

Local Soviet Congresses are convened by their Executive Committees or on the demand of local Soviets comprising one-third of the population of the territory. In any case, Volost Congresses must meet not less than every three months, and Congresses of the larger districts not less than twice a year.

All questions concerning the local and general conditions of life are to be brought before the assembly of the Soviets. The functions of the Soviets are to be not merely those of an apparatus of agitation and information. They must serve also as a business mechanism. Every member of the Soviet is imperatively called upon to execute a definite State work.

All the members of the Soviets are obliged to report to their constituencies not less than once a fortnight. A member of the Soviet who fails to give good reasons for not carrying out the above regulations on two occasions, deprived of his mandate, and a new deputy is elected in his place.

The Kameneff Report went on to state that the question of the rights and functions of the various Soviet Executive Committees was an acute one. There was an unfortunate tendency to transfer the functions of administration from the sittings of workers' delegates to small committees. Also there were conflicts between local Soviets and Labour organisations and the Central Institutions. The question of centralisation and de-centralisation had not yet been satisfactorily settled. The conclusion presented by the Report was that the rights of the Soviets and their Executive must be extended, for it said:—

"We place the greatest faith in the class instincts of the workers and of the poorest masses of the peasantry . . . With the assistance of the local Soviet, the People's Commissaries, and the Central Executive Committee, we have been able to unite Soviet Russia into a complete whole.*

"We know now that the instructions emanating from the centre, whether they concern military mobilisation, fuel mobilisation, or the supply of corn, will be carried out by the local authorities.

"We can now make one step more forward, and free the hands of the local organisations and the local Soviets, fully confident that these local Soviets will put the interests of the whole Russian Proletarian Republic above the interests of their parish, village, ouyezd or goubernia town.

"The Executive Committees are elected by Soviet Congresses. They represent the supreme organ of the Soviet Government in their territory, and are subject to the Executive Committee, next in authority to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and to the Council of People's Commissaries."

The Seventh Congress gave the Goubernia Executive Committee the right and duty of controlling and supervising the activity of all the Government institutions within the territory except those connected with the Army on active service.

The Goubernia Executive Committee have the following departments:—

1. Administration.
2. Military.
3. Justice.
4. Labour and Social Maintenance.
5. Public Education.
6. Post and Telegraph.
7. Finance.
8. Agriculture.
9. Provisions.
10. State Control.
11. Council of Public Economy.
12. Public Health.
13. Statistics.
14. Extraordinary Commission.
15. Communal.

The closing down of existing departments or opening of new ones, is effected by the Executive Committees in agreement with the Council of People's Commissaries. The number of departments in the smaller local bodies, the volosts and others are defined by the Goubernia Executive Committee.

The supreme Economic Council and the local Economic Councils are appointed by the Trade Unions and the Soviet Executive Committees. The Soviet Labour Department and the Central Administrative Organ for each industry are also appointed by the Trade Unions. The functional relationship of these various bodies is not easy to understand, there is admittedly overlapping, and Losovsky, in his report on the report of the Trade Unions, predicts that the Labour Commissariat will shortly be abolished, and the Economic Council and Central industrial administrations will be eventually merged with the Trade Union organisation.

The Seventh Congress of Soviets decided:—

"All local Goubernia Economic Councils amalgamate with the Goubernia land departments under the general guidance of the Goubernia Executive Committees District Economic Councils unit with Ouyezd land departments under the general guidance of the Ouyezd Executive Committee.

"All local administrative organs are part of the Goubernia Economic Council. In the case of important State factories, the production of which is required by the whole of Russia, such as the great metal works at Kolomna, the rights and duties in regard to their management of the central and local institutions of the Economic Council are drawn up by the Supreme Economic Council and established through the Council of People's Commissaries and All-Russian Executive Committee.

"Directors of Government Departments† work with committees called collegiates.

"Often one comrade can manage the work far better than can be done by a collegiate. but for us builders of the proletarian State, collegiates become important as organs in which the workers and peasants are called upon to take part in and be trained for administration.'

"The director and members of the collegiate are elected by the Executive Committee.

"The director has the right to decide questions concerning his department, and to inform the collegiate of his decision. Should the collegiate disagree with his decision, it may bring the matter before the Executive Committee.

"Every people's Commissary has the right to object to a director. Differences of opinion on this head are decided by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive."

A study of the above regulations which only cover a part of the exhaustive set of rules adopted by the seventh Congress of Soviets, and do not comprise those which were already in operation, shows that, incomplete though the Russian Soviet Constitution still is, it contains a system of democratic checks and safeguards quite foreign to the Parliamentary and Cabinet system of capitalist states.

As I have already pointed out, the Communist Party has deliberately organised to mould and control the Soviet machinery, with the object of advancing Communism, whilst the electors have placed the Communist Party in power, by giving them the majority of seats in the Soviets.

