The Grief and Glory of Russia.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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BY RIGHT AND REASON—NOT BY FORCE.

Right not might, by reason not by force: that is the ideal towards which humanity is working. Of course, we all look forward to that desirable end.

But the world is very savage still, and the capitalist system, the system that maintains the Haves as rulers of the Have Nots, is maintained entirely by force; the display of force, the threat of force, when necessary the use of force. We are environed by the rule of force, and all around us is the affirmation that the rule of force administered by the Capitalist State is just, necessary, and permanent in the sense that it is something that always must remain. There is even the tacit assumption that this rule of force is not force at all, but the passive compulsion of general consent, in spite of the Army and Navy used for compulsion of the home population, as well as abroad: the police force in all its branches, the constables with their truncheons, the racks of rifles that have lately crept into the police stations, the detectives with lead-weighted sticks and rifles in the hip pocket, the warlike Royal Irish Constabulary.

The overthrow of all this force arrayed in support of capitalism is a tremendous task, a task that only gigantic movements of the people can render possible. We need not wonder that when we quail before its immensity, as all who realise it must quail at times, some should fancy these fears to be the voice of conscience telling them to do all things only by consent, not to take his wealth from the rich unless he give it; not to bind the strength of the strong unless he surrender it.

Hailing the Revolution.

When the Russian Revolution broke out and swept all before it, apparently with so much ease, so little danger or conflict; apparently with the general consent and applause of all the governments and peoples of Europe, then a shout of approval rang out from the Socialists of all kinds and countries.

The Herald Group takes Action.

Here in England George Lansbury and the *Daily Herald* group bestirred themselves, and presently convened an informal meeting, at which foregathered all the *Herald* young men with their enthusiastic brotherly airs and intellectual voices, led by their big man Lansbury; big Robert Williams, the platform fire-eater of the *Herald*-cum-industrialists, the oratorical diplomatists of the I.L.P. with their most cautiously orthodox Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden (they were Members of Parliament then with their seats to consider), and the B.S.P.ers pale from the dusky, airless offices of Maiden Lane, E.C., Fairchild, Albert Inkpin and the rest, besides a bunch of pacifists like C. G. Ammon, and a few carefully selected women. Somehow we also were included in the invitation to the preliminary conference where strange new lights were seen flaming ruddy on the horizon and the air seethed with the steps of the oncoming masses who would arise with amazing speed to establish Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. The International Social Revolution was on the point of knocking at Britain's door, and it was important to insure that the proper people should float on its shoulders into power.

DEMOCRACY!
Now go away for six months and I promise you, when we meet again, a great surprise.

The National Executives of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. were the first, and apparently the most legal claimants to office. They had formed the United Socialist Council, and if the masses should make a revolution it would clearly be their duty to allow this body to control them. That was obviously the view of the United Socialist Council.

But the *Herald* also put in a claim, and the *Herald* young men urged that a revolution must not be monopolised by a clique: people of all shades of opinion must be given a chance to come in and control it. Obviously it would never do to leave out the *Herald* and George Lansbury and Robert Williams, and the other buoyant brotherly big men in whom the *Herald* young men place their faith.

So it was arranged that Workers' and Soldiers' Councils should be set up according to the latest Russian formula. There should be a provisional committee of thirteen members at that small meeting to make perfectly sure that the right people should be on it. A further thirteen could be elected more democratically later on.

So they were appointed, the leaders of the British Soviet Revolution—for they were out for Government by Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in those days, you know. Here is the list:—

George Lansbury.
Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.
Philip Snowden, M.P.
F. W. Jowett, M.P.
Robert Smillie.
Robert Williams.
Charles G. Ammon.
W. C. Anderson, M.P.
E. C. Fairchild.
H. Alexander.
J. Fineberg.
Tom Quelch.
C. Despard.

To GEORGE LANSBURY & L. T. SADLER

Mrs. Despard's name was selected last of all in the list. The woman was chosen as an afterthought. "We must have a woman!" The original number had been twelve Eyes were turned anxiously in several directions, and they rested more than once on the not unwilling Mrs. Snowden; but someone mentioned Mrs. Despard, and the politeness of the gathering could not venture a contest around that venerable figure.

So events moved on to the Leeds Conference. We had always our doubts of these thirteen enthusiastic revolutionaries, but they had no doubts of themselves. Oh, none whatever! The revolution was coming: the workers and soldiers would certainly make it, and these bold leaders would certainly not shrink from leading those who would undoubtedly do the work.

In the meantime the manifestoes were a bit mixed.

Leeds Conference was held; what an orgy of enthusiasm! Delegates flocked from all parts of the country, filled all the available lodgings, and even commandeered the railway trains to sleep in. It seemed a veritable breaking of the bonds. When the conference was over, we found that nothing definite had been done. We had not even elected the remaining half of the executive. Nevertheless, we were all out for the Revolution; there was no doubt about that.

The provisional committee issued a manifesto. Here is the greater part of it:—

WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL.

Manifesto to District Conferences.

The memorable Leeds convention will remain a landmark in our democratic history. Masses of our people have been stirred deeply by the glorious Revolution achieved by the men and women of Russia. Caring for democracy and the Labour cause, with the triumph of which is bound up the triumph of world-wide peace, they have preserved the instinct of freedom through years of repressive and coercive laws. The time has come for organised common action, and for a general advance. . . .

The Work and the Spirit.

Workers and soldiers are achieving a common power. If justice is to be secured for all soldiers and their dependents, and if freedom is to be won for all workers, they must join forces. These reasons led to the creation of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. In accordance with the resolutions passed at Leeds, the Provisional Committee desires to indicate, in broad outline, to the local organisations something of the task ahead, and the spirit in which it should be undertaken.

The Russian Lead.

Not in any narrow or exclusive sense, we desire to cultivate close alliance and solidarity with the Russian democracy. They have kindled in every land a new hope. They have given fresh courage to all struggling against bureaucracy and despotism and toward liberation. Every people must work out their own salvation in their own way, with such industrial and political weapons as may be available. The Russian workers have pointed the way towards the healing of nations and a new Internationalism, and it is the manifest duty of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council and all its branches to proclaim

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BY RIGHT AND REASON—*Continued.*

the real meaning and purpose of the Russian achievement, and its deep significance in relation to other countries, including our own. To celebrate the Russian Revolution, to welcome genuinely the dawn of freedom in that land, we must strengthen in our own country the movement toward political and industrial emancipation, and take a firm stand against all forms of exploitation.

The Breath of Revolution.

The present hour, heavy with destiny and fate, with new mighty movements in the making, with the breath of revolution in the air, does not call immediately for programme-building, but when the full Council of 26 is assembled, and with the mandate from the Movement in the country, a full statement of immediate aims and objects will be forthcoming. Great principles are needed, and all should be inspired by the love of freedom, the hatred of tyranny. In all this, there is work lying ready to hand. . . .

The Doom of Rulers.

Russia demands that democracy must rule, since the guilt and doom of rulers have been traced in the blood of millions. We are at one with Russia in striving for a people's peace.

THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL:—

H. Alexander. F. W. Jowett, M.P.
Chas. G. Ammon. Geo. Lansbury.
W. C. Anderson, M.P. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.
C. Despard. Tom Quelch.
E. C. Fairchild. Robert Smillie.
J. Fineberg. Philip Snowden, M.P.
Robert Williams.

All communications to the Secretary,
4, Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

The Hearts that Quailed.

Already the first breath of GOVERNMENT DISAPPROVAL was meeting "THE BREAK OF REVOLUTION," but still hope ran high; for a space, for an all too little space: it was soon to fade. District conferences were announced, mobs organised by the capitalist press attacked them; the provisional committee could find no offices; no landlord would accept their tenancy; the Government announced its hostility to the movement. So the hearts quailed of those who had meant to lead the Revolution, and they began to shuffle out. The thirteen district representatives were elected by proportional representation through the post, because the conferences which were to have appointed them had been attacked. When we district representatives arrived we found a dying council. Lansbury's hopes were fled and the fire of his enthusiasm vanished, he was too busy to attend, and could hardly spare space in the *Herald* for the council's announcement. The I.L.P. representatives, a little more tenacious of their reputation for faithfulness and responsibility were almost too busy to come; they came still, but they came exceedingly late. The B.S.P., long accustomed to wait cap in hand upon Hyndman and his coterie, were too timid to proceed without the important personages, and so hours would pass whilst the remnant of the committee sat fuming with impatience, and yet any attempt, and we made many, to proceed with the business was met with a stony silence.

Finally the committee met promptly one day, and we arriving, for once a little late, found that in a few moments it had dissolved itself and was no more.

The opposition was too great; the response from the workers too small, the time still unripe, said the council. All that may be true a thousand times; but they who formed that Workers' and Soldiers' Council are to-day in a curiously inconsistent position if they say they are opposed to Revolution, to Soviets, and to ought but conciliation and constitutional progression for the ending of the capitalist system.

Dr. Sadler's Argument.

Dr. Sadler is more complete, more consistent in his pacifism than the impulsive Heraldites. He returns to debate with us in a praiseworthy spirit of persistence.

Here is his further reply:—

DEAR EDITOR—

Thank you for giving an answer to some of the points raised in my first letter. You will see I said I did *not* desire interest on the money lent to Russia; but only the gradual repayment of the capital, as they were able.

If this plan prevailed in all the capitalist companies —39,000 are registered in Britain—it would soon change the social system: for many investors have *already* been repaid, by rent, interest or dividends, what they invested!

You do not quite grasp the *other* aspect of my complaint: *viz.*, the use of *force* by Lenin. He has forcibly despoiled local landowners and capitalists by the Red Army.

It is the Red Army I chiefly object to. I want an end of rent and interest, as I hope to show in a small forthcoming book; but I do not want this result by Lenin's Red Army *method*: for when I read history, ancient or modern, I see that *war breeds war*, as in the Balkan States, or to-day, in Ireland, where there is a see-saw of ghastly reprisals.

In my first letter I said I objected to Lenin's method of theft by *force*. To take over land which had been taken from peasants is not theft; "to take it and give no compensation for drainage and farm buildings may be theft; and Lenin used the Red Army for all his deeds. They used "terror," and Lenin acknowledged this.

Lenin's method is the hurry-method of violence.

I want private landownership to cease. I want one Commonwealth Bank (with branches), ending the paying or taking of interest. I want Companies to be changed into groups of sharing workers, with prices fixed by the consumers and workers together, to avoid both sweating and profiteering.

But I want all this *without killing*, or getting ready to kill one's fellow-men.

Will you renounce the Red Army method? Did not Lenin say that 5,000 or 6,000 men had been shot in getting the rule by the proletariat?

Can you show us how to end armies and exploitation too? The former support the latter in most lands.

Yours, etc.,
G. T. SADLER.

To Repay the Capitalist is to retain the Parasite.

We have explained to Dr. Sadler that for a Communist community to undertake "the gradual repayment of capital" is to undo Communism: for to repay the capitalist is to maintain the capitalist unless he is to be repaid in worthless money, which will buy nothing—in which case he would not be repaid. If he is to be paid in any form of real value he will, in so far as he has wealth which he does not produce, remain as a parasite upon the community, a charge on the labour of the producers and on the common stock of produce. He will remain in a position wealthier, more privileged than those who have only what they are granted in return for their labour or in consideration of their incapacity to labour. Therefore his existence is a negation of Communism, a menace to it, and a charge upon the producing community, which cannot theoretically be tolerated, though in practice it may have to be conceded.

How should we despoil the Capitalist.

Dr. Sadler complains that the Red Army has been used to despoil local landlords and capitalists. He objects to the use of force.

We ask Dr. Sadler how he would himself despoil the capitalist.

We suppose he will reply: "I would not despoil him: I would buy him out."

We have shown that to buy out the capitalist is impossible, because whilst capital remains in his possession there is no Communism, and because the charge upon the community during the repaying process would be a crushing one. But assuming that it were possible to buy out the capitalist, what would Dr. Sadler do should the capitalist refuse to be bought out, as he undoubtedly would?

Would Dr. Sadler decide to give up the attempt, or would he use the power of the State to compel the capitalist to sell?

Perhaps Dr. Sadler will say that he would proceed by process of law, but that is merely begging the question: force is employed to enforce legal process. A poor woman we met in Holloway prison borrowed some money on security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China. Being pressed for money she parted with the security, and when the time for repaying the loan came she pleaded for a week in which to produce the money. The creditor refused to wait; the woman was proceeded against and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Her destitute children were taken in by a kindly neighbour, and the State through the Public Trustee made the woman a bankrupt and sold up her goods. The Governor of Holloway brought her the key of her empty shop and a document stating that she had been made bankrupt.

This was force applied not by the Army because the Army was not needed, but by other forceful measures employed by the State. Whether the minion of the State wears a black coat or a wig and gown, blue or a khaki uniform, is indifferent, provided he possesses the power of compulsion.

Dr. Sadler may perhaps say that the woman who sold the security for her debt is more blameworthy than the capitalist and the landlord: it is a matter of opinion which we will not at present argue. Dr. Sadler should remember that opinions are usually the conventional product of environment, and endeavour to emancipate his own. The real point here is not whether the woman was or was not more blameworthy than the landlord and capitalist, it is a question of the use of compelling force. Frankly, we do not believe that society will re-organise itself without the use of force on both sides, because the present system is maintained by force.

Wages and Prices.

Dr. Sadler says: "I want companies to be changed into groups of sharing workers with prices fixed by consumers and workers together, to avoid both sweating and profiteering." That in our opinion would not be possible under genuine and complete Communism. Communism entails, in our view, the ending of wages and prices, and consumption without payment according to the need and will of the individual limited only by the productive power of the community.

Armies and Exploitation.

Dr. Sadler asks: "Can you show us how to end armies and exploitation too?

We answer: "Armies can only be ended by ending exploitation." So long as there is exploitation of one people by another, the exploiting people must possess an army to enforce the exploitation. So long as there is the danger of exploitation of one people by another every people maintains as large an army as it can to protect itself from exploitation, to enable it to exploit others or at the bidding of a stronger Power which orders the weaker nation to assist the stronger in its own exploitation of others.

So long as a class of people exploits another class the exploiting class will maintain its exploitation by military force and such substitutes for that force as it deems suitable and sufficient.

Let those who doubt this consider the unemployed, and ask themselves whether the unemployed would go short of food passing by shops and restaurants where they see it provided in abundance, if there were no police or other power to prevent them satisfying their hunger. Everyone who reflects sensibly upon this matter knows that every moment of our lives the force of the State is protecting the property of those who possess it from those who possess no property. Just so, if the discoverers and explorers who have gone out from Britain and other countries had found the natives in every land they came to defended by an army too powerful to be overthrown, no Empires would have been formed.

Dr. Sadler's house and home and worldly goods are protected by the force of the Capitalist State; he must not therefore complain because the Communist State uses its own force, the Red Army, to protect the Russian people and enforce the laws of their Soviet Republic. The Soviet has decreed the ending of landlordism: the Soviet employs its organised force to enforce its decree.

But this is a temporary phase. When all the landlords have been dispossessed the Red Army will no longer have the task of dispossessing the landlords to perform. It will merely be required to prevent the seizure of the land by the old landlord or by some other. As the benefits of Communism come to be experienced, as people come to realise that enough is as good as a feast, and that to have the butcher calling

Continued on page 8.

RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BEFORE 1905.

HISTORICAL SKETCH. By MAX STRIPIANSHI

The history of modern revolutions shows a great diversity of main and side-currents, of heated discussions, wasted energies, forgotten sacrifices. This applies especially to the first decade of this century, the epochs immediately preceding and following the First Revolution, that of 1905.

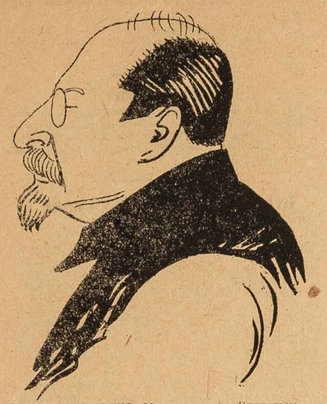
The revolutionary movement had then just begun to emerge from the stagnation into which it had been plunged after the destruction of the "Narodnaya Volya," the bold terrorist organization whose chief accomplishment—the execution of the Tsar Alexander II. in 1881—was also the beginning of its decline. Practically all its members were arrested before the middle of the eighties. What followed then was for so much a struggle against the ruling power, as theoretical discussions within the ranks of those who had either escaped abroad or completely withdrawn from any illegal activity. Until that time the Russian revolutionary movement—while still calling itself Socialistic—presented a Socialism of a specifically autochthonous type. It was a struggle of the progressive layers of the bourgeoisie—notably the intellectuals—whose aim was the Europeanization of the country, the introduction of Western democratic institutions. But while in Western Europe the fight for democracy was carried through with the help of the industrial proletariat, there was in Russia no industrial working class to speak of, quite naturally the Russian malcontents turned to another dissatisfied element—the peasantry. The then prevailing romantic illusion that the Russian peasant was a genuine Communist (because of his association with the *mir*, the quasi-communistic landholding system) gave rise to a belief that Russia need not pass through the capitalist stage of Western Europe, but might proceed directly from feudalism to socialism. The bitter experience of whole generations of youthful propagandists who "went among the people," but usually succeeded only in getting arrested and handed over to the Tsar's police by those same "communists" peasants, turned the erstwhile propagandists and "goers to the people" into terrorists. With the killing of high officials and finally of the Tsar himself, they hoped to force the government to grant political freedom and western democratic institutions that would enable them to prepare the great masses of the ignorant peasantry for their socialist ideal. At present we know that all their Socialist phraseology was self-deception, was only an idealistic embellishment of their heroic struggle for bourgeois democracy.

They did not succeed. The government, shattered for a moment, had almost been induced to start negotiations with the "Narodnya Volya"—but after convincing itself that the strength of its opponents in reality reposed only on the heroism of a number of individuals, carried the struggle to an end and destroyed the organization.

This defeat started a number of revolutionists to look for another way to defeat Tsarism. They found this way in the Marxian Socialism of Western Europe. The spokesman of this group was none other than George Plekhanov, who, together with Leo Deutsch, Paul Axelrod and the former active terrorist Vera Zasulich formed the group "The Emancipation of Labor," which marks the beginning of the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. The industrial proletariat, which at the time had just begun to develop in the great Empire, was to become the main force for the overthrow of the Asiatic despotism. Even the adherents of the old genuine Russian socialism began to acknowledge the importance of the working class in the forthcoming task. In a discussion between Plekhanov and Tikhomirov, the then most important literary spokesman of the "Narodnaya Volya" abroad (he later recanted and became editor of a reactionary daily in Moscow) there were coined the notable sentences which almost in a nutshell show the stand taken by the old and the new ideology. Tikhomirov said: "I admit that the proletariat is very important for the Revolution." To which Plekhanov retorted: "No, the Revolution is very important for the proletariat." The whole stand taken by Plekhanov later on, especially during the war and the Revolution of 1917, shows that while the terminology was different, at bottom they were in agreement. Only Tikhomirov was more cynical in his readiness to use the workers frankly as a tool for his, the Bourgeois Revolution—while Plekhanov, more circumspect—meant that the Bourgeois Revolution was of paramount necessity for the workers themselves. The workers might make their choice. . . .

Social Revolutionists and Social Democrats.

Out of the remnants and admirers of the "Narodnaya Volya," based on the ideology of Lavrov and Mikhailovsky, developed in the beginning of the twentieth century the Party of the Socialist-Revolutionists (usually called after their initials, the S. R. or "Esser's"). Although "in principle" they recognized the class-struggle, they considered as the main forces of the revolution the intellectuals and the peasants. Their favourite means of combat was terrorism, and they have to their credit some of the most admirable types of heroes and idealistic martyrs, such as Balmashov, Yegor Sazonov, Kalayev, Gershuni. But with all due respect to the heroism of their fighters—the aims of the party were purely bourgeois: its goal was bourgeois democracy of the French or English type; after this was reached, they were to stand on the extreme right of the Socialist movement, together with Bernstein, Henderson, and all the reformists for whom sometimes even the Second International is too revolutionary. And it is a grim joke that the two leading spirits of their terrorist fighting organization, especially after the arrest of Gershuni, were the two supermen of spydom and white-guardism—Azev and Savinkov. This is the party that brought forth Kerensky, Chernov, Avksentyev, Tchaikovski and so many other heroes of Russian and European counter-revolution.



LUNATCHARSKI—MINISTER FOR EDUCATION.

Parallel with this party there developed, after the beginning of this century, its great rival on the revolutionary field, the Marxian Social Democracy. In its aims it did not differ very much from the Social-Revolutionists. Both were fighting for the same "ideal," the democratic Republic. They differed only in their means and in some purely theoretical conceptions. Not sharing the S. R.'s view as to the important role of the individual, they rejected terrorism as unnecessary, and even harmful, for individual heroism, detached from the masses, might, according to them, create in the masses the illusion that they need not themselves fight. And they concentrated all their efforts on organizing the industrial workers for the struggle for political liberty.

When speaking of the coming revolution—both revolutionary parties had exclusively in mind the bourgeois democratic revolution. If the Social-Democrats sometimes spoke of the "revolution of the proletariat," or the "proletarian revolution," they meant it in a somewhat Pickwickian sense: the fighters in the revolution were to be proletarians, but the goal was to be democratic, which sounded better than "bourgeois." Nothing was more remote from their minds than the Social Revolution; for, first, most of them were bourgeois intellectuals or intellectual declasses, for whom bourgeois democracy really meant a great step forward. And what is good for ourselves we usually consider as good for others too. It is the old mechanism of unconscious deception and self-deception that may be observed in every revolution. And second, even in the industrially highly developed Western Europe the proletarian revolution was a distant dream—was it then worth while to speak about it at all in a backward country like Russia?

Dissenters.

But, nevertheless, there appeared some individuals and groups who in that period, shortly before and after the first revolution (1905) began to speak of a Social or Workers' Revolution as against the bourgeois revolution heralded by the two great parties. They usually were, so to speak, the illegitimate offspring of the two parties, as well as of orthodox Anarchism, the Anarchism of Kropotkin, which, while theoretically preaching Social Revolution in Europe, practically did not differ at all from the S. R. and the S. D. in its conceptions as to the purely political character of the coming Russian revolution.

One of the first "dissenters" of this epoch was the Polish-Russian revolutionary Marxist, W. Machajski (A. Wolski), who in 1902 published in his Siberian exile an interesting pamphlet under the title "The Evolution of Social Democracy" (the first part of his large work "The Intellectual Worker"), in which, proceeding still from the Marxian point of view, he criticizes the bourgeois character of the Socialist parties, the prevalence of the class interest of the intellectuals in their policy, and advocates the immediate seizure of power and dictatorship of the proletariat for the immediate abolition of the bourgeois exploitation. The insight with which he exposes and almost predicts the future anti-proletarian and anti-amazing, and his criticism of bourgeois democracy, revolutionary role of the Socialist parties is most which at that time was quite unusual and was considered an exaggeration even by most of the Anarchists, has since 1917 become almost a commonplace for Communists. He later somewhat modified his views, and his theoretical system, which brought forth a rather voluminous literature, was often called a combination of Marxism, Blanquist, Bakunist and Syndicalist elements. He and his adherents founded a number of groups ("Makhayevtsy") in Petrograd, Odessa, Warsaw (and Cracow, on Austrian Polish territory), concentrating their activity mostly among the unskilled workers and the unemployed, whom they urged to come out with immediate concrete demands addressed either to their employers (higher wages) or to the Government (to provide immediately work for all unemployed). According to them the working-men were always ready to fight, if only the object was obviously in their interest, such as higher wages or providing of work for the unemployed. The further development of this struggle, assisted and organized by a secret organization, was to bring about a decisive clash between the whole working class, using the weapon of the general strike, followed by insurrection, and the forces of the Government. The outcome was to be the dictatorship of the working class which, however, in Machajski's view, was somewhat different from the conception commonly prevailing since 1917.

This group was not very successful in its activities. Most of its members were soon arrested and dispersed. Some of them are at present active in the Communist movement. Machajski himself after the November Revolution (the latest news of him reached us in 1918), admitted that part of his predictions had not come true—*viz.*, the Bolsheviki had turned out to be better than he expected. And he was not sorry.

Anarchist Tendencies.

On the opposite pole, although likewise appealing to the unskilled and unemployed, was the Anarchist group "Beznachalye" (Without Authority). Founded by two picturesque young men, an Armenian student with the strange name of Nicholas Romanov who, quite different from his illustrious double, was famous for his wit and cleverness, and a former theological student with (then) Tolstoyan leanings (hence his nickname "Tolstoy"), the group claimed to be the direct continuator of the gospel of Bakunin and Nechayev. Like Machajski, they argued that the masses are always ready to revolt; but while Machajski, being a cold realist, wanted to employ this rebellious spirit for the struggle for immediate concrete demands, and was absolutely opposed to any idealist slogans such as "Socialism," "Anarchy," etc., which according to him could not bring about the workers' revolution, the "Beznachaltsy" urged the masses (or rather the few hundred readers whom their papers and leaflets reached) to kill, to rob the rich, to take revenge upon the bourgeois class, until after a long series of individual reprisals the whole mass of the people would rise in revolt for the beautiful ideal of Anarchy. The group met with a sad fate. Nicholas Romanov was arrested in Russia with bombs in his possession, and got fifteen years of hard labour. "Tolstoy" tried to rob a bank in Switzerland, killed two clerks and citizens who pursued him, and finally committed suicide in prison by burning himself with a kerosene lamp. A number of other members found their death on the scaffold. In general, the group disappeared. In a way, Makhno might be called their epigone.

Very near to this group was another Anarchist circle called after its organ "Chornoye Znamya" (The Black Flag). Its founder, Judah Grossman ("Roshchyn"), was a very brilliant speaker, who could enthrall his listeners with clever paradoxes. He borrowed much of his thunder from Machajski, and consequently did not like him very much. His two new contributions to Anarchist terminology were the "commune" and the "unmotived terror." His idea of the "commune" consisted in "seizing a city" if only for a couple of days, abolishing all authority there—and thus giving a shining example to the workers of the country. This plan remained forever dead theory. He had more success with his "unmotived terror." It consisted of throwing bombs into fashionable hotels, cafés, theatres or even in killing the first bourgeois one met on the street. It was called "unmotived," as opposed to the regular terrorism which was practised by other Anarchists on capitalists who for some reason had become obnoxious to the workers; his terrorism was to be practised without any special motive. Of course, he was quickly contradicted by some still more consistent rivals, who declared that killing bourgeois could not be called "unmotived" in any case, for the very fact of being a bourgeois was to the Anarchist already a criminal offence. There were such "unmotived" bombs in Odessa, Yekaterinoslav and Warsaw. A number of his personal friends and followers were executed. Grossman himself somehow survived and is now co-operating in Moscow with the Soviet Government as leader of the "Sovietsky," *i.e.*, pro-Bolshevist Anarchists, bitterly attacked, of course, by many of his former admirers.

Marxian" Anarchists.

In this connection we must also mention the group of Marxian or "Syndicalist-Anarchist-Communists," formed around the paper "Novy Mir" (1905), which was founded by a former Social-Democrat (of the Bolshevik faction, if we are not mistaken) who assumed the name of "Novomirsky." He was strongly opposed to the "expropriations" (*i.e.*, armed robberies), which had become a kind of favourite sport of a great number of Anarchists, and opposed to their heroic suicide-mania, something that was very

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ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ... ... " " 13/-

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HALF THE PEOPLE KEEPING THE OTHER HALF.

The plea of the Poplar Labour Councillors for the equalisation of London's rates is not a Communist or revolutionary one: it is purely respectable Reformism to which many a rigid Liberal will agree. Nevertheless, assuming that the Poplar Labour men stand to their guns and go to gaol for their principles, we offer them our congratulations, and cordially hope that they will get political treatment at Brixton. Nevertheless, should they get it we shall remember regretfully that their zeal for prison reform and their sympathy for other political prisoners, as well as for the other offenders, would have been greatly enhanced had they gone through the ordinary mill.

Mr. Lansbury's protest that half the people of Poplar are keeping the other half is as serious an indictment of the capitalist system as could be delivered.

Half the people are keeping the other half mainly because the other half are unemployed. They are not wanted by capitalism, and since they cannot legally be killed off they are maintained on the lowest possible rations by the people capital finds it profitable to employ.

Though the work of half the people is refused the community is actually short of the services the workless are accustomed to provide. Some of them are 'bus workers, and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus in going to and from our work, and plead with the conductor to let more than five of us hang on to the straps. Some of us go short of clothing, boots and food, coal and gas, and workers in all these services are unemployed. The houses in Poplar borough are falling down through age, neglect, and original poverty of construction, and if amongst the unemployed of the borough there are no builders, plumbers, carpenters or joiners, some of them might be trained in these crafts if only the capitalist system could be swept away. Under Communism there will be an abundance of work for all; a shortage rather than a surplus of labour, firstly because since all will live in comfort and plenty, consumption will be greatly increased. Thus there will be a much larger call for labour than at present.

Secondly, all workers will have abundant leisure for study, recreation and rest; the working hours will necessarily be reduced.

Out-of-works, you are not wanted in this system; because it is a system in which consumption is kept low by keeping the mass of the people in a state of chronic want.

Therefore change the system!

MOVING ON.

At French General Confederation of Labour Conference—

For Amsterdam ..... 1,572 votes
For Moscow ..... 1,327 votes

A Revolutionary Trade Union Committee will act as the Left Wing in the C. G. T.

UNEMPLOYED.

Robert Warwick, aged 60, lay on the railway at Peterborough and allowed a train to run over him because he was penniless and hungry.

Four men, three aged more than 70, and one aged 29, were found ill from starvation in London during the holidays and removed to infirmaries.

OUR SYMPATHY.

We tender our sympathy to the relatives of the Comrades, delegates to the Third International, who lost their lives in the Russian railway accident, and to the movement which will suffer the loss of their activities.

HYNDMAN ON THE DOWN GRADE.

H. M. Hyndman, having found himself in a reactionary minority in the B.S.P., left it to form a new organisation, which now calls itself the S.L.D.F. It seems likely that Hyndman will presently have his B.S.P. experience in his new organisation. When he referred, to "Maniacs from Moscow" delegates to the Annual Conference of his organisation howled at him. He and the Executive failed to secure the passing of a resolution against "Direct Action," and one urging British workers to "keep careful watch against being used by pro-German international militarists and financiers in weakening entente nations."

A resolution on Ireland was adopted, which is more advanced than any adopted by the Labour Party, and than the official policy of the Labour Party and its Parliamentary group.

This resolution condemned the partition of Ireland, demanded the withdrawal of British troops, Irish control of the R.I.C.; here is the crux of the Irish demand which the Labour Party is afraid of: "The abandonment of Castle rule and its replacement by an All-Ireland Parliament with full power."

A RECKLESS RECTOR.

Even the wiliest of politicians is liable at times to depart from the realm of illusion into that of fact. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that Mr. Bonar Law, who is not exactly a Machiavelli, was recently guilty of a serious breach of professional etiquette.

The indiscretion referred to happened on the occasion of Bonar's installation as Lord Rector of the Glasgow University. Whether the sense of his new dignities, combined with the plaudits of the gilded youth of St. Andrews had temporarily turned his brain, it is impossible to say; but certain it is, that the Right Hon. gentleman was moved to make the following remarkable confession:—

"Whatever may be in front of us, I have had, up to now, no serious disagreement with the Prime Minister."

"Not even when the latter gentleman was sowing his political wild oats by robbing hen-roosts and generally dragging British politics into the mire with his Limehouse oratory, nor yet when the ex-leader of the Opposition was proclaiming the sacred right of insurrection against the proposed decrees of the Government in which the present Prime Minister was a shining light."

To tell the truth, we had always suspected that these crises in the nation's history were not quite as desperate as they were made out to be at the time; but scarcely hoped to have our suspicions confirmed in so unmistakable a fashion from so authoritative a source.

After his burst of candour, it only natural that the new Rector should proceed in the spirit of levity which we are accustomed to associate with ceremonials of this description. Here is a sample of his somewhat ponderous humour:—

"One of the disadvantages of public life in a democratic country, is the part which the limelight apparently [!] plays in securing success. That part is not so great as it seems. The political leader must understand the people, with whom power rests [winks from the undergrads] and he is tempted to play on their weaknesses, but this does not go as far as is often supposed.

"No man can secure the confidence of the House of Commons or of the country, unless he has gained a reputation for disinterestedness and sincerity. The only way such a reputation can be retained is by the actual possession of these qualities."

In other words, if a statesman remains in office for any length of time, it can only be because he is tried, trusted and true.

A very consoling doctrine for the heroes of the "New World," "Hang the Kaiser" and "Make Germany Pay" election; but what do the recipients of their disinterested sincerity think about it?

FRANK TANNER.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Accounts must be paid monthly. Returns only accepted if sent in when account is due.

NEWS FROM SOVRUSSIA.

Fuel Supply.

The collecting of stocks of fuel is proceeding successfully in Russia, the Ukraine and the other Soviet republics.

"No Socialists Wanted."

The Japanese government has forbidden the participation of any Socialists in the Vladivostok "government."

Convention of the Baltic States.

After two days' negotiations the foreign ministers of the Baltic States have signed a political, economic and military convention. After two months there will be a new conference of the foreign ministers. A conference of the ministers of commerce will take place next week.

Radium.

The chemical laboratory of the Petrograd Academy of Sciences has obtained ten milligrams of radium from the first shipment of ores which they received. It is hoped to obtain 500 milligrams in the course of the current year.

Tribute to Tolstoy.

Government decree instructs People's Educational Commissariat, acting through duly appointed custodian, to preserve Yasnaia Poliana as a national Tolstoy Museum and educational centre, maintaining intact the entire estate with all buildings and reverently protecting the great thinker's grave. All agricultural land adjoining the estate to be handed over to the Tolstoyan Communist Industrial group governing it autonomously in accord with People's Agriculture Commissariat.

White Lead.

Captain Bowyer complained that the proposal by the International Labour Conference at Geneva to abolish the use of white lead in painting because it is so harmful to the workers engaged in it might mean the closing down of lead mines in Australia, Burma and Rhodesia. Trade comes before humanity in capitalist eyes. He asked that the British representatives should stand up for the use of poisonous white lead against the world. At the Marmet Baby Carriage Works, Letchworth, ten persons are employed in the painting department; five cases of lead poisoning are officially reported amongst them this year. The firm decided to discontinue the use of lead paints in May.

RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BEFORE 1905.

Continued from Page 3.

much akin to French Syndicalism. However, Communist-Anarchism for him soon became only the "program minimum," and he was about to withdraw to a purely philosophical Anarchism, when he was arrested and condemned to eight years of hard labour. After escaping from Siberia, he came to New York, determined to withdraw from politics for good, when the Russian Revolution of 1917 induced him to return again to his country. He is now a frequent contributor to Russian Communist reviews, and it is most likely that the old-time rivalry of the two Anarchist hereiarchs, Grossman-Roschyn and Novovirsky, has come to a close, now that they are both working for the Soviet Government.

The Maximalists."

The Social-Revolutionists also gave birth to a current that already in 1905—1906 was advocating the Social Revolution. It was at first only an opposition within the party, the main controversy being, if we are not mistaken, the question of the agrarian terrorism (terrorism against the big landholders) and the armed attacks for expropriating government money for party purposes. The official party, bent upon its respectability, was against these two forms of terrorism, and recognized only the killing of obnoxious government officials. Finally, that opposition founded a separate party calling itself "Socialists-Revolutionists-Maximalists," meaning that their revolutionary activity was bent upon immediate conquest of the maximum program, i.e., Socialism itself. One of their first theoreticians was Eugene Lozinsky, a writer of great learing and ability, who later embraced the gospel of Machajski. This party stands out among all other terrorist groups that ever existed in Russia, through the almost incredible daring with which they, in large groups, organized their terroristic attacks against the leading officials or the property of the Government. Most of them perished in the unequal struggle. It was their name (Maximalists) that was attached ten years later, after the March Revolution of 1917, by the bourgeois press to the Bolsheviki.

Among the present champions of Social Revolution in Russia it was strangely enough the then Menshevik Leon Trotsky who at that time, after the downfall of the Revolution of 1905, was the first to propagate the idea of the Social Revolution, not as something that was far distant, but as the task of the actual moment. This stand, of course, separated him from his former associates; he formed among the Russian Social Democrats a class by himself. No wonder that he joined the Bolsheviki, who had always formed the left wing of the Russian Social Democracy, when during the war they took the stand that in the course of time made them *the* party of the Social Revolution.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

Mrs. Brimley 10s., Dr. Polorteer £1, Friend (per S. Robinson 4s., W. J. Braddock 14s. 6d. Total, £2 8s. 6d.

THE GRIEF AND GLORY OF RUSSIA.

By HENRY SARA

Several capitalist newspapers have from time to time given considerable sympathy—and space—to the tales of Bolshevik tyranny towards the Anarchist movement in Moscow. A forged statement is in circulation, bearing signatures of prominent Anarchists like Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Shapiro, which finds full space for reproduction, sometimes even in facsimile, in papers having, as a rule, strong anti-Anarchist views. Shapiro is working in Moscow, in full sympathy with the Communist Party. Alexandra Berkman and Emma Goldman are collecting, for the Museum of the History of the Revolution. They were both in Moscow during Kropotkin's funeral.

The Anarchist Movement in Russia.

Now about the Anarchist movement in Moscow. What I saw was sufficient to convince me that nowhere in Capitalism would the same thing be allowed or tolerated. On the big main street, Tverskaia, there are to my knowledge two Clubs, one held by the Anarchist-Individualists, and the other run by the Anarchist-Communists, and I have seen both of them packed with mixed audiences, with their speakers holding forth, and the hour has been past midnight. Anarchist mottoes and portraits in colour adorned the walls. In the Anarchist-Communist Hall I saw a painting of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, or "Kloobs," were frequent, and outside the buildings were big sign-boards bearing the name and particulars of the organisation responsible for running the "Kloob."

As to literature, Bakunin's works and the writings of other Anarchists were prominently displayed in the bookshops, and at least three Anarchist publications, two weeklies, and one monthly were obtainable when I was in Moscow in May this year.

Anarchists in Prison.

So much for Anarchist suppression by the Bolsheviki. Now for two stories which help to explain how "conflicts" begin. The first is "against" the Bolsheviki. When Kropotkin was buried, "Anarchists" who were in prison for some offence under the Soviet, were given permission to leave prison and attend the funeral of their leader if they so desired; the yarn was then spun that when those who availed themselves of the privilege returned to the prison gates, they were refused admission, on the ground that they had not got a "probusk" (pass) to allow them to enter. As a matter of fact, they were entitled to stay out of prison until the following morning at 11 o'clock, which they did, and they returned without any such hitch as is described in this anti-Bolshevik yarn. My authority for this contradiction is an Anarchist whose lover was amongst them.

Smashing the Eagle.

The story "against" the Anarchists.

After a visit to the Kremlin, I went in company with a few others to see a very fine Museum which stands near to the famous Christchurch. We were accompanied by a comrade who, to let him down lightly, romanced a little. He was a strong anti-Anarchist. As we passed up the steps leading to the Museum, he pointed to the large bronze Eagles lying shattered in the snow. "See those," he said; "that is the kind of thing the Anarchists did: they smashed everything they could." Now, as a matter of fact, it is the avowed policy of the proletariat in Russia to remove all emblems of the old regime. They have not done it thoroughly, but the Russian Eagle is not quite so conspicuous as it once was; so these two bronze ones lying in the snow did not register the downfall of Art at the hands of the destructive Anarchists quite in the way that the guide seemed to imagine. When we got inside, further images and objects were pointed out to us as examples of Anarchist wilfulness and destruction among the Art treasures of the Moscow Museum. Our guide's knowledge of Art, however, was nil. There had been no acts of violence, either by Anarchists, or any other groups of the workers; the Museum exhibits were intact; the supposedly broken statues were reproductions of such world-famous examples of sculpture as the "Victory" of Samothrace, "Venus" of Milo, and other damaged or imperfect works of the old masters.

Lenin has said that there is always some explanation of the lies about Soviet Russia, and they are usually based upon half a truth or fact. These two stories serve to show how these yarns begin.

Workers' Control of Industry.

Podulsk is a town 40 versts outside Moscow; the huge factories erected by Singer's Sewing Machine Company stand out conspicuously, and the name of "Singer's" likewise, for it had not been removed from the walls when I was there. It was here that I got my first lesson as to the depth of power of control that the workers exercise in industry.

Through the large offices we went; the photographs of Singer's factories in America, hanging on the walls, seemed incongruous; the office staff seemed overcourteous and anxious to assist us in obtaining information.

At last we were introduced to the manager, a member of the Communist Party, named Buudin. He lacked all the fine grace usually associated with "nice" people. He was proletarian, vigorous, decisive and strong. Under his guardianship we went through shop after shop in the great locomotive works. The usual charts depicting factory system and management were explained, showing the method adopted regarding the process of shop connection and lines allowing the parts as completed to traverse consecutively from one shop to another. Screw-making lathes and every type of milling and planing machine were in action; pneumatic rivetting and tube-inserting were deafening. Hospital cars were in course of construction, by which epidemics were to be coped with and the shortage of doctors overcome. A car was occupied by youths who were being taught mathematics and drawing in intervals during their working time in the factory. The visit to the technical section and offices was instructive, not only for the samples of work to be seen, but also for the enthusiasm shown, as depicted in the chart of increased production, detailing the steady rise of output, in spite of the hardships that the workers in Podulsk have had to contend with in the past. Dinner was served in a hall, much after the method adopted at Bournville, in this country. The food was extremely good and tasty.

A Factory Meeting.

During the visit I had an opportunity of attending at a factory meeting. A Chairman was chosen from their own circle, called upon the "works manager," Buudin, to give an explanation of certain matters regarding factory management. Through some misunderstanding or other, a certain amount of disagreement was shown, and when matters reached a climax, Buudin said that he would vacate his position. He did so by getting right away from the circle, and returned only when repeated and unanimous calls were made for his return. To me it was a good sign. The workers were exercising their power to have whomsoever they wished to act in their interest. These factory "lands" were thrashing out problems for themselves, not allowing others to think for them. The freedom of the whole affair was astonishing.

A hooter went, telling of the closing down of the power plant. We surged out of the gates, above which was painted a figure of "The Worker," standing towards the rising sun. And above all, in the falling snow, the Red Flag swayed steadily in the breeze.

A Market.

On February 19th I left Moscow in order to make a journey to the South, and did not return to the Capital until Wednesday, April 6th. I propose to tell something of the general conditions, as briefly as possible.

The first stop we made was at Sysran about 500 miles from Moscow. It has a mixed population of about 6,000. A very large market was in full swing. The prices sound enormous to our English conception. For instance: sugar was 9,000 roubles per lb.; a loaf, 4,000 roubles; potatoes, 13,000 roubles per pood (36 lbs.); a small brass mug, tinned inside, 1,500 roubles. But there had been great scarcity in these parts. Much sabotage had been going on, and was still going on. The folks were simple, and an easy prey to the unscrupulous. Some idea of the hardship through which they were passing can be understood by the fact that the local authorities could issue an allowance of only 10 lb. of bread per month, whereas, previously, they were getting 18 lb. Asked how the people managed to get over the inability of the Soviet to issue them a full ration, it was explained that the workers had gardens from which they got plenty of vegetable food, and they were able to obtain a good supply of fish from the Vollickaye River, a tributary of the Volga, which ran nearby.

Proud of their Wheat Contribution.

In 1919, the Soviet demand for wheat from this part was 2,000,000 poods; towards this amount they managed to contribute 1,600,000 poods. In 1920, the Soviet demand was for 1,800,000, of which the people of Sysran contributed 1,200,000 poods. The little delegation of labourers, with one Communist, spoke rather proudly of their achievement; it was obvious that their's had been, and was, a bitter struggle.

A Nunnery.

At this place we were able to see a Nunnery, with the Sisters showing not the slightest trace of fear at our visit, and apparently conducting their lives as of old.

A School.

We went over the school depot, a place packed with charts, diagrams, models, and exhibits of all kinds for instruction. The method underlying the educational system in Soviet Russia is practical, and whatever can be taught better by illustration or model than by oral instruction, or where oral instruction can be improved by the use of illustration or model, the illustration or the model, or both, is or are used.

DELEGATES AT THE COMMINTERN

As seen by the Artist of the "FOLKETS DAGBLAD POLITIKEN" of Stockholm.

From left to right, top row—M. Relent (French Syndicalist), Herran (Communist Party, England), General Cushmin (Archangel), Abiloff (Soviet Republic of Azerbajan) A Woman Delegate from Azerbajan, Bill Haywood (I.W.W. of U.S.A.). Second Row—Rosmer (French Delegate and Member of the E.C. of the Commintern), Burian (Czecho-Slovakia), Reichenbach (Communist Labour Party of Germany), Kreibich (German Part of Czecho-Slovakia), Eugen Claussen (Norway) Colbjörnsen (Norway), Steinhart (Austria-Hungary).

THE CLOUDS OF A EUROPEAN WAR ONCE AGAIN.

By F. T.

During the months of April and May this year the shadow of war hung over Europe again. Whether such a danger has been removed it is difficult to affirm, yet the fact remains that breathlessly the Allied Governments have escaped by a hair's breadth the launching of the inferno of war.

The garbled press reports conveyed little of the danger to the British public, in whose heart the old spirit of conquest and vengeance was aroused with visions of "collecting an indemnity" by an advance of Anglo-French military forces into Germany.

The complicated nature of such a step, and the secret quarrel about the possession of German coal, was kept from the public ear; France determined to collect a substantial indemnity payment in coal independent of Britain, *and its adverse effect upon our export coal trade* was held from publicity. The plot against Anglo-French peace was unknown. Yet the fact remains that war was in the air, and a miracle has prevented its outbreak.

The Coal Dispute here.

The press has informed the people that high wages in the coal industry have rendered our export coal prices prohibitive. How silent are the miners' leaders! Yet how simple is the answer open to many. According to the indemnity terms, payment in kind is exceptable, and Germany has proceeded to carry out the terms by flooding Europe with indemnity coal.

As a result there is a slump in our export coal trade.

French Imperialist aims.

The debt of France to America is so vast that the Briand Government must look favourably on plans of recuperation and the development of French commerce.

The productive industries of France, associated with foreign trade, can consume indemnity coal to the financial advantage of French capitalists.

The gain of considerable iron resources in Alsace-Loraine, augmented by iron ore from the Ruhr, combined by unlimited coal seized by force of arms, would aid in restoring France. Here lies the danger of hostility between Britain and France. The fancied "make Germany pay" nonsense brought with it the rattle of the artillery and the bark of the machine guns between former Allies. The boast of French economic fortune, the slump in logical consequence of our own, follows in sharp consistency an old man's peace, and carries with it the final demonstration of capitalist impotence to end war.

That matters are so we see no reason to complain. The science of Socialism teaches us the cause; we are content to leave the wisecares of Britain and France respectively to dig the grave of Capitalism.

The Effect of Indemnity in Britain.

While France continues in wild abandonment to threaten the peace of Europe by mad Imperialism (to save herself); Britain, in view of public opinion, may be forced to offer to reduce the German indemnity in order to stiffen her resistance to France. Nevertheless, the passage of indemnity goods to these shores represents a fall in the quantity of normal Anglo-German trade. What a mess, what a demonstration of Capitalist failure amid the straining at the leash of the dogs of war!

After due reflection upon the bankruptcy of our foreign policy, it was refreshing to read the frank admissions of Winston Churchill in a speech to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday, June 3rd. Whether he was singing a swan song to the Liberal traditions of Lancashire I have since wondered; but, in any case, he delivered a "Dempsey thrust" at the present Government policy.

He said that Germany had paid nearly 350 millions in indemnity or reparations, including gold, shipping, and commodities. "The indemnity which Germany has bound herself to pay during the next 40 or 50 years must in the main be paid in manufactured goods, for Germany does not produce raw materials except coal."

But, in so far as goods from Germany come here, he added, not as a result of natural trade (which of course means exchange of goods between two countries), but in the mere payment of a debt, undoubtedly they would exercise a depressing influence over domestic industry, and hamper in a serious manner our export trade.

America, he asserted, is passing through a financial crisis due to the interference of normal European exchanges of goods with America, by the indemnity terms, which load her home markets with German goods, and make continuance of exports impossible.

Germany, a vanquished country, he said, presents a spectacle of feverish industrial activity; her working class are busy paying off the indemnity in goods to the detriment of Allied commerce. Then comes the astoundingly candid admission: "If Germany during the next 50 years should continue to pay up in goods, she would, by that process, become master of every market in the world! She would be, in fact, the sole exporting nation."

Churchill has brains and can see the death of Britain's economic prestige in the blundering indemnity clauses of Versailles. Indeed, Mr. Churchill is now a pupil of Mr. Keynes, who wrote "The Economic Consequences of the Peace."

Referring to peace, he threw cold water on the League of Nations. "It is no good trusting to a paper League of Nations," he declared. Fancy such candour from such a source! One can see Lord Robert Cecil blush, and almost anticipate an Admiral Sims' fate for "Winnie."

The world must be made secure by a lasting fraternity between Britain, France and Germany, we have been told, and the wind blows an echo from Fleet Street: "Never again!"

"The indemnity clauses must be reconstituted: milder terms," etc. Ah, the humbug! British wire pullers are making love to German ears in order to stiffen German bayonettes against Foch in the Ruhr!

France wants the Ruhr coal, must have it, in fact, in order to smelt iron!

Britain wants to stop the Ruhr coal going to France, must stop it, in fact, to keep a lead in Europe!

Hence Churchill's swan song, and his platitudes to "reduce the indemnity sentiments."

Beneath it all seeths the pit of war, while diplomats long and strive to resist the rising of the tide.

Out of it all stands the unassailable fact that Europe is heading fast towards war, or, if International Labour has the mind and courage for the task, towards the march of millions in revolutionary array, and in one mass surging forward to thwart the plot against the peace of Europe. As William Morris wrote: "And who are these with eyes aflame and hands to deal and do?"

ON THE TRAIL OF THE REDS!

By M.I.C.P.

Dedicated to the Readers of the "Morning Post."

Mrs. Ellen Fitzgerald was a woman of about fifty years of age, but looked much younger. Being the wife of a multionaire financier she could afford a Rolls-Royce or some such means of transport; she could dress magnificantly and look attractive, if she had so chosen. But Mrs. Fitzgerald's happeness had of late been disturbed by the alarming allegations of her trusted friend, the Editor of "The Morning Truth." That gentleman, Gregory by name, had made a special point of referring to "Bolshevik Gold," "Bolshevik Diamonds," "Bloody Revolution," and the "British Bolsheviks."

Mrs. Fitzgerald was alarmed; in fact, she imagined the revolution being manufactured; and the horrible article, by now nearly completed. She was remotely related to Sir Bernard Sleuth, the head of the Secret Service; therefore she had it in her blood—and she could not help it. Accordingly, one Sunday afternoon she disguised herself in the attire of a respectable working-class woman, and journeyed forth to try and find out what her great relation had failed to discover, namely, the "British Bolsheviks" manufacturing revolution.

She proceeded to Earl's Court Station, and asked for a fourpenny ticket, for which she tendered a ten pound note. The clerk judging her only by her attire, was suspicious of the note, and demanded something smaller. This made Mrs. Fitzgerald very angry, but bravely bearing this insult from one of the lower orders she searched her pockets for the necessary pence, and snatching her ticket hurried on for her train. She was careful to get into a smoking carriage, as she thought it more probable she might overhear some conversation which would give her the "clue" she was seeking. She entered the carriage, and looking round stealthily, spied a couple of working men in shabby attire sitting together at the far end, and conversing in fairly loud tones. She heroically dashed down the carriage took the vacant seat opposite them—and listened to their conversation.

"Old Fitzgerald's got the wind up, eh?" said one of the men. "'spect he's got too much to lose, that's why."

"Not half!" answered his companion, who was studying a newspaper. "Look here, he says in this paper that the blooming capitalists give us what we earn, I'd like to know who earns £150,000 a year. As Comrade Pankhurst says in the 'Dreadnought,' 'we're robbed!'"

"Oh, by the way, Harry," said the first speaker, "We could see Comrade Pankhurst to-day, she will be at the 'Dreadnought' Office. I should like to ask her a few questions about getting to Russia."

Mrs. Fitzgerald could hardly contain herself with excitement on hearing this, and as soon as the train stopped, got out, and changed her carriage, and when she was comfortably seated took out her note-book and wrote: "Pankhurst, 'Dreadnought' Offices." "Ha," she murmured, "I'll find this Bolshevik. I'll expose her luxurious living, I wonder if she will be wearing the Bolshevik jewels; oh, the Anti-Christ, the blood-thirsty Bolsheyik, I should like to kill her! I can't see why Bernard doesn't find her. If he had only half my brains it isn't it easy!" and with a disdainful look at the solitary man at the other end of the carriage she leant her head down to think.

At Trafalgar Square Station she got off the train and inquired for Fleet Street, and while waiting for the bus she let her imagination run loose. She imagined a dark passage, a dark heavy-looking door with a sliding panel halfway up it, she waited a while and watched. Presently two men approached and knocked on the door, after a few minutes the panel flew open, and a Chinaman put his head out; one of the men gave the pass-word in an unknown tongue, and they were admitted.

In imagination Mrs. Fitzgerald saw herself approach the door and knock. The Chinaman again appeared, and after some delay she was admitted. Inside was a dark entrance hall and more Chinamen with daggers, and other mysterious looking men, making mