The Crisis. Its Cause and Way Out.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

A very successful Conference of the Red Trade Union Conference was held in Friars' Hall, on May 7th, at which 357 delegates from branches of 25 Unions and one Trades' Council were present. There were also fraternal delegates from South Africa, the United States, and Japan.

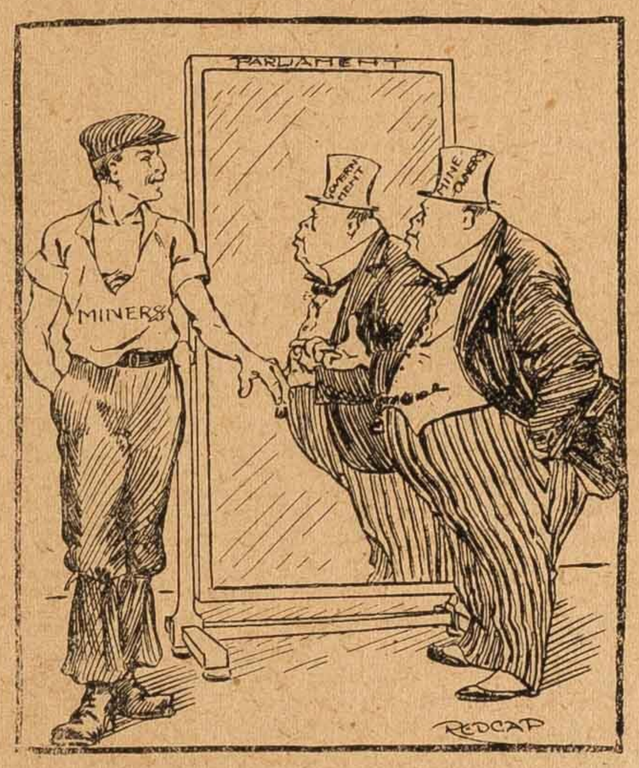
Tom Mann was in the Chair. He said that they were there to bring the Trade Union movement into revolutionary lines, and that there was no ambiguity as to what they were after. They must deal with the whole movement internationally. He pointed out how the International Federation of Trade Unions had only made a pretence of taking international action, and therefore collapsed. But the workers had seen through it and had lost all confidence in it, and realised they would have no chance if things were left in the hands of the Trade Uunion Congress. They must have some platform on which they were all like-minded on direct action. There was no knowing what they might be called upon to do in the next few days. It was their task to help to prepare the mentality of the rank and file for the International Trade Union in Moscow on July 1st. They protested against the Amsterdam International, as their type of mind will not be content with what will be representative at Amsterdam. They must switch their Unions off Amsterdam and on to Moscow. They did not want to multiply any plans of organisation, but have a healthy movement, which must become self-sustaining, so that when the moment comes they will be ready and willing to take action and change the economic system of this country.

Propaganda in Union Branches.

Henry Pollitt, the Secretary, gave a report of what had been done. He said they were not going to do anything dramatic, but were working with the object of compelling Trade Unionists to broaden their outlook and get rid of the prejudices which break down the movement at the present time. They had got to elect a committee which would give expression to the revolutionary spirit in London. They would be supplied with all the information that comes along and would be called upon to carry the propaganda into their Trade Union branches.

J. T. Murphy pointed out that the capitalists and Trade Union leaders had no solution for the solution of the problem of unemployment. The solution of the miners' prob'em was an international one; the cost of coal in various countries must be levelled up, just as the miners have said it must be equalised in the various districts. The Amsterdam International was not representative of the workers, they knew nothing of the conferences being held, when the E.Cs. of the Unions passed pious resolutions and made plans for defence and retreat. They would not move until forced to do so. The workers must all get together. Now the E.Cs. of the sectional Unions were afraid of the issue. When they talk about getting together, they are challenging the State, which starts to mobilise the reserves and all the forces of the Crown. The leaders of the Amsterdam International are afraid of facing the situation, and try to force the Unions to act section by section. which helps the capitalist class. The loose organisation of the Triple Alliance was one of the causes of its failure to act; it had to wait upon the workers to move.

The Red Trade Union International was formed because of the failure of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals to help Russia after the workers' revolution. The present circumstances have forced the workers to realise that there are



YES, BUT SURELY THIS CHAP IS IMPARTIAL.

French and German workers, and that their cause is one. The capitalists declare that they see no way out of the present situation; those present do see a way out and are prepared to take it. Their duty was to go into their branches and work among the rank and file to change the Trade Unions. The straight and clear issue is Moscow or Amsterdam; they had got to choose which it was to be, and then they would see whither they had to go.

Amsterdam's Failure.

W. J. Webb said he was an official of the E.T.U., but it didn't matter what position a man held so long as his heart was in the right place. He was seconding the resolution which "calls upon the Trade Union Congress to sever its connection with the Amsterdam International, and to take immediate steps to be represented at the first Congress of the Red Trade Union International on July 1st," because of the failure of the Amsterdam International to stop the war and to secure the abolition of Capitalism. He did not know if the Third would do that, if not, then they must scrap that too. He said his Union was holding a Rules Revision Conference, one of the items being affiliation to the Third International. He called upon them not only to pass the resolution, but to put it into effect.

In reply to a question asking for a clear and short exposition of the Second International, J. T. Murphy said that before the war there were 32 Secretariats besides a General International, which had its headquarters in Germany. On the outbreak of war, it simply stopped, and delegates went back to their Unions and made their Trade Unionists function with the capitalist Governments. They saw the great danger of the Russian Revolution; the Russians had been calling for an international gathering to get international support. The Second International did not respond to that, and they knew that if the workers did respond, there would be a danger of the workers taking a revolutionary turn. The League of Nations was coming into being, and they hastened to call together the secretariats to get a new International. A Conference was held in Amsterdam, the secretariats began to function again. It was formed to step in between the Russian Revolution and the workers of Western Europe.

Fred Thompson, the District Secretary of the London Dockers, in moving the second resolution, which "urged the Branches to support the British Bureau in its efforts to secure the severance of the Trade Union Movement from the Amsterdam Internation, and further requests the Branches to appoint delegates on the London Committee for the purpose of assisting in the attainment of that object," said that it has to be recognised that so long as the present elements are in control of the Trade Union forces, the era of Capitalism will continue. He urged the members to work, through their branches, to see that their delegates at the national and international conferences really represent the views of the rank and file. He thought the rank and file were all right. Ten hours after the calling off of the Transport Workers' strike, the coalies called upon him demanding the stoppage of the handling of coal from abroad.

When Rank and File Know.

George Saunders, of the U.V.W., seconded. He said that when the rank and file got the details of the meetings held at Unity House in connection with the Triple Alliance Strike, they would see that the Trade Union Federation was of no use to them. There were four million Trade Unionists outside the Federation, pledged to line up, and these four millions, besides those in the Triple Alliance, have been ignored. Something new has got to take its place. It had been suggested that no Trade Union official should be in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He said there were a few sincere men among the officials, and it does not do to sweep away your friends when you have any. They are all right at flat racing, they can run all right, but they fall at the first hurdle. Daniel went into the lions' den, but at least came out with his head on; they go into Parliament and lose their heads! They have done all the harm to the miners they can, they can't do any more. When the capitalists hold the dictatorship it is all right, but when the workers want to take it, it is an awful word. He would like to see the day when an industrial union could be started with no benefit attached. Trade Unions are being made benefit societies. (Cheers.) The Trade Union movement was looked upon as a benefit society, and the leaders fastened on the workers' backs.

There was considerable discussion on both resolutions, the majority being whole-heartedly with the ideas expressed; but a few delegates had been sent with a watching brief only. It was agreed to send a delegate to the Congress in Moscow.

A representative Committee was elected with power to co-opt.

Comrades have rallied to our support to the extent of £15 6s. 11d., some of whom, I know, have denied themselves greatly in order to contribute, and we appreciate their self-sacrifice for the Cause we all have at heart. But we still need more, and I would once again appeal to those who have not yet given, to help us as generously as they can.

WHAT LABOUR IS THINKING TO-DAY.

Prussianism in England.

"But signs are not wanting that, in the future conflicts, a very much more determined opposition will be put up by the forces of reaction. From the war with Germany we have copied the worst Prussian malpractices.

"Given an industrial crisis—and tanks, artillery, aeroplanes, and brigades of armed Reservists are mobilised within a week. Evidently it has been decreed that Black and Tanism is the stuff to give 'em!

"So that, to-day, a man that risks his livelihood by striking also jeopardises his life.

"Methinks then that, in these latter days of a class war deliberately provoked by capitalism, when railwaymen will have to learn to laugh at armoured cars, kindred unions must do something more than pass pious resolves of sympathy and admiration."

—A. E. Rochester, in *The Railway Review*.

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Treachery!

"On Black Friday they [Labour stalwarts] wept and dropped their eyes at the sight of man.

"Grief, however, though pardonable, does not carry us very far. All who care for the honour of the movement have got to be up and doing and find out who were responsible. There must be no tearing up of cards and breaking away. The movement belongs to the workers, and it is their duty to remain inside in order to effectively kick the traitors outside.

"Of treachery there is no doubt. The conflicting statements that have been made, the facts that have leaked out; the vague, unconvincing statement issued by the officials of the N.U.R. and the N.T.W.F. all point to it. On another page we deal more fully with the position as it appears to us. We make no rash charges against individuals but we simply use commonsense and, facing the facts, draw our own conclusion."

—*The Record* (United Vehicle Workers).

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No "Guts" to Lead.

"The real truth of the matter is that the leaders did not have the 'guts' to lead. By refusing to meet the mine-owners to discuss Hodges' offer, the miners were sticking to the assurance they gave the Triple Alliance.

"For their loyalty they were betrayed, and the day that thousands of men and women had worked and lived for, ended one of the blackest nights in Labour's history."

—*The Record*.

* * *

Mischief of Sectionalism.

"The failure and neglect to include the A.S.L.E. and F. in the Alliance of key industries was a big weakness; the sectional feeling engendered by its isolation worked incalculable mischief. To its everlasting credit the ostracised society came into the struggle at the tenth hour, but the damage had been done. That damage was the strengthening of the disinclination of the rank-and-file of the N.U.R. and kindred transport workers to a directly active participation in the miners' fight.

"When our assistance was definitely requested by the Miners' Federation, and as the possibility of the mighty upheaval loomed nearer, the members of the N.U.R. naturally and rightly began to ask, 'What about the Drivers' and Firemen's Society?'

"'I am going to Norway for a holiday,' replied Mr. Bromley. . . . And in the hearts and minds of too many N.U.R. men there arose a mighty rushing wind!"

—A. E. Rochester in *The Railway Review*.

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Rotten Policy of Trade Unionism.

"The older unions have taught us nothing. Their progress has been slow. Their outlook has been narrow and confined. They have struck, rightly enough, against low wages, long hours, and trade grievances and there they pause. The miners some time ago essayed to reduce the price of coal, the most commendable departure from traditional exactivity I ever remember. Finally they abandoned their ideal, sorely, it is believed, against Mr. Smillie's will, and went in for the ready money. I have never known these older unions strike against an evil outside their own particular calling. They have never struck against inartistic and ugly dwellings, unjust wars, unscrupulous politicians, starving children, destruction of beautiful places, and the thousand and one things that bar the way to the attainment of a more humane and happier state of society. No ideal, no concentrated effort anywhere. Defensive work, not constructive effort, has been the sole outlook of the old trade unionism."

—*The Clerk* (May).

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Have Done with Bluffing.

"Public Property in land being the basic economic condition of Socialism and the first step to be taken in human association, isn't it about time the workers tackled the question? Trade Unionism is strong enough now to force the hand of the Government on the primary question and to compel the abolition of royalties on minerals if their power welded and properly directed. At present 99 per cent. of the population are entirely landless. The communal control of capital and factories is of equal importance, of course, but deal properly with one thing at a time and let first things come first. Food, houses, employment, everything depends upon access to the land. The mere theory of Trade Unionism which relies upon the elimination of competition for the right to labour has in practice accomplished nothing for the workers as a whole. The time is ripe to demand that the land be taken over for the benefit of the whole people, and those who have fought for the country will be likely to back that demand strenuously. The Labour Party's remedy for unemployment leaving out the land factor is grotesque, and so is their attitude to the housing questions. Have done with bluffing threats which the governing classes estimate at their true value and ignore. Have done with abortive sectional fights and councils of inaction, and if there are to be labour alliances let them be alliances in fact as well as name."

—F. A. Wilmer, in *The Clerk*.

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Autocracy Inside Trade Unionism.

"Mr. Hodges has been condemned for making an offer at a meeting of House of Commons Members, which went further than his Executive were prepared to go. Mr. Thomas has been blamed as being at the back of all the efforts made during the last hours to prevent a strike. It has been stated that he and other leaders were afraid to bring their men out. We mention these accusations with no intention of judging whether they be accurate or not. Our purpose is simply to point out that experience has shown that the Triple Alliance is no real alliance, and that the machinery of Trade Union organisation has not yet evolved to the point where it becomes impossible for a few to refuse to carry out the mandates of the rank and file."

—*The Land Worker* (May).

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The Lost Opportunity.

"It is said that the rank and file of the Railwaymen and Transport Workers were ready to strike on Friday night, and that it was the leaders who let them down. On the other hand it is stated that the leaders had no other option but to call the strike off because they were aware that they could not carry their members with them. We do not know which statement is nearest to the facts. If the first statement is true and the workers were willing to rally to the support of the miners, then the leaders who scuttled are timid braggarts who have bluffed the Labour Movement for years. The testing time found them wanting. If they found they could not get their members to follow them, they merely prove their incapacity for the position they occupy. All these years they have talked about the power of the Triple Alliance. We cannot conceive any occasion when that power could have been better used or when a better appeal could have been made to the workers. If the workers would not respond on this occasion we do not know any occasion when the Triple Alliance would have come into operation."

—*The English Farm Servant* (May).

RED YOUTH NOTES.

By T. Islwyn Nicholas.

Unity.

I have received the following letter from the Y.P.C.I., also with a request that a copy should be sent to all Young Socialist organisations:—

BERLIN.

DEAR COMRADE,—Some time ago (December, 1920) the E.C. of the Young Communist International issued a manifesto to the young Socialist groups and organisations in England, requesting them to amalgamate in one organisation. So far this has been but partially accomplished. The formation of a definite Young People's Communist League in Britain is absolutely essential. The comrades in the present movement should be divided—the younger comrades being placed in children's organisations, while the older ones should form the Young Communist League. The E.C. of the Y.P.C.I. requests the Communist Party of Great Britain actively to lend its support to the formation and development of the Young Communist League. To that end immediate action should be brought about. The E.C. of the Y.P.C.I. is ready to send a representative to Great Britain to confer with the leaders of the various groups of the Young movement, also the E.C. of the Communist Party, etc., to present the proposals necessary for bringing into existence a Young Communist League, and immediately prepare the temporary organisation (E.C., rules, etc.), necessary. Greetings. S. BAMATTER.

May I suggest that a conference of the representatives of the I.L.S.M., the Y.C.L. and the Communist Party be held at some agreed place in England, on some agreed date, in order to realise the urgent request of the Y.P.C.I. Remember that *Unity is Strength*.

Our Maxim No. 6.

Thou shalt demand on behalf of your class the complete surrender of the capitalist class and all the means of production, distribution and exchange, with the land and all that it contains, and by so doing you shall abolish class rule.

Their Name.

I understand that a resolution was submitted to the conference of the International Proletarian Schools, calling upon the movement to change its name into the International Communist School Movement; also calling upon the conference to affiliate to the Communist Party of Great Britain. The proposals were referred to the schools to be voted upon. The sooner this is done, the better.

Lantern Lectures.

Propaganda among young proletarians not yet in relation to us is one of the most important task of Communist Young organisations. Beside the spoken and the written word, the picture is in great measure apt to influence the indifferent youth. Not only that, but the announcement of a lecture with lantern-slide productions effects a certain attraction. So the E.C. of the Y.P.C.I. has resolved to combine a number of slides and to work out annexed dispositions for lectures.

For the first the following lectures have been fixed upon:—

(1) The Young Communist International (pictures of it: photos from various countries of congresses, demonstrations, youth days, statistic tables, etc.).

(2) Our Russian Youth.

(3) The Misery of the Young Proletariat (pictures of work-places, lodgings, etc.).

(4) Down with the Bourgeois Militarism! (Pictures of barrack-life, of the war, etc.).

To the realisation of this the collaboration of all organisations is urgently necessary. All is being now done in order to get them ready for next winter.

The Wisdom of Youth.

If you want to live, then don't work. Comrades, the following is the first united appeal of the three Communist Youth organisations in the Czecho-Slovakian Republic:—

"To our brethren in the barracks! To all young proletarians of every nationality within the Republic! Comrades in the barracks! The revolutionary Socialist youth organisations who have met in Prague to prepare the way for the unification of all proletarians (young) in this State into one International Communist Youth Federation, send you most hearty greetings of all young revolutionists within the Czecho-Slovakian Republic. Comrades! International Capitalism is about to stir up new wars against our Russian fellow-workers. Comrades! None of you must lift a weapon against member of his class, against Soviet Russia!"—(Censored.)

". . . We shall count upon you! Long live the World Revolution! Long live the International of Proletarian Youth. Long live the Communist Youth International!"

FOREIGN PRESS AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs publishes the following statement: The foreign press is publishing a number of fabricated reports about risings in Tula, Woronesch, Zaryzin, and about the seizing of Petrograd by the insurgents. The White Guard papers are publishing fabricated documents about alleged relations between Soviet Russia and Germany, which present the October revolution as if it were the work of the German General Staff. These lies were laid on so thick that even the Capitalist Press of America could not believe them. "Rosta" does not charge the "Morning Post" with having forged the document, but merely with having printed it. We will await with great interest for a repudiation of the document or a proof of it on the part of the "Morning Post." Of course, what will perhaps pain the "Morning Post" more than the other charge is the inevitable one of stupidity in giving space in its columns to such clumsy fabrications.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS FAIL ONCE MORE.

"Petrograd Pravda," reviewing the results of the city non-partisan conference, notes the ignominious failure of covert counter-revolutionaries, who had hoped to create a wall between Communist leaders and non-partisan working masses. Petrograd workers more eloquently than ever demonstrated their firm determination to follow the lead of the Communists against the enemies of the great revolution. Arbeit sharply criticised the Soviet authorities, and at times the conference came to the conclusion that the Soviet power truly represents working-class rule, which is the only salvation of the working class. A certain definite thought permeates all decisions of the conference: all resources of the country must be placed at the disposal of the toilers. The conference expressed a firm will for greater equality and the abolition of all but the absolutely necessary privileges. This was the voice of the master of Soviet Russia—the proletariat—which means complete vindication and endorsement of the Communist Party's programme and policy and continued mandate for guiding the destinies of the proletarian state.

BOLSHEVISM AND THE "PURE" MARXISTS.

By PETER MARSDEN.

It was to the merit of Friedrich Engels that he wrote "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." He knew the limitation of his studies, and he was a close student of science.

Karl Radek went a stage further when he wrote a pamphlet entitled "Socialism: From Science to Practice."

For those who do not know Utopian Socialism is to Scientific Socialism much as astrology is to astronomy, alchemy to chemistry—in other words, pure speculation to science based on facts.

Like the other sciences, sociology, the science of society, has gone through three stages: Utopianism (unscientific), when guesses took the place of theory based on facts; the scientific; and lastly, it is passing through the practical stages.

All other sciences have a similar history.

Astronomy was first astrology. Then, commencing with the Alexandine Greeks, it became scientific. Astronomical theories were based on fact; and now we can predict the motions of the heavenly bodies with accuracy. Chemistry, from being a search after the "philosopher's stone" and the "elixir of life," passed through a stage when the laws of chemical combination were laid down. Now we can produce alcohol, sugars, colours, scents—all of which were naturally produced heretofore. Chemistry is being applied.

In biology, the Darwinian laws of "Selection," heredity, variety, the laws of Mendel, are being applied for the breeding of animals, plants and fishes. Prior to Darwin, God was the biological theory. Darwin laid down the law of animal development *as it occurs in Nature*. The law of natural selection was interesting as a theory: in practice, it is useful. Pure Darwinians might complain that in consciously breeding animals, instead of permitting Nature a free hand, man is (or rather, breeders are) acting sacrilegeously. In any case, in the practice of breeding, man goes what nature does not always do. Man brings all the conditions together. Where there is no forage, he brings it, and causes animals, otherwise doomed to survive.

Applying the Laws of Nature.

Here we can see where man differs from Nature. Here we see the difference between theoretical, or pure, science and applied science.

First of all, man learns how Nature acts; he discovers the laws of Nature. This is the task of pure or theoretical science. Nature acts blindly, unconsciously, without co-ordination. Where there is an appearance of co-ordination in Nature, it is only where it cannot be otherwise.

For instance, Nature produces a huge population in India or China. Then it sometimes forgets about the food-supply, or it sends floods.

Man is different. Having learnt Nature's rules, he applies them. To safeguard against famine, he stores food and water. To guard against floods, he builds embankments.

Perhaps agriculture is the greatest applied science. And perhaps in agriculture, more than elsewhere, man acts less in accordance with pure science. Following pure science, a worn out soil will produce no food. Lack of water spells death to the crops; but man applies manures, rotation of crops, and irrigation.

Man learns the factors of any natural process. Applying himself consciously, he brings together all these factors, and produces the result which Nature might produce. Only, because he acts consciously, the result is generally quicker, surer, and more complete.

The laughableness of the struggle between the pure scientists and the practical men is shown in the controversies which rage over birth control and painless birth. The dictate of pure science is "Be fruitful!" or "Be damned!" "Go through hell with birth pangs!" or "Be rich and avoid them!"

The "Pure" Marxists.

After showing the connection between pure science and practical science, we can now attempt an investigation into the quarrel between the Bolsheviki and the "pure" Marxists. The Bolsheviki claim to be Marxists—practical Marxists The "pure" Marxists call themselves the—"pure" Marxists. Each variety of Marxists is good in its place; but as in other sciences, the theoreticians must keep to the laboratory or study; the practical Marxists cannot adopt always the methods of study or laboratory. The latter will be guided generally by the theoreticians: but, at all times, they apply the theories to the practical conditions.

Theoretically, in a political democracy, the dominant class can be voted out of existence. Practically, the dominant class, by its control of the judiciary, the press, the pulpit, schools, the national forces (army, navy, air-force, police), and by its ownership of the means of production, can always prevent the depressed class from gaining a revolution by the vote. In practice, force must be used against the dominant class.

Sociology and Economics.

With Karl Marx began definitely the era of pure science in sociology, and its sub-science of economics. In sociology, he discovered that all social phenomena may be traced to the material bases of society. The material bases of society are the economic conditions. These in turn base themselves on the material means of production and the natural products. Discoveries and applications of new means of production determine a change in the economic conditions. These again are the cause of changes in the social, political, moral, judicial, and intellectual conditions. Driven by the economic causes, society moves blindly; that is, it moves to the next step in society without knowing whither it is going.

Changed economic conditions demand new social groupings. Morals change. Political power goes from one group to another. Till the change has taken place and society is in equilibrium on the basis of the changed economic conditions, society is in turmoil. There is discontent. There is a mass psychology of the will to revolt. The changes in the social superstructure take place with less or greater speed. The catastrophic process of change is called revolution.

Conditions for Revolutionary Action.

Thus, for a successful revolution, there must be the necessary economic conditions and the will to revolt. That is a discovery of pure sociology: it is pure Marxism.

Another discovery of Marx, is that society goes through processes of development. Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism—these have been the stages of development of society. Every nation passes through them. That is another discovery of pure Marxism.

If "pure" Marxists recognised that they are only "pure," it would be well; but they do not understand applied science. In effect they say:—

"To enter into the kingdom of Communism three conditions are necessary. The country must have developed to the other side of Capitalism and must be rotten ripe for break-up. There must be the necessary economic conditions. There must be the will to revolt. Therefore, as Russia possessed only one of these requisites the will to revolt, and as it had only the beginnings of Capitalism, and the necessary economic conditions were not, then Communism cannot be there."

It would be the same as saying to a farmer: "In the land of which you speak, there are no ploughs produced by Nature; rain is scanty. You have only the will to till. Therefore, you will not succeed."

The farmer might turn round and say: "I can get ploughs. I can store water or bore for it, and produce irrigation. And thus I can overcome blind Nature."

In the blind development of society, a revolution is the sign that the new means of production have brought into being an economically strong class. The old political and juridicial conditions have been a fetter on the new methods of production. Only when the latter are strong enough, when the new class is conscious of its being and the impediments to its functioning, can a revolution be successful.

Modern Capitalism is known by its massed means of production. Large scale factories with armies of production; large scale agriculture, steam and motor agricultural instruments. The differentiation of society into owners and proletariats; the fierce struggle between the two classes; the regimentation of the proletariat owing to the mass methods of production; the competition between national and international capital renders necessary (for the preservation of Capitalism) a reduction in the standard of living of the proletariat, leading to an intenser class-struggle. These are the marks of Capitalism theoretically necessary to a successful revolution, leading to Communism.

Theoretically, we may grant everything to the "pure" Marxists; but man differs from the blind forces of economic necessity. As with other applied sciences, he can introduce the material factors necessary for success.

Basis of Modern Capitalism.

The basis of modern Capitalism is large-scale production, to which is necessary all the modern means and processes of production. Russia did not possess these, therefore, theoretically, a Communist revolution could not succeed there.

On the other hand, Russia had the divine (more correctly, devilish, for the devil was the first revolutionist) spirit of revolt. It is not necessary here to go into the causes of that. Discontent and struggle was the tale of Russia.

But the special psychology bred by a certain economic condition, large-scale Capitalism, was absent. For a Communist revolution, mere discontent, however bitter, is not enough. France in 1848 is proof enough. The "great betrayal" of this year, 1921, also shows how ignorant discontent is easily betrayed.

Had the Bolsheviki waited for the necessary economic conditions, as demanded by "pure" Marxism, March, 1917, would have been like the "Great French Revolution à la France, 1789." Therefore, the Bolsheviki began to manufacture the psychology of Communism to the masses; and it was an easy matter, comparatively.

On the other hand, there is still a great danger to the Bolshevik revolution. To sustain the revolution, "pure" Marxism demands the necessary large-scale manufacture. This is impossible without modern means of production. But shall the Bolsheviki wait till these have indigenously developed? That would only betray the revolution. These means of production can be manufactured in Russia, but very slowly; or they can be imported.

Meanwhile, as the economic development of Russia formed a basis for capitalists, petty bourgeois—to counteract these, there must be a strict dictatorship of the proletariat; strict proletariat control of the press, schools, and all means of forming public opinion. The proletariat must be armed; the judiciary must be controlled by the proletariat. In other words, what the economic conditions have not supplied, the governing force must supply.

To sum up: what is called Bolshevism is only "applied Marxism." The "pure" Marxists had best learn that "pure" Marxism is only the science of the laboratory. It is the strategy or science of war. Bolshevism is the tactics of Marxism in action. Lenin is the technician of Marxism: he applied the pure science to practical ends.

COMMUNIST PARTY: Bow Branch Meetings

Sunday 15th May, at 11.30.—W. Savage.
Sunday, 22nd May, at 11.30.—R. Bishop.
Thursday, 8 p.m.—Obelisk, near Bow Church.
Members' Meetings 141, Bow Road, Wednesdays, at 8 p.m.

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THE CRISIS.

Its Cause and Way Out.

We need to examine the economic structure of society if we are to understand our present difficulties as regards the British Isles.

The first thing to remember is that we are an industrial nation; in other words, we, as a nation, do not grow our own food.

To put the matter quite simply: if there are two loaves of bread on your table, one of these loaves has been supplied from foreign countries.

Before 1914, this loaf was paid for in various ways, but chiefly by manufactured goods produced by our machines. During 1914 to 1919, these machines were largely used for the production of fireworks in some form or another.

Now, no one is going to continue to supply us with bread unless we give them other commodities in exchange.

As we now see, our industrial machines were largely used for engines of war, and the energies of the British people were wasted on war. Now we have finished our quarrels, and are discovering something is seriously wrong. Nearly three millions of people out of employment is a sign. We are waking up to the fact that the other loaf is missing or, anyway, largely diminished, and are asking the reason.

Keep in mind, all the time, the fundamental basis of life is the struggle for bread, and you will the more clearly see what I am trying to explain.

The other loaf then was obtained from other countries; but because we turned our energies into destructive channels, this other loaf is in jeopardy.

The reason it is in jeopardy is because we have ceased to pay for it in manufactured goods: in other words, we have lost our markets.

Put it this way: We are a large family in a beautiful home, but started quarrelling, and in the quarrel, we have smashed up all the furniture, and now the quarrel is over, we are in bad need of a rest, but find there is not a chair to sit on, let alone a bed to lie on.

Well, if you have followed me thus far, you will see that our chief problem is to get those markets back again. How is this to be done?

There are three ways, and only three, in which we can make sure of the other loaf.

The first way is for the workers to toil harder and longer hours at less rates of pay than was done before 1914.

Working in order to *undersell* our competitors, and by this means capture the market. This is now being tried, hence the lock-out of the miners and reductions of wages all round.

Many feel that the workers will not accept the lower standard of life, and if so, the second method will be tried.

What means this? War? For what? The endeavour to knock out our competitor.

This explains why so many thoughtful people are saying that our next war will be with America.

Neither the Americans nor we British want to fight; but *economic forces* (under our present system), drive us, and the peoples as a whole cannot help themselves.

The third way out is "The Economic Revolution." What do I mean by an Economic Revolution? Not what some would have you believe—slaughtering each other on a huge scale, but simply taking over the land and machines, and seeing to it that we put each to the greatest possible use, by utilising the whole for the community. The land and the machine must be communally owned.

For a time, even then, there will be a shortage, but we shall be on the way to more. There will be no such thing as three millions of unemployed looking at each other starving.

We should then organise all our resources, and by cutting out the huge waste inherent in the capitalist system, produce on such a scale as would ensure a market for the goods we can produce so well in this country, and utilise the land to grow far more than can ever be done under private ownership.

Russia is feared to-day, not so much on account of her Red Army, but because if she is let alone, she can produce so very much more under her system than can ever be produced under our present capitalist system; hence the capitalists of all countries are in fear and trembling, and will do everything, above and below board, in order to crush her.

It may not be open warfare, but they must constantly attack her; because the very productivity of the new system will endanger the capitalist system. The two systems cannot live side by side.

To sum up then: there is *one* of three ways in which we can get out of our present difficulties, and only *one*.

Choose ye!

LLOYD GEORGE AT MAIDSTONE

Mr. Lloyd George made one of his most flowery, hypocritical speeches to a meeting of the National Unionist Association at Maidstone on Saturday last. He eulogised the men who had fought "for the old land that belonged to them all," "for the liberties of Europe and the world," but he omitted to mention the Emergency Powers Act in this country, the enslavement of the German people, the White Terror in Hungary, the starvation in Austria, the oppression in India and Egypt, which have all taken place since the war. He spoke of Kent as a Conservative county.

"You were not always a Conservative county, if you don't mind my reminding you of your awful past. (Laughter.) I might mention the name of Wat Tyler, who, I believe, had his headquarters for some time at Maidstone. He opened the gaols here and liberated those who were there. There was John Ball, a sort of Socialist leader of his day, and I am not at all sure that a gentleman named Cade did not come from these quarters. In fact there are episodes in the political history of Kent that my friend Mr. Jack Jones, of Silvertown, would be very delighted to be associated with. (Laughter.)"

How are the mighty fallen!

He hurried over the Irish question, merely expressing his delight at the two Irish national leaders having met to discuss the question of the future of Ireland. He only touched upon the German question, saying that "it was in the interest not merely of Europe, but the interest of Germany herself, that she should accept the *most moderate* terms that have been submitted to her," and if she disarms she is entitled to ask the Allies to insist that the Poles should also adhere to the Versailles Treaty.

"It is a Treaty we imposed upon Germany; if we impose it upon Germany, the Allies themselves must adhere to it. Britain believes in fair play to a fallen foe, and if the Treaty is enforced, it must be kept all round. The Poles owe everything to the Treaty of Versailles. Poland's liberties, her independence, were won by the Powers, who at gigantic cost achieved that Treaty, and under that Treaty Poland has been liberated from the bondage of generations. We are entitled, therefore, to ask that the Poles should adhere strictly and fairly to the Treaty, which is the charter of their liberty, signed with the blood of Britishers, Frenchmen, Italians and Americans."

The main portion of his speech was devoted to the Miners' strike (?). He gave it from the coal-owners' point of view, of course, and left out all the important facts on the other side. He said the wages of the miners were high before the war. Then why did they receive the Sankey Award?

He asked:

"Why are we unable to sell coal abroad? One reason is the state of the trade throughout the world. There is almost a complete stagnation in the machinery of commerce and trade throughout the whole world. There are millions out of work in the United States of America. Yesterday afternoon I had the privilege of receiving one of the most eminent statesmen that China has produced. He is on a visit to this country and to Europe—a singularly able man—and he told me that business has come to a standstill in China, which was one of our best customers. He said, 'We want machinery from you. We want other goods from you, and especially machinery, but,' he said, 'we cannot buy. Exchanges have stopped.' But what is true of China is true of every other country in the world. A sort of shell shock to this old world has happened, and has somehow or other stopped its nerves, and until it recovers it it cannot begin to work. And strikes do not help shell shock."

Here he admits the failure of the capitalist system, for he has no remedy to suggest. The capitalists are trying to readjust things by making the workers pay, by reducing their wages, and the shell shock the capitalists have received is the stand the workers are making against it. They have no plan for readjusting the exchanges, so they are forced to "wait and see" what will happen.

Mr. Lloyd George says he wants peace, but it must be "a peace that is not disastrous to industry: a peace that will not renew the conflict in a short time." Again, Mr. Lloyd George has no suggestion to offer. He will not accept the national pool, and the offers he has made, if accepted, would renew the conflict in a short time. There is only one solution both for industry as a whole and the mining industry in particular, and that is the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Communist Commonwealth, but the Government would rather shoot us down than let us try it.

RAID ON COMMUNIST PARTY G.H.Q.

On Saturday, May 7th, the Headquarters of the Communist Party were raided, and Albert Inkpin, the General Secretary, was arrested under the Emergency Powers Act on a charge of procuring the National Labour Press to print and publish the "Theses of the Communist International," the charge being that this was an act "likely to cause sedition and disaffection among the civilian population."

Inspector Parker and three plain clothes men effected the arrest. He was taken to Snow Hill Police Station, and was remanded until last Monday morning.

The police removed the contents of the premises in a large motor-van and two taxis, also the cartoons from the walls of the Editor's room, and the money, cheques, postal orders, stamps, etc., from the safe, including a gold watch which was presented to Comrade Macmanus by a number of workers on the Clyde some years ago. They left a portrait of Karl Marx, who is the root cause of all the trouble they complain of.

On Monday morning Comrade Inkpin appeared at the Mansion House, and was remanded until Wednesday.

WHY USE FORCE IN REVOLUTION?

To the Editor.

Dear Sir,—Having examined three periodicals which suggest the need of a Red Army in a time of general strike and revolution, may I suggest that that course is practically impossible, inexpedient, and unnecessary, nay an evil.

(1) It is *impossible* practically, for the Capitalist State alone has access to the machine-guns and rifles, and an army drilled to obey till "their's not to reason why." It is even an offence to persuade soldiers that their work in supporting a Capitalist State is evil.

(2) The Red Army would be *inexpedient*, for we see in Ireland how force breeds force. It would here mean a "heavy civil war," which does not now seem to have been very successful even in Russia. The peasants are unconquered, and will not produce corn to have it taken away from them by the new kind of State there: the rule of a group by "terror," to use Lenin's own word in an article he wrote in a London paper.

(3) The Red Army is an *unnecessary* evil, because there is a better way, viz. by a really general strike paralysing industry by non-resistance and refusal to work for the exploiters: e.g. refusal to unload coal from abroad. This could make the Capitalist State crumble, and its government resign. But this better way must not be used in a spirit of hate and revenge. There are some fine souls who yet are capitalists, and try to treat men well, as they think is right. Finally, the *idea* of force in the coming revolution really upholds the army, which alone upholds the Capitalist State. For those who teach this idea of force believe in it, and proclaim it as a good and useful instrument. The regular army are thus upheld in their belief in armed force as a right and respectable thing. What these papers (I refer to) should surely do is to teach all that armed force is futile to bring in a New Order, or to hinder it. Force confuses the issue, on whichever side it is used. It delays any real order or peace. Surely the Great War and its enforced treaty (so-called), signed in duress, is enough to show us, amid Europe's miseries, and our own, that the war-method is played out!

Yours faithfully,
G. T. SADLER, LL.B.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Views of Marriage broaden under the Economic Freedom of Communism—Baby Clinics to rear Children of Workers—Sixty per Cent. of Budget for 1920 devoted to eliminating Disease.

The Communist View of Marriage.

The desire of Communist Russia to make affection, and not legal ties the basis of marriage, produces a growing tendency to ignore both the formal marriage, and the easily granted divorce provided by the code. The fact is that marriage laws now exist in Russia merely for those who do not feel happy without some legal forms and ceremonies. Prescient and courageous thinkers recognise that the present marriage and divorce regulations are but a temporary bridge to carry public opinion from the old sex and family relationships of Capitalism, to those of Communism. Marriage as we know it to-day, has grown up with capitalism and private property, and the consequent economic dependence of women and children, the economic burden of parenthood, and the man's individual obligation to bear it. Communism, by abolishing Capitalism and making the community responsible for the economic burden of motherhood and childhood, will modify the marriage relation, as it will modify every other feature of human life.

Nevertheless most Russian Communists do not desire to accelerate the substitution of free unions for the legal marriage ties, lest persons of irresponsible temperament be encouraged to foolish excesses. Propaganda for the free unions is carried on mainly amongst the women's sections of the Party, and largely in order to allay the anxiety of women worried by the spread of new ideas. Many women are slow to accustom themselves to the fact that wives and children are no longer economically dependent upon their husbands and fathers, and they are sometimes inclined to under-rate the hold which affection for the wife and family has on the average man, and to imagine, therefore, that once the legal tie is removed, he will desert.

Belief in free unions and contempt for the old harsh condemnation of those who disregard the legal marriage had however, long been current amongst intelligent Russians, and have spread far.

The House of the Mother and Child.

We were reminded of this fact when at a "House of the Mother and Child," in Moscow, the Matron was asked:

"Are these illegitimate children or the children of widows?"

"We know nothing either of legitimate or illegitimate! We do not ask the mothers such questions!" she retorted with a burning indignation, that made her hearers ashamed of the question.

This house for mothers and children was started in 1919, and was the first of its kind in Russia. There are many such houses now, for they are everywhere regarded as a necessity.

Twenty mothers and twenty-five babies were living there; one of the mothers having two children, and four children being motherless. Some of the mothers were unskilled factory workers, some were university students. One was a teacher of four languages, and one a librarian at the University, who declared that she was longing to go to London to visit the British Museum.

The children, none of whom were more than two years of age, are cared for by nurses who have had a year's special training in this work. Probationers also come in daily to assist the nurses and to learn from them. Several bright airy rooms, opening from each other, are set apart for the infants, and there are two isolation rooms for them, in case of illness.

There is also an isolation room for the mothers, who sleep in dormitories.

When I saw the home, the mothers had only one common room where they took their meals; but another was being prepared for them. The house lacked, I thought, enough accommodation for quiet privacy. When we arrived, the teacher of languages was reading alone in one of the dormitories. The other mothers were either with their children, or sitting together in the common room. They all seemed satisfied, however.

Two laundresses are employed. They wash the babies' garments, bed-clothes of children and adults, and the household linen. The mothers wash their own clothing. They also assist in the housework in the evening. All these mothers were earning their living outside the home. I think both the washing and housework a mistake for people who work for their living in other ways, especially for nursing mothers.

The mothers go in and out of the home as they please, but it is a general rule, which requires no compulsion, for them to return to suckle their children at the proper time; the usual evening hours for this being eight and eleven o'clock. Except for this, the resident nurses take entire charge of the children, unless the mothers wish to care for their babies in the evening.

The babies' garments are provided free of cost by the institution, also the underclothing of the mothers, and the dresses they wear in the home. The mothers bring their own outer garments.

The mothers emphatically said that the food was sufficient and good. For dinner, they had soup, fish, and Kasha; for supper, soup. They had 1 lb. of bread each a day, the ordinary allowance at that time being ¾ lb. for two days. They have 3 lbs. of sugar each per month; 8 lbs. of butter, and a liberal allowance of tea and coffee. For board, lodging and clothes, the mothers paid 700 roubles, which was half the cost of their food. No charge was made for the children, because for children under sixteen years, everything is free in Soviet Russia.

The babies were thoroughly well cared for and in the pink of condition whilst the mothers formed a merry party.

The home is reserved for mothers and infants; as the children grow older, the mothers will move to homes arranged for older children.

CHAPTER XII.
Babies' Homes and Clinics.

Homes for Mothers and Children are now regarded in Russia as a necessary institution. Babies' Homes are also opened as a matter of course.

The Kolomna Babies' Home occupied a large country house, not specially built for the purpose, but with all the equipment necessary. No one could fail to be impressed by its exquisite cleanliness and management. The babies, except for a few newcomers who had been brought in suffering from illness, were all in perfect health. It was a pleasure to behold them. Both here and in the Moscow House of the Mother and Child, just described, the bright, engaging manners of the babies showed that though they were sufficiently well trained to remain in their cots without crying, they were by no means left to themselves for hours at a time; but had plenty of petting and baby games with their nurses.

A Moscow Clinic.

Some of the babies had been born in the Home, for there was a maternity wing; some had been left by mothers who visited them and would reclaim them; some were orphans; a few were foundlings, some actually abandoned on the door-step of the Home. Evidently there are still women in Russia who fear to confess their motherhood.

In Moscow I visited a large Infant and Maternity Clinic and Babies' Home and Hospital, situated in a park at the rear of the Djelavoi Dvor Hotel. Three hundred babies were accomodated there, and and a large number of mothers attended the Clinic, obtaining without charge, advice, treatment, medicine, milk and foods. The Babies' Hospital had been built originally for tubercular cases; some of the babies were alone in little isolation rooms, others were in wards. There were many premature infants in cradles cased with hot water.

The normal children were housed in one-storied wooden bungalows. Their cots could be brought out into the park without difficulty. I was not very favourably impressed with this part of the institution. The babies looked, on the whole, thinner than they should be, even those whose own mothers were suckling them and helping with the nursing.

The place was infested with flies, and the attendants complained that they could not get enough fly-papers, or gauze to put over the cots to prevent the flies from settling on the babies. Butter muslin was used in some cases, but it was rather thick for the purpose and there was not enough of it for all the cots. Insects always abound in hot climates, of course, and one need not be surprised by finding a quantiy of flies in Moscow; but the flies were especially prevalent in this institution, because some of the houses skirting the park tipped their refuse, including the contents of dry closets, on the open ground at the edge of the park.

I wanted to ask whether a "Subotnik," or Saturday working party could not clear all this refuse away. But no doubt it was periodically removed, and the real difficulty probably was that no efficient system had yet been devised to prevent its ever being tipped there at all. A country that is in its seventh year of war, and is still burdened with the decaying relics of mediævalism in every direction, has many difficulties to contend with.

The Report of the People's Commissariat for Health, issued in 1920, states:—

"We should like to change completely our drainage and water-supply system, especially in provincial towns; but we do not possess sufficient materials, neither are our factories in a position to produce a sufficient quantiy, nor even can we receive them from abroad, on account of the blockade."

Rome was not built in a day, nor can the Soviet Republic change all things in a year or two.

Moscow's infant mortality before the war was 36 per cent., and that for the whole of Russia, 25 per cent. The evils responsible for such an appalling death rate will take some time to overcome.

An Exhibition.

A large hall in the same institution was devoted to an excellent maternity and infant welfare exhibition. There were models and pictures, showing how to dress and bathe the baby, what foods and toys to give it, and what not to give it, in what position it should be carried and held during feeding, and so on. The sort of garments the pregnant and nursing mother should and should not wear, were also shown, and the effect of tight corseting upon her body were demonstrated by models skeletons.

The fœtus was shown in the womb at various stages. Models of coloured wax, showed venereal diseases, in both mother and child, attacking various parts of the body. The exhibition was certainly a terrible warning against sexual intemperance. There was a quantiy of free literature with charts and diagrams. Parties of mothers were brought to the exhibition, which was free to anyone, and free medical lectures were given there.

CHAPTER XIII.

Commissariat of Public Health.

The Soviet Government, for the first time, established a Health Department for Russia, and thus set an example to the other Governments of Europe.

During the first eighteen months of its existence, it spent a milliard roubles in combatting epidemic diseases. It has established 150,000 beds for civilian special epidemic patients, and 250,000 for military patients. During two and a half years, the number of permanent beds for civilian patients in therapeutic, surgical and other hospitals where infectious diseases are not treated, increased by 40 per cent. 2,000 new beds for venereal diseases were established in 1919. In every government (or province), approximately 100 to 200 new medical beds were established, and four provincial physico-mechanical-therapeutic institutions were opened at Kazan, Saratoff, Orel, and Kostroma.

All medical and surgical treatment, hospitals and sanatoria, drugs and medical appliances, artificial limbs and so on, are free.

Institutions for defective children are being established in all government towns, *i.e.*, capitals of provinces.

Children under eighteen cannot be tried in the courts. Their cases are examined by a special commission of parents and teachers, which may send them, as the circumstances necessitate, either to an educational institution, under the People's Commissariat for Education, or to a medical institution under the People's Commissariat for Health.

In the Czar's time, every inhabitant of Russia was taxed one rouble a year for health purposes, of which 95 kopecks were spent on general treatment, and 5 kopecks for preventative medicine and sanitation. The Soviet Health Commissariat, in 1920 spent 60 per cent. of its budget, which amounted to many milliard roubles, on preventative measures.

Shortage of soap and medical and surgical requisites have hindered the work of this department.

When in 1918 Spanish influenza swept through Russia, as through other countries, and over 700,000 cases were registered, the Health Commissariat set up a special medical commission to study the disease, which from time to time publishes its researches. Important discoveries, valuable to the entire world, may therefore be looked for. When an epidemic of small-pox arose, the Commissariat inaugurated compulsory vacination for the first time in the history of Russia. Between November 1st, 1918, and July 1919, 81,851 cases of small-pox were registered.

Great sums of money were spent by the Soviet Health Department in the effort to exterminate the disease. It is now believed that small-pox has been finally eradicated from the country. Anti-vaccinators will contend that this is not due to vaccination, but to other measures; but whatever may be the cause, if Russia, hitherto one of the world's great forcing houses of epidemic disease, can rid herself of such plagues, the entire world will benefit. As to cholera, in 1918, Russia had 35,619 cases; in 1919 only a few cases. Typhus and spotted fever have also been energetically dealt with.

Like all other Government Departments, the Health Commissariat is controlled by the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers, and the assistance of the workers was enlisted in the daily work of the health service. Labour Commissions for combating epidemic disease were established in April, 1918. They inspected baths and public places, railway stations, prisons, boarding-houses and so on, saw to the soap supply and the cleanliness of dwellings, and issued to the people advice and information on questions of hygiene. In all this work, the assistance of women housekeepers was specially enlisted. Conferences, to devise measures for dealing with phthisis and other disease, were held with delegates from Trade Unions, women's organisations, and Leagues of Youth.

It is interesting to compare the record of what the Russian Soviet Health Department has accomplished under such great difficulties, with the position in Britain, where the great hospitals run by private charity are, one by one, closing down or threatening to do so, for lack of funds, whilst the Government takes no steps to save them.

CHAPTER XIV.

Education.

Soviet Russia promises to be the foremost country for educational developments. It is already a country in which educational work receives the greatest support and recognition, for the Soviet Republic places the welfare af the coming generation before all else.

The highest food ration in the country is that accorded to the Red Army, because Soviet Russia has been forced to depend for existence upon her soldiers. The University students have the same ration as the Red Army. Soviet Russia will extend education and maintenance to all young people up to 20 years of age, according to the law adopted, as soon as material conditions make that possible. The number of students, that was 4,000 in 1911 (the last year for which Czarist statistical data is available), even yet has only risen to 34,000, and though that is an increase of more than eight times, there are masses of young people left out still. Therefore at present the students are carefully selected according to merit; in some cases they are elected by the workshop committee. Sixty to sixty-five per cent. of the Russian children are not accommodated in Soviet schools.

In 1911 there were 55,846 elementary schools; there are now 88,000. There are 3,000 Soviet second grade schools, accommodating about half a million pupils, only between seven and eight per cent. still of the children of this age.

Lunacharsky, the Soviet Commissary for Soviet Commissary for Education, protests that this is "disgraceful," and struggles to improve matters.

There were 400,000 educational workers; Lunacharsky wants more than a million. He is proud of the kindergartens, of which there were 3,623 in 1919, and about a thousand were added in 1920. Great efforts have been made to stamp out illiteracy. 58,000 persons have passed through the schools for illiterates in the province of Cherepovetz alone, and 50,000 in Ivenovoznessensk. Six and a half millions of reading primers have been printed. Nine thousand persons under sixteen are studying music. There are 3,000 peasant theatres, and in some provinces there are 1,000 to 3,000 libraries. Educational facilities, in spite of their great growth, are far below the needs of Soviet Russia. Men and women who are privileged to become University students are not only given the food ration of the Red Army, but are also placed under Red Army discipline, to indicate that a firm attention to duty is required of them.

When the Communist Revolution opened the doors of the University to the proletariat, the first desire of the students was mainly for theoretical knowledge. To-day there is a swing of the pendulum towards practical utilitarian studies. The industrial unions specially urge that the students shall learn what is necessary for the development of industry. Some unions provide their own course of technical instruction, the pupils being selected by the shop committees, and maintained during their training at their ordinary rates of pay.

In addition to the courses for full-time students, the Universities provide many classes for part-time students.

The Sverdloff University.

At the Moscow University, which has been re-named after the Communist Sverdloff, there is a special "Workers' Faculty." Comrades who have been teachers in London, told me that it already provides a more serious theoretical study than do the London Polytechnics. The "Workers' Faculty" provides courses for whole-time, part-time and evening students. Having taken a course in the "Workers' Faculty," the student passes to more advanced and specialised work. At a late afternoon class at the "Workers' Faculty," we found that the pupils were railway clerks, textile workers and other factory workers.

In Moscow, Petrograd and elsewhere, extensive developments are taking place in the organisation of children's work-schools, in which manual constructive work goes hand in hand with academic study, in eurythmics, in pupils' self-government nursery schools and so on.

The organisation for the development of proletarian culture, called the *Proibtkult*, seeks to develop and give expression to the latent artistic faculties of the workers and peasants in music, painting, sculpture and the drama. All schools and courses of study, whether of arts, or sciences, or elementary education, are conducted without fees.

There has been a great struggle to provide equipment and text books for all the educational developments. We were told of a certain far-distant village school being found quite without pencils, the teachers instructing the children to write with sticks upon sand. This was an extreme case of need.

Some visitors complain that Communism is taught in the schools. That is true. Capitalist Governments have also endeavoured to capture the young idea and train it according to their desire. The teaching in their State schools, the patriotic demonstrations, "Flag days," and so on, the portraits of monarchs or presidents, all tend to inculcate respect for the established system. Soviet Russia has gone about the work more openly and directly, because there is nothing in the Communist doctrine to which the Government endeavouring to practise it need fear, to open young minds. Communism and the nature of Capitalism can be taught scientifically, and without reserve, in the Soviet schools. Soviet Russia, moreover, wins the love and enthusiasm of the children, just as parents win their children's affection by giving them the best that there is to give, and placing their interests before all other considerations.

The children's food rations are everywhere the best, and there are no class distinctions, no special privileges amongst the children, save those based upon age and health.

In the towns wherever there is a shortage of milk, the supply is reserved for the children and invalids.

Paradoxically, the capitalist blockade is actually tending to accelerate the education of the children in Communist ways of life. The food scarcity facilitates the removal of masses of children from their individual homes to children's colonies where, besides living in districts where food is abundant, they are removed from the still surviving remnants of Capitalism and private trading, and the individualistic spirit which may remain in their own homes. As far as possible, the children are under the care of Communists. There is always a unit of the Communist Party amongst the staff of the colony. It is the duty of the unit to secure that the life of the children is brought as closely as possible to the Communist ideal.

Many mothers regret being separated from their children, who remain in the colonies for months at a time, but though they might refuse under other circumstances, they send their children there of their own free will, choosing to do so because they know they will be better fed than they could possibly be at home. As for the children, most of them seem greatly to prefer the colonies to their own homes, and this is said to be a little mortifying to some parents. The use of children's colonies is at present stimulated by economic need, but whilst in all countries, poor people rarely allow their children to be separated from them, the rich habitually send their offspring to boarding schools. In the future the average practice in this respect may probably be somewhere midway between the present-day habits of rich and poor.

An Orphanage.

At Colonna we saw one of the orphan homes. It was not a famous institution like the wonderful children's village which has been started on Tolstoy's estate, but just an average home.

The house was comfortable and roomy, not built as an institution, but as a place to live in. It was surrounded by extensive grounds with many fruit trees. The children might pick and eat the fruit, provided they did not take enough to make theselves ill. There were eighty children in the home, and a staff consisting of a cook, a gardener, a laundress and two resident teachers. Special teachers came in to give lessons in music, drawing, games and so on. The children attended the local day school, and the teachers assisted them with their home-work and holiday tasks. The children took part, under supervision, in the work of the house.

The children, in cotton clothing, with bare legs and close-cropped hair, were playing in the garden when we arrived. They looked happy and healthy youngsters, with nothing remarkable about them. We asked what lessons they liked best and were greeted with a storm of information, which ended by the children asking permission to sing to us. They took us upstairs to a fine large room with a grand piano. A boy of ten played the accompaniment, and the singing was certainly much above the standard of any English high school or grammar school for boys and girls of the same age. At the request of the other children, a gifted boy of eleven years played several classical pieces most enchantingly. Then the children showed us their drawing books. The system on which they were taught did not seem to me particularly good; but the additional practice and tuition received in the home had produced a higher average of execution than one would find amongst the pupils of an ordinary British day school.

Russian orphans, in losing their parents, are deprived, like all other orphans, of the affectionate companionship of a mother and father; but they do not suffer materially as the orphans of the workers do under Capitalism. The status and prospects of the Russian orphan are not worsened in the slighest degree. They are as well fed and clothed as other children; they are as well, if not better, educated. They have equal opportunity with other children in later life. The boys are not obliged, like the institution-bred orphans of capitalist countries, to go on to a naval training ship or to emigrate to the Colonies; the girls are not obliged to become domestic drudges. If the Russian orphans go into the homes of their relatives, they are no burden upon them. Food, clothing and education are free to them, as to other children. Children in Soviet Russia do not suffer materially for the sins or misfortunes of their parents.

CHAPTER XV.

The Rest Houses.

The car bounded onwards past the one-time residences of the bourgeoisie, across the Neva, and down a soft green avenue of shimmering trees splashed by the morning sunlight.

The way was enlivened by strange painted boards of various shapes affixed to poles stuck in the ground. Some were of rich purplish ultramarine blue, painted with yellow or white, or a mixture of pale bright flowers, or with a sheaf of golden corn. Some were of white, with blue and red flowers, and others again were of brilliant lemon yellow, bearing the hammer and sickle, or plough. Always the device stood out bold and clear, light on dark, or dark on a light background, and always the pigments were clear, bright and challenging. Sometimes an actual cornsheaf topped a gate post. Red flags abounded.

We passed the outer walls of an open-air theatre, which seats ten thousand persons and where already the Communists of the prolecult and the sports clubs have held great spectacles. We passed by many luxurious villas and palaces, built for the rich in the time of the Czars. The banished owners of these pleasure houses never saw the gay flags and signboards that now flaunt around them. We enter one of these houses. Its stairs are marble; its woodwork flashing white; its doors are mirrors; its ceilings richly painted. In a sumptuous chamber the eyes are distracted by gilded sculpture and alabaster. A great picture by some old master, of a nude nymph, gracefully reclining, looks down on us. Seated stiffly on luxurious morocco-covered divans, and keenly surveying us, is a group of Petrograd dockers in their heavy boots and clean but well-worn dungarees.

Up the marble stairs, in the first of the great windowed, sunny bedrooms, furnished with costly daintiness, are a young husband and wife, obviously proletarians, she with a book, he with a pen in his hand. In the next white room are three smiling young women in white muslin dresses. The wide window is open to the veranda. In voluble French, one of the occupants bids us enter, leading us out there to see the water and the swift oarsmen passing. She is eagerly explaining:

"It is all most delightful, and all free, nothing to pay. We are here for two weeks, and we have dances, the ballet, concerts, a magnificent library, boating, games; and before, it all belonged to a few rich people; we could not even come to look and see what there was here on these islands. I am a painter; everyone here is working at something. Over there is the sports club. Can we not arrange for you to go boating? Would not this gentleman like to take out a boat for himself?"

The next house we visit is still more magnificent. The great rooms, opening one from the other, are crowded with beautiful and costly objects. There are palms and flowers, creeping plants, gilded chairs and sofas, and sculptured figures. A white marble nymph, life size, perched high, bends forward as though to bathe herself in a waterfall, and seems to be shrinking back, with an arm raised as a shield from the chill water. A touch on the pedestal makes it revolve, in order that this dainty sprite may be seen from another angle.

Passing on, we find walls lined with pictures, a large company of chairs arranged as though for a concert, two grand pianos, and at one of them is a musician in soldier's uniform, playing with only himself to listen. In a delightful ante-room, surrounded by painting and sculpture, are two kaleidoscopes.

And so on from room to room.

Upstairs on the parquet floor, between the costly cabinets and sculpture, are placed in every room as many little white beds as will fit in conveniently. On nearly every bed, a woman or girl, in humble proletarian clothes, is lying, as though she had come in very tired from a walk in the hot sun and had thrown herself down to rest. Some read or talk, but the majority are sleeping; their faces are pale and they look very tired, more tired than the people one sees in the streets day by day. These working women of Petrograd greatly need this holiday.

Here and there on a marble window-sill or a glass-topped toilet table, is a tiny vase of wild flowers, with a tiny piece of folded paper under it, to make sure that no harm shall come to its magnificent surroundings.

Our guide, from the time we reached the islands, had been a benignant personality, a clear-skinned, clear-eyed man who seemed to be somewhere between forty and fifty years of age, with a sandy beard and a holland blouse. This was Stephanoff, cook to the late Czar Nicholas II, who, from the first days of the Bolshevik Revolution, had settled down to work for the welfare of the community, and had continued doing so with zealous efficiency ever since. He is manager of the catering arrangements of the islands and visits each house twice a day to see that everything is as it should be. Obviously he takes a keen pleasure and interest in the work.

He now invites us to rest, and glasses of tea are brought in; stong tea, "creptey Tchay," by special request of a certain Scottish delegate, with bread and butter and cheese. But there are no teaspoons, and the table is altogether not so well ordered as Stephanoff would desire. When the maid returns to refill our glasses, he reproaches her gravely. Guests must be better served than this; things must be better done now than in the days of the Czar.

Standing apart in its own grounds is the little marble palace which General Poletsev, who later became the highest general in Kerensky's army, built with the money he made under the Czardom, by defrauding soldiers of their boots and other such requisites during the great war. This house, designed only for the General and his wife, is constructed after the model of a Greek temple, with modern comforts and adaptations. Its ground floor halls are pillared with white marble, the ceilings and friezes are painted in fresco with Grecian ornament in harmonious colours. Their gilded furniture is upholstered in gorgeous silks, their floors are inlaid with marbles of unusually strong and beautiful colour. The staircase is white marble, with a splendid brass and marble balustrade. From the ceilings hang wonderful electric candelabra of carved and gilded wood.

At the head of the stairway is a most lovely square chamber, doubtless the drawing-room of the General's wife in the old days, but a proletarian bedroom now. The artist who painted the ceiling might well have foreseen the Revolution, for it is perfectly appropriate. The centre of the ceiling, where hangs the candelabra, is an enormous white plaster sunflower, most delicately modelled. In a circle around it is a garland of scarlet poppies, and at intervals on the white field between the sunflower and the poppies, are placed alternately, and painted in golden yellow, sheaves of corn with sickles crossed behind them, and hour-glasses wreathed in roses.

The walls have a white panelled dado some three feet high, and above that they are covered with a rich corded silk of biscuit colour, striped with hair's breadth lines in dark-bright colours. The curtains and the furniture coverings are of the same material. At the end of the suite of rooms leading from this, is a little pale blue ante-chamber with deep crimson curtains and a great crimson divan, so soft and deep that one sinks down into it with surprise. A great Chinese jar in which the blue and crimson are blended with many colours, a fine Rembrandt portrait, at once sober and translucent, and the open window through which one sees the wide green landscape, all lend to this room a remarkable attraction. With one accord we pause to rest here.

Someone asks: "Did that mean-spirited little Englishwoman, who said England had nothing to learn from Soviet Russia really visit these houses?"

Did she realise how the Russian workers and poor peasants lived, and how the parasitic occupants of these houses revelled in luxury, and that now all their life of extravagance and artificiality has been swept away?

Did she realise the old starved, oppressed existence of the Russian workers and poor peasants crowded together in dingy dwellings, and the life of luxurious extravagance and ostentation in which the parasitic occupants of these houses took their ease?

The little palace of Maria Feodorovna, mother of the late Czar Nicholas II, is also on the islands. It is not tenanted by the proletarian visitors. Its white marble chambers painted by Rossi and other famous artists, its much prized blue room, and all its treasures, are kept merely for show. The great flower-beds around it are filled with vegetables, and the circular building the Queen built for a theatre is now the central food depot and kitchen of the islands.

Dinner is served to us in one of the simpler houses which belonged to a Government official. It is an ample meal: a big plate of vegetable soup in which there is bully beef left by the British army, followed by baked potatoes and minced bully beef. Visitors may have three helpings of each dish if they desire, but I found one of each more than I could finish. Bread and a glass of strong coffee with as much sugar as one desired, completed the meal.

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RUSSIA HONOURS THE TRADE AGREEMENT.

Mr. Lloyd George (House of Commons), April 21st 1921, said:—

"So far as the Government was aware, there was no reason to take exception to the manner in which the Russian Soviet Government had carried out the recent trade agreement entered into with it, nor had there been any evidence that Bolshevik propaganda had taken place in any part of the British Empire since the date the agreement was signed."

Great Britain violates the Trade Agreement.

Preamble of trade agreement states:—

"That each party refrains from hostile action or undertakings against the other."

"The parties undertake to give forthwith all necessary instructions to their agents, and to all persons under their authority to conform to the stipulation."

Sir Ian Malcolm, "Morning Post," March 30th, 1921, reports a visit to a Russian Military Cadet College, at Ishmailia in Egypt. In the course of the report, he states:—

(a) The college was originally "the Alexander III. Don Cadet College at Novocherersk, the capital of the Don Cossacks." It consists of sons of officers under the old regime.

(b) It was evacuated from Russia by the British Government, afterwards "shipped to Alexandria and thence to Tel-eh-Kebir, where General Congreve re-formed the college, and recognised it as a military unit."

(c) It consists of 485 cadets with thirty masters, who "carry on their daily school work as in pre-war times."

(d) The report concludes "The good French people and the British Officers in Ishmailia are giving them all the help in their power."

NOTE.—This report appears a fortnight after the signing of the Trade Agreement. Russian White Guard officers are being trained within the territories of the British Empire: obviously "hostile action and undertakings" against Soviet Russia. British Officers, i.e. "persons under the authority" of the British Government, are "giving them all the help in their power."

Russia's Export Programme for 1921.

Flax, 1,500,000 poods, 50 per cent. ready for export; hemp, 600,000 poods, 40 per cent. ready for export; furs, 7,000,000 poods, 100 per cent. ready for export; kerosene, 10,000,000 poods, 100 cent. ready for export; benzine, 5,000,000 poods, 100 per cent. ready for export; naptha and mozout, 8,500,000 poods, 100 per cent. ready for export; lubricating oil, 3,600,000 poods, 100 per cent. ready for export; goats' hide, 1,000,000 poods; horse hide, 400,000 poods; Russian kid, 500,000 square feet, 60 per cent. ready for export; horsehair, 100,000 poods; bristles, 50,000 poods, 30 per cent. ready for export.

There are 150,000 poods of flax and 50,000 poods of hemp already at Riga and Reval. (One pood equals 36.11 lbs.).

This information is taken from "Economic Life" (an official organ of the Soviet Government), dated 3rd April, 1921.

A Moscow wireless, of 22nd April, 1921, states the following goods are available in the Crimea for export:—Forty thousand poods of wool, 9,000 poods of sheepskins, 600 poods of horsehair, 111,000 poods of tobacco, and 112,000 hectolites of wine.

In addition, Russia has a large gold supply.

NOTE.—This information is official and refutes the contention that Russia has nothing with which to trade.

The "Manchester Guardian," of 19th March, 1921, after an intervied with Mr. Krassin, reported the latter as saying:—"When I was in Russia lately I made very close investigation of what Russia can export. I want to assure you that those who are loudest in their allegation that Russia has nothing to export, will be surprised, and before this summer is out, at the amount of our export, and the energy in increasing and replenishing our export fund."

Hughes' Fictions versus Vanderlip's Facts.

Mr. Hughes (U.S.A. Secretary of State), in a letter (April 17th, 1921), to Mr. Gompers (President of the American Federation of Labour) respecting trade possibilities, said that Russia was "an economic vacuum."

Mr. Washington Vanderlip (who is still in Russia), in a despatch to the "Russian Voice" of New York, of March 15th, 1921, wrote:—"I am continuing my discussions with the trade representatives of the Soviet Government. I am making preparations for the export of Russian raw material to America in payment for American wares to be sent to Russia as soon as trade relations are resumed between the two countries."

Russia places orders for Locomotives and Spare Parts.

The following details of orders placed by the Russian Railway Mission abroad are taken from "Economic Life" of 3rd April, 1921:—

Sweden.—One thousand locomotives ordered; first will leave this summer, and order will last until 1925.

Germany.—One hundred locomotives ordered (out of 1,000 proposed) so far; distributed at workers' request throughout German factories.

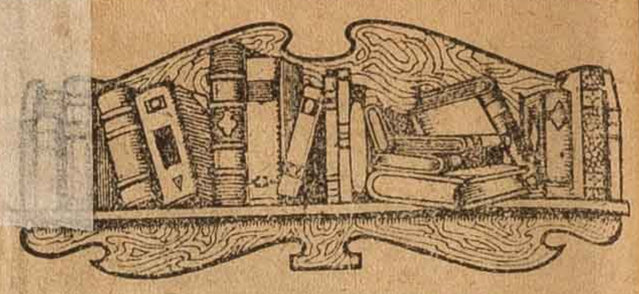
Germany.—For spare parts to the value of £3,600,000, Germany receives 80 per cent. of the orders. The remainder goes to Sweden, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia. Whilst British firms asked for 100 per cent. guarantee, Germans accepted the word of the Soviet Government, and demanded no deposit.

Orders for pumps to the value of £940,000 were placed mainly with Sweden.

Repairs to locomotives will be undertaken by Esthonia, Great Britain, Germany, Norway, and Denmark, subject to negotiations.

NOTE.—There were reports in the Press last week that Russia had placed an additional order for six hundred locomotives with German firms. There is nothing improbable in the rumour, but up to date official confirmation is lacking.

The contract for repairs of locomotives placed with Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., cannot be proceeded with until, and unless, the legal test case is decided in Russia's favour.



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(By Walter M. Citrine. The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., 6, Tavistock Square, London, W.C. 170 pp. 2s. 6d.)

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"THE CASE FOR THE LABOUR PARTY."

(By A. J. Williams, Organiser, N.U.R., and J. S. Price. Priory Press, Ltd., 70, Broadway, Cardiff. 2d.)

A four-page pamphlet stating clearly what is the Labour Party, and what are its aims.

For popular political propaganda it is certainly the kind of publication that is needed, and will certainly be the right sort of ammunition, in the hands of J. S. Price, who is the Labour Parliamentary Agent for the Cardiff [illegible] Division.

"THE IRISH EXILE."

(An organ of the Irish Movement in and around London. By the Committee of the Irish Self-Determination League of Great Britain, 182, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2. No. 2. 2d.)

A very useful monthly that will greatly assist in making known the I.S.D.L., formed in Manchester in 1919 "for the purpose of strengthening the general movement throughout the world to press forward Ireland's claim to self-determination."

The article "Outrages on Irish Women" is sad reading indeed, yet it is well people should read it in order to understand the feeling of the Irish people at the present hour.

We hear from Burma that a phoongi (Buddhist priest) was arrested a short time ago for preaching sedition, and was awaiting trial. After his arrest a "hartal" was proclaimed all over Burma for March 21st, and on that day no food was sold, shops opened, or conveyances worked. The English have brought over "cheap labour" from India (the Indians in Burma number about one million now) but did not reckon with the risk of the Burmese adopting the Indian methods of fighting repression.

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