But the question constantly asked is: "Have the Soviets any power? Or has the power been taken from them and concentrated in the hands of a few people—the leaders of the Communist Party, or the Council of People's Commissaries, which actually is one and the same thing?"

The Kameneff report, as we have seen, frankly admits that the local Soviets have not yet played so real and vital a part in the administration of affairs as is hoped and desired for them. Their backwardness, the report attributes to the inexperience of the people and to war conditions. The Seventh Congress of Soviets accepted this view, and decided to extend the power of the local Soviets and to regulate and limit the power of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissaries.

Certain non-Communists allege that whatever the written constitutions and the resolutions of of Soviet Congresses may dictate, the power of the Soviets is waning. Communists and other enthusiasts for the revolution take the opposite view, and insist that the Soviets and their power work and value, are constantly growing and developing. Only a prolonged experience of the Soviet administration can prove conclusively how far they are guided and directed from above; but two facts stand out with an important bearing upon this question.

Firstly, the Soviet electors and the number of Soviets have alike grown enormously; a powerless and functionless organisation does not grow, but dwindles. The growth of the Soviets and their electorate indicates that the Soviets have functions and power.

Secondly, as the Kameneff report states, there are conflicts between the central and local institutions of the Soviets, the conflicts indicate that the local Soviets possess vitality and initiative.

The Moscow Goubernia Soviet consisted, in September, 1920, of 1,500 delegates, only four of whom happened to be women. The presidium elected by the 1,500 delegates consisted of eleven members and two secretaries. On the wall of the Soviet building were many maps and charts dealing with production and population within the Moscow Province. The various Ouyezd, volost, and smaller Soviets within the area were indicated; the urban and rural areas and the density of population within them. The proportion of various crops in various districts, and the areas cleared for cultivation were clearly

* Travelling instructors are sent to aid the Local Soviets in their work and to report as to their progress. The department of administration has the duty of solving disputes arising between the Soviets and the masses, but such disputes are said to be rare.

shown. Such statistical computations had only been started in 1918, and the 1920 figures were not yet complete, but a big improvement upon 1918 was recorded in 1919.

The Petrograd Soviet in the month of May, 1920, contained 1,924 members, of these, 95 persons possessed superior education, 393 medium education, and 1,250 primary; particulars as to the education of the remaining 186 members of the Soviet were not given. The previous trades and professions of the members were as follows:

Mathematician	1
Teachers	22
Doctors	13
Surgeon's Assistants	22
Sisters of Charity	6
Journalists	11
Lawyers	5
Musicians	8
Pupils and Students	11
Chief Clerks	3
Statisticians	1
Book-keepers	29
Telegraph Employees	20
Telephone Employees	4
Electrical Fitters	50
Shorthand Typists	3
Draughtsmen	12
Accountants	17
Commercial Travellers	5
Political Economist	1
Clerks	118
Printers	16
Painters and Musicians	16
Printers' Operatives	34
Technical Staff (Engineers)	2
Engineers	39
Metal Workers	18
Watchmakers and Jewellers	7
Photographers	3
Tram Conductors	2
Motor Drivers	38
Chaffeurs	14
Tram Drivers	2
Locksmiths	240
Turners	39
Workers in water supply	9
Textile Operatives	5
Wood-cutters	6
Wood-workers	7
Carpenters	5
Folders in Printing Trade	8
Upholsterers	10
Corn and Hay Chandlers	2
Vulcanisers in Ebonite	1
Weavers	10
Engine Drivers	6
Cardboard Box Makers	10
Founders and Smelters	5
Tanners	23
Leather Cutters	4
Shoemakers	22
Galoche Makers	5
Tobacco Workers	3
Sea Divers	2
Carriage Builders	3
Hairdressers	9
Gardeners	14
Shop Assistants	45
Glass Workers	4
Scaffolders	3
Cabinet Makers	46
Slaterers	5
House Painters	22
Firemen	3
Tailors and Dressmakers	104
Millers	2
Cooks	28
Chimney Sweeps	8
Waiters	8
Domestic Servants	14
Dockers	5
Laundresses	3
Coachmen	4
Postmen	4
Sailors	5
Bakers	24
Housewives	6
Masons	13
Labourers	240
Agricultural Workers	55
Porters	15
Professions not stated	166
TOTAL	1,624

The Kolomna Soviet office was just one of the larger wooden houses in the town. A number of women clerks and two or three men were at work there. Several women of the neighbourhood, with flowered kerchiefs on their heads and little children by the hand, had called on business.

The President of the Soviet, a short, lithe and vigorous man, in a brown holland blouse, looking something under forty years of age, was at work in his office, and though he received us kindly, he almost immediately left us to our guides, Minkoff and Melanchansky, in order to continue his duties.

CHAPTER IX.
The Co-operatives.

The co-operative societies will inevitably be absorbed into the Soviet administration. As separate entities, they will altogether disappear, their functions being distributed amongst various departments. Their greatest function is that of distributing commodities to the individual homes.

The Co-operative movement in Russia, as in other countries, was mainly led by bourgeois reformists. Co-operation is, of course, in fact, petty capitalism. It is capitalist trading and manufacture by an agglomeration of small capitalists, whose dividends may be limited almost to vanishing point, but who are, nevertheless, conducting their business in accordance with the capitalist system, although with the object of protecting the small employers and better-paid workers, who form their membership, from the gross profiteering attendant on capitalism,

During the Czarist *régime*, the progress of the co-operative movement was handicapped. In January 1914 there were between 10,000 and 11,000 co-operative societies, with a total and largely inactive membership of less than one and a half millions. The turnover of the co-operative societies in 1913 was 250,000 roubles.

During the war, and after the February Revolution, the co-operative societies grew rapidly. In 1917 their turnover was between six and seven milliard roubles, and on January 1st, 1918, there were 25,000 co-operative societies, with a membership of 9,000,000.

Before the Revolution, the co-operative movement was professedly non-partisan, but when the Revolution brought with it the prospect, not of such palliations of the capitalist system as Co-operation, but of sweeping away the capitalist system altogether, the leaders of the co-operative movement came out against Socialism. The organ of the co-operatives, edited by Prokopovich, declared for co-operation with bourgeois capitalism, whilst Kouskova, another prominent Co-operator, found even the Menshevik doctrines far too strong. "I would rather chop off my head, than vote for the Menshevik Party," he said.

When the Soviets came to power, their administration had many a tussle with the co-operative leaders, and though the latter continued insisting that the co-operatives were non-political, and their activities purely humanitarian, like the Red Cross, they took every opportunity to assist the anti-Communist reaction. For instance, in a report to Denikin, published in Bulletin No. 2, of the Co-operatives of South Russia, on December 10th, 1919, Mikhailov, a member of the Governing Board of the Central Organ of the Co-operatives, the *Centrosoyuz*, wrote:—

> "Wherever the co-operative organisations found themselves in the sphere of influence of the Volunteer Army (the "White" Army of Capitalism), they immediately, and this time sincerely and willingly, established close relations with you, sometimes suffering bitterly from the Bolsheviki, when the Bolshevik power would be temporarily restored."

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combatting the Counter-Revolution, discovered that the old Co-operative leaders had formed a group within the governing board of the co-operatives, and were working secretly in opposition to the other members of the board, negotiating with non-Communist members of the old Russian co-operatives in England other counter-revolutionary forces, through A. M. Berkenheim. When in 1919, it was thought that Yudenitch might capture Petrograd, this group of reactionaries in the co-operative governing board issued instructions to their Petrograd representative, V. N. Krokhmal, based upon instructions they had received from Berkenheim in England. They told Krokhmal to buy for export from Russia, everything obtainable, flax, hemp, lumber, "we can use everything," not from Petrograd only, but also from the surrounding district. He was to use all the means in his possession for this purpose, and to sell all the goods he had, in order to buy for export with the proceeds. He was urged: "Do not worry about profits. Sell at the prices you can get, and profits or losses we can count afterwards." He was also to buy in Petrograd, editions of the Russian classics, which were to be obtained there at comparatively low prices, but were in great demand elsewhere. Petrograd was to be drained of everything worth keeping. This sort of thing hardly savours of pure humanitarianism.

When all the capitalist banks were abolished, the Soviets allowed the Co-operative bank to remain, but the co-operators allowed the Czarist reactionaries and capitalists to use it and made it a bulwark against Communism.

In spite of such difficulties, the policy of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Government towards the co-operative societies remains that of converting the co-operative machinery and organisation to Communist uses. The Communist Party instructs its members to endeavour to obtain a predominant influence in every branch of the consumer's co-operatives, thus following consistently the Bolshevik policy of permeating with Communist thought every organisation where workers congregate.

Where co-operative institutions are doing the same work as Soviet institutions, and the latter are able to cope with the entire business, the activities of the co-operatives are transferred to the Soviet institutions, and the co-operative disappears. Where the co-operative institutions supply a real need, they are placed under Soviet control. The co-operative machinery is especially used for the distribution of commodities to the individual homes under the control of the Soviets. The co-operatives are used by the Soviets as technical organs of supply, both of commodities which have been made State monopolies, and those in which private trading is still permitted.

The agricultural producers' co-operative societies and the peasants' home industry co-operatives are organized by groups of well-to-do peasants These producers' co-operatives were amalgamated in an All-Russian Agricultural and Industrial Co-operative Union. This union has been abolished by the Soviets, and the producers' co-operatives have been brought into the Central Union of Co-operatives, where the labouring masses, as consumers' co-operators, hold the majority power. The control exercised by the consumers' co-operatives is of a general political character. Technical supervision over the producers' co-operatives is exercised by the Council of Public Economy and the People's Commissariat for Agriculture under which the producers' co-operatives have the rights of autonomous industrial sections.

The Communist Party declares that the initiative and independence of the peasant producers must be preserved whilst they are guided away from petty capitalism into Communist ways.

CHAPTER X.
The Russian Trade Unions. The Trade Unions and the Revolution.

In Soviet Russia, the Trade Unions, which actually are not Trade Unions, but industrial unions, are no longer organs of struggle against the capitalist employers. They are a part of the Soviet State, and are the machinery by which the workers in a given industry take their part in administering it and governing the affairs which affect their working lives.

† This statement of the seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets is already being superseded. Both the Communist Party and the Trade Unions are determined to put efficiency first; and, as I explain in the chapter devoted to Trade Unions, they are advocating single-man management of factories and industrial enterprises.

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News from Soviet Russia.

The Eclipse.

Moscow closely watched the solar eclipse through hastily manufactured smoked glasses. The phenomenon was exceptionally clearly observed in glorious weather of the early spring. Official posters by the Peoples' Commissariat for Education described and illustrated the eclipse for weeks ahead with full details as to the best methods of observation and eye-protection.

New Homes For Russian Workers.

The Moscow Commission for improving the living conditions of the workers has published a report recommending a series of urgent measures with erecting new homes for the workers and arranging for quick transportation. The aim of the commission is principally to grant the metropolitan workers selected plots of suburban land for gardening, poultry raising, etc. All necessary stock and implements are to be provided free. It is also recommended to open additional public baths, laundries, theatres, etc. All these measures will be realised by the local soviets joining with the trade union organisations and subsidised by the central authorities.

A Blow to Speculation.

"Pravda" notes that the three decrees concerning wages, premiums in kind, and co-operatives, will deal a mortal blow to speculation. Thanks to these decrees all the measures taken in connection with substitution of food tax for food levy will form one harmonious series of measures favouring the workers and peasants. It will depend entirely on the energies of the workers themselves to increase their stocks of victuals by exchanging manufactured goods with the peasants, while the peasants will be saved the risk of being duped by middlemen and speculators. More closely than ever will the workers and peasants now rally around the soviets for the economic reconstruction.

Eastern Women Awakened.

Madame Kollontay, in "Izvestia," comments on the All-Russian conference of Communist women of oriental races inhabiting Russia. All Moslem races including Kirghiz, Bashkir, Sartes, Tartars, from the population of Kazan and Crimea, etc., were represented. The conference discussed a wide range of questions, namely, political, economical, and juridical; also preparations for the coming All-Russian congress of oriental women. The delegates reports showed remarkable success of the propaganda among the women of Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Siberia and Tartaria. Everywhere the Moslem woman, liberated by the revolution, endeavours to raise the moral status of her sisters. Numerous clubs, adult schools, circuits and refectories have been opened. In Bashkiria the women have sent the delegates to the people's tribunals to defend the women's legal interests. Other women devote themselves to trade union work, politics, etc.

Madame Kollontay says: "The Russian revolution has awakened the masses of the Eastern women, dormant for centuries. They now conduct the healthy struggle not merely for the right to unveil their face, but for complete emancipation."

The Workers Have Holidays!

A Soviet decree published recently gives a fortnight's vacation this year to every worker and employee after six months' continuous work. Those employed in unhealthy places get one month's vacation.

Petrograd City Workers in Conference.

Petrograd city workers' conference was opened on April 10 with over nine hundred delegates, mostly non-partisan workers. The conference adopted greetings to Lenin, and invited him to address the conference. During the elections to the presidium, the Mensheviks tried to smuggle in their declaration, which was, however, rejected by the non-partisan majority.

Addressing the conference, Zinoviev, chairman of Petrograd Soviet, said this conference was the best equipped to deal with the earnest problems of raising the production and improving the workers' conditions. These questions cannot be discussed separately from the general labour situation in Russia and Europe. Regarding the Menshevik behaviour, Zinoviev reminded those present that during the imperialist war the Mensheviks worked in the militarist committees, forging the weapons to murder the European workers, and later they served as ministers in counter-revolutionary governments helping in the wholesale butchering of workers. Speaking of war consequences, Zinoviev pointed to the huge totals of war victims throughout Europe and to the unprecedented growth of unemployment and mortality among the working class in England, America, and other previously prosperous countries. Russia, after a three years' starvation blockade, now begins peaceful reconstruction, having concluded peace with neighbours, despite all trickery by the enemies of the revolution. Also a trade agreement has been made with England, which will force other capitalist nations to follow suit in recognising the Soviet Government.

In conclusion, Zinoviev appealed to the non-partisan workers to work jointly with the Communist mates for the economic reconstruction and regeneration of their country. The entire conference applauded his final words: "By united efforts we will lead Russia out into the wide glorious road which will evoke the admiration of all nations and of the world."

Navigation on the Volga.

Navigation has been opened on the Volga. The first steamers have sailed from Rybinsk upstream. All preparations have been completed in the Volga region for a vigorous fishing season.

The "French Twist."

Tchitcherin, in a note to Briand on April 3, in reply to Briand's radio of April 3, which claimed non-receipt of protest against detaining 25,000 Russian prisoners, states that Eiffel Station accepted the Russian radio but refused to give receipt as usual.

The Russian Government must insist on French Government fulfilling the reciprocal treaty obligations. The Russian Government, as the only means of solving all difficulties and misunderstandings, proposes that a special Russian commission be admitted to France to control the fulfilment of the repatriation convention. Experience has shown that without a direct controlling organ the Russian Government can never be assured that all these Russians desiring repatriation were given full opportunity.

Diplomats' Clipped Wings.

On behalf of the Georgian Soviet Government, under the signature of the Commissar for Foreign affairs, M. Orakhelashvili, a declaration has been issued cancelling the powers given by the previous Georgian Government to their representatives abroad, and depriving these of their previous qualifications as diplomatic representatives. The following persons are thus deprived of their diplomatic rank:—In Berlin Vladimir Akhmetalashvili, in Paris the former representative for Europe, Akaki Itchenkeli; in London the former representative, David Gambashidze; the economic representative in Paris, Mathey Skobeleff, and the consuls in Rome, George Adkhasia, and in Constantinople, Joseph Gogolasvili! All governments are invited to correspond with the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Orakhelashvili.

Wage Reform and Co-operation.

The Moscow newspapers publish three decrees by the Council of People's Commissars on the systems of premiums in kind of wage reform and on co-operation.

The first decree tentatively introduces distribution among workers in important industries of premiums in kind, in the shape of giving them part of the products of their labour in exchange with peasants for agricultural products. A fund of products will thus be created, which will be handed over by the factory administrations to the workers' co-operatives. Each worker will have a share in this fund equal to his individual productive contribution. Factories producing articles unsuitable for exchange may be authorised to manufacture articles of prime necessity in spare time or in work-time without diminishing the normal production. All regulations concerning this matter will be made by the All-Russian trade union council in agreement with the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

The second decree removes the previous restrictions as to the extent of set per earnings by piece-workers. The economic administrations are authorised in agreement with trade unions to institute simplified systems of payment, making more visible connection between wages and production. The All-Russian trade union council must within a month elaborate a uniform scale for all categories of labour in the different branches of industry.

The third decree establishes the rights and privileges of the co-operatives, which are to play an important part in exchange and redistribution of commodities in view of the new system of food taxation, instead of levy and authorisation of free trading in agricultural products. All citizens of every locality must belong to one and only one local co-operative, which will be sub-divided into smaller territorial units or according to occupations. All these groups will have the right to acquire through co-operatives products and articles of every kind in exchange for money or kind on behalf of shareholders. Consumers' co-operatives are entitled to exchange and to purchase surplus agricultural produce and products of petty industries. For these purposes they may conclude all kinds of contracts, within the limits of the Soviet legislation. Co-operatives are also entrusted by the State in the collection and exchange of manufactured goods against agricultural product. They also perform functions of State distributing agencies in supplying the population with the necessary articles obtained from nationalised industries or through foreign imports. Each co-operative shall be administered by directorates of three members and a controlling committee elected at a general meeting of the members. Local co-operatives are grouped in provincial unions whose directors shall be elected by meeting of delegates of local co-operatives. The dates of elections are fixed by the central union of All-Russian Co-operative Soviets in agreement with local executive committees. The central executive committee may send representatives to the provincial directorates with perfect legal right.

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS.

By WARD NEWTON.

The betrayal of labour on Black Friday has given the rank and file "furiously to think." Already there is evidence that Trade Unionists are taking stock of their position and beginning to wonder where they are. Scores of resolutions condemning the transport and railmen's executives have been passed all over the country, and the seizure of their headquarters by rank and file members of the Vehicle Workers' Union is yet more striking proof that the Trade Union movement in this country is passing through a crisis of an internal nature which is of tremendous importance to its future. It has reached the parting of the ways. It has discovered that its present form of organisation and programme are only effective up to a certain point, beyond which it dismally fails to function. Trade Unionism to-day can, in a measure, force public opinion to demand a certain standard of living for the worker in normal times; it can bring a certain amount of pressure to bear upon the employers and compel them to disgorge to the organised workers just a bare living wage. But in normal times, when trade is dislocated, it has to yield to the demands of the masters and submit to lower wages. Even supposing that the demands of the miners—the national wages board and pool—are conceded, after terrible hardships and suffering, not only of miners, but of multitudes of other workers—wages will inevitably be reduced all round.

* * *

After all their fighting, after the financial sacrifice from organised labour to help the miners—a sacrifice the more painful because labour is on short time—what will be the condition of the workers in this country when the present industrial dispute is "settled"? The "Daily Herald" will scream about the victory of the miners, and point to the establishment of a wages board and national pool as a clear gain. The members of the General Council of Labour will pat each other on the back and affirm their belief that after all, "now that the miners have won," it was really best that the general strike failed to materialise. But it will be a Pyrrhic victory, if, indeed, it is a victory at all. The funds of the miners will be completely exhausted, that of other unions reduced, the economic status of those who have contributed to the hungry miners' children will be lowered, and the whole movement weakened for its next fight—which is already heralded by talk of decontrol of the railways in a few months. Perhaps the worst feature of the whole thing will have been checked by the suspicion and distrust of its own class engendered by the fatal weakness of Black Friday. The one ray of hope lies in the fact that the rank and file will have begun to think for themselves; to distrust its so-called leaders and to search about for a newer and better form of organisation—and last, but by no means least, a new ideal—the emancipation of their class.

* * *

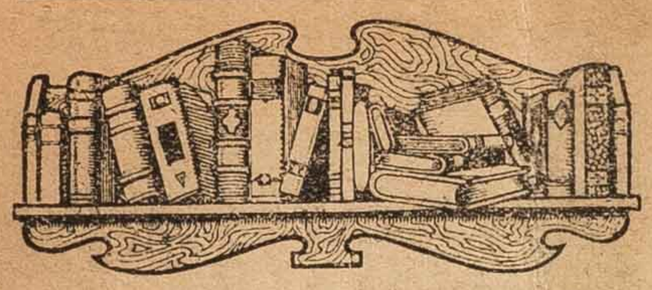
But this will not be all. While the Labour movement is trying to discover a new basis on which to organise, a new programme to attain, the enemies of the people will have consolidated their position. Plans for the dragooning of the workers will be still further perfected; each rehearsal of the White Guard and blackleg armies will make more difficult the complete tying-up of industry by a general strike. Already demands are being made in the Press that this strike shall be the last, and there is little doubt that some form of legislation to rob labour of its only weapon will shortly be proposed in Parliament. The crippling of Trade Unionism by legislative enactment will inevitably again be tried in the near future. Unless the rank and file awaken to their position, the fight during the years 1871—4 to make Trade Union action effective will have to be fought all over again.

* * *

It is clear that traditional Trade Unionism has reached an impasse. It has outgrown its function. While it can hand out doles during periods of slack trade, and occasionally gain some concessions, it is useless to prevent unemployment, although by organised and persistent "ca'-canny" it may stave off the periodical slump for a time; though this policy, by making labour relatively dear, reacts finally upon the workers themselves. It is no solution. The very distribution of out-of-work pay, though necessary to mitigate hardship, removes in a measure from the employer and the State the responsibility for tiding the worker over in periods of depression. While millions starve on short-time or no time at all, organised Labour to-day has no means of starting the idle machinery; no means of distributing the wealth piled up in buyerless markets; no way or organising the resources of the country so as to supply the workers with necessities of life. It fails at the very point where it is most needed. It must be born again.

KEIR HARDIE ON THE STATE.

"Theoretically, the State exists to protect life and property: in fact, the modern State exists primarily to protect property, and will destroy life as freely as it is destroyed either in the caverns of the ocean or the depths of the forest, rather than allow property to be forcibly interfered with in the slightest degree."



OUR BOOKSHELF.

"THE CRISIS IN RUSSIA."

(By Arthur Ransome. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 5s. net.)

This book, by the author of "Six Weeks in Russia" contains matter that had already appeared in the "Manchester Guardian." It is a valuable contribution to the study of the conditions in Russia to-day by a journalist of experience, who is also a scholar and a distinguished student of Economics.

In the chapter on the "Shortage of Things," the author examines the combined result of ruined transport and the six years' blockade of Russia. He attributes the breakdown of the railways to the strain of the Czarist war.

In the chapter on the "Shortage of Men," he gives two reasons for it: First, the fact that the Red Army was at the beginning chiefly drawn from skilled town workers. The Moscow and Petrograd regiments, exclusively workmen's, "being the most dependable," were thrown, like the Guards of old, into the worst places at any serious crisis. Secondly, the "return to the land" was a marked feature for many months after the Revolution, and is, we may add, a phenomenon observable in all great social upheavals.

Every chapter of this book is full of information, and comrades who can afford five shillings are strongly advised to buy it and read it in conjunction with Comrade Pankhurst's serial now appearing in our columns.

At times the author's criticism is strong and outspoken. It is never malignant, but one can still detect traces of the old bourgeois mentality; in fact the author does not pretend to be a Communist. If anything, that fact adds value to his book, as he is an independent witness and investigator.

COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE.

A conference to ratify the constitution and rules of the Communist Party of Great Britain was held in Manchester on April 23rd and 24th. Most of the branches sent delegates and great interest was taken in the proceedings, though being a purely business meeting it does not afford an opportunity for giving an exciting report.

Arthur MacManus was unanimously elected chairman of the Party, and he made a fine speech in opening the conference. He stated that the executive had considered the part played by one of their members, Robert Williams, and had decided that he should be expelled, which was loudly applauded.

Resolutions were passed declaring wholehearted sympathy with the miners, and calling upon the transport workers and railwaymen, who were no party to the "betrayal," to drive the betrayers from office.

The conference expressed solidarity with the unemployed, and "assured the workers in all lands that British Communists will be steadfast with them in this world crisis and in the coming world revolution."

It was decided that the present executive should remain in existence for three months, to give the necessary time for electing the new one from the district committees.

One noticeable feature was the presence of more women delegates, which is a healthy sign of the growing feeling of equality and solidarity between men and women.

On Monday last there was an interesting leaderette in the "Manchester Guardian" pointing out the "spiritual unity" between the *Machtpolitik* Tories on the extreme right, and the "class-war" Communists on the extreme left, represented by the "Morning Post" and the "Communist." Both are direct actionists, and yet are antagonistic to each other. The "Manchester Guardian" lies between the two and takes up a pacifist attitude, repudiating the use of violence and killing, which, it says, "at its best, in the most just and necessary war, it may just be done without baseness."

Is there any just and necessary war except the class-war?

The "Liverpool Evening Express" published the following letter in their issue of April 20th:—

Sir,—Is it not time freedom-loving people got together to put a stop to the imprisonment of their fellow-citizens for the public expression of opinion? As one who served in a humble capacity in the armies that are supposed to have made the world safe for democracy, I think it is fully time.

The policy of the Government in this respect is driving discontent underground and bringing about the class-war which all good citizens deplore. A recent speech of the Prime Minister had done more to make the class-war a reality than all the years of Marxian propaganda have done.

I hope many Liverpool men and women will join in demanding the release of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst Mr. Malone, and their fellow-sufferers.

EX-GUNNER.

Liverpool, April 19th.

MAY DAY: FULL PROGRAMME.

Platform No. 1 (children).—Chairman: Alex. Gossip (N.A.F.T.A.). F. J. Farrell (S.S.S.U.), Mrs M. Stubbings, E. Cruse (Toolmakers), H. Gilbert (Young Workers' League), G. Gillies (Young Workers' League), B. Woolf (Young Workers' League).

Platform No. 2.—Chairman: F. Willis (Communist Party). F. W. Humphries (N.U.R.), W. J. King (Communist Party), F. Broad (Edmonton Labour Party), E. Pezaro (Shop Assistants), Rev. R. W. Sorensen (Fellow of Reconciliation), G. Deacon (Communist Party), Councillor Mrs. Ganley (Co-operative Women's Guild).

Platform No. 3.—Chairman: A. M. Wall (Communist Party), G. Shuttleworth (Coal-workers), E. Cant (Communist Party), W. Steffens (Wimbledon Trades Council), A. Conley (Garment Workers), Rev. S. B. James (Fellow of Reconcilation), J. G. Stone (Communist Party), C. Powell (N.U.P.P.O.).

Platform No. 4.—Chairman: J. Murrey (Building Trades Federation). A. Walton (Coal-workers), A. Siffleet (Communist Party), W. J. Vaughan (N.A.F.T.A.), Mrs. M. Brown (Co-operative Union), Bert Joy (Communist Party), Rev. Tom Sykes (Brotherhood Movement).

Platform No. 5.—Chairman: C. Cook (London Trades Council). G. Rose (Shop Assistants), Miss M. Birch (Communist Party), A. Scott (Tottenham Trades Council), F. Hawkins (Chemical Union), J. Dickenson (Co-operative Union), P. Olive (Communist Party).

Platform No. 6.—Chairman: T. Whatley (Garment Workers). J. Hawkins (N.A.F.T.A.), J. D. Thorn (Communist Party), Miss A. Broughton (I.L.P.), W. Gladley (U.V.W.), J. Williams (Co-operative Union), G. J. Stubbs (Clapham Labour Party), Rev. W. H. Armstrong.

Platform No. 7.—Chairman: G. Belt ("Herald" League. V. Beacham (Building Trades Federation), J. Tanner (Communist Party), Miss Price (I.L.P.), F. Messer (London French Polishers), E. R. E. Jones (Co-operative Union), A. Hawkins (Communist Party), Rev. Jas. Fraser.

Platform No. 8.—Chairman: A. Hainsworth (Co-operative Union). G. Elmer (Building Trades Federation), C. Batchelor (Communist Party), J. W. Douglas (I.L.P.), W. McConnell (N.U.G.W.), Mrs. M. Walker (Communist Party), C. W. Key (Bow Labour Party), J. Isenstone (Food Protection League).

Platform No. 9.—Chairman: A. C. Burn (Metropolitan Co-operative Association). F. T. Scott (Building Trades Federation), A. Perry (Communist Party), C. H. Norman (I.L.P.), H. Pollitt (Shop Stewards), Mrs. P. Campbell (Co-operative Union), C. R. Morden (Finsbury Labour Party), J. G. Butler, L.C.C. (R.A.C.D.E.)

Platform No. 10.—Chairman: Councillor J. Foster (Wimbledon Trades Council). S. Elsbury (Garmen Workers), O. Baugert (Communist Party), H. Goodrich (I.L.P.), Rev. Egerton Swann (C.S.L.), A. McGiff (Co-operative Union), A. King Communist Party), W. Corrigan (Heating and Domestic Engineers).

Platform No. 11.—Chairman: Councillor A. J. Bamford (I.L.P.). D. Dineen (N.U.P.P.O.), W. Hannington (Organised London Unemployed), W. Thompson (I.L.P.), R. M. Fox ("Herald" League), Mrs. C. Moore (Co-operative Union), Mark Stair (British League Esperanto), Rev. Dr. Orchard (Fellowship of Reconciliation).

Platform No. 12.—Chairman: E. Friend (London Trades Council). G. Wilson (N.U.P.P.O.), C. Cooke (Communist Party), A. Field (I.L.P.), Miss M. Lester (Fellow of Reconciliation), J. T. Sheppard (Co-operative Union), T. Ashcroft (British League Esperanto), Councillor R. Twitchett.

(*Continued from page 5.*)

basis. *The emancipation of the free woman citizen according to the laws of the Russian Soviet, means to release her from the unproductive activity in the house and family, to take part of her unproductive labour on itself, and to turn her into an active producer for the common good.*

The organisation of a mending-workshop for linen and clothing in the factory or village, the opening of a well-appointed restaurant, the setting up of a Communist home for workmen, the founding of a *crêche* or of a kindergarten to commemorate the day of the working woman—it is there that the growing feeling of class solidarity will show itself amongst the working women.

In order to carry through what seems at first sight a very small task, but a task which must be understood as essential for any constructive plan of economics in the Soviet Republic, a very great deal of class-consciousness is necessary, also much self-sacrifice and loyalty to the idea of co-operation. The overcoming of innumerable material hindrances (lack of suitable buildings, and of furniture for the work-shops, restaurants or *crêches*, the overcoming of the continual indifference of a number of apparently class-conscious Party members) will serve as the best practical school for unity and solidarity.

Such practical attempts at reforming the manner of life must have a great effect on the minds of the working women, and bring a new strength to the feeling of solidarity.

In the bourgeois capitalist countries we stand before the same task. The development and establishment of solidarity for working women can be reached by other ways and means. In these countries there is as yet no possibility of changing the manner of life and of re-establishing production, since they are still being governed by the class of idlers who are hostile to the proletariat. Before the proletariat can advance to the emancipation of woman by the practical change in the every-day life, the bloody boundary must be passed, behind which lies the conquest of the power by the working class and the proclamation of the the dictatorship of the workers. But just this duty of the fight which underlies the revolutionary feeling of solidarity of the masses of proletarian women will impart a practical meaning to the "day of the working women."

"The Fight for the Dictatorship." That must be the practical motto of the working women's day.

The active support of this work on this day means an open participation of the broad masses of working women in the manifestations which are organised by the Communist Party under the flag of the Third International, as well as the entrance of the masses of women into the ranks of the Party. All this is nothing more or less than a proof of class solidarity. The celebration of this day demands, on the part of the working women, no small degree of self-denial and loyalty to Communism. Cases of imprisonment and persecution will be unavoidable, but just there lies the strength and meaning of the Day of the Working Women, as a school of international class solidarity.

After the first step—the calling of the first International Communist Conference—which united the women of all countries in the fight for Communism and emancipation of the woman there appears the "working women's day," as a second proof of the international solidarity of the working women.

The day of the working women in Russia, in 1917, was the beginning of the great Russian Revolution. Since then, this day has become an historical day. It is up to the working women of other countries to turn this day into an historical day throughout the world.

The wishes of the first Conference of Communists to draw the broad masses of working women into the heroic self-denying fight for Communism must celebrate its anniversary on March 8th. The day of the working women must become a day of the dictatorship of the working class in the name of Communism.

Through the international solidarity of the proletariat to the dictatorship of the working class, and to Communism!

Through Communism to a general emancipation of the women!

[The Russian comrades celebrated their working women's day on March 8th; the proletarian women of Germany, France, Italy, etc., were forced, from technical reasons, to choose April 8th].

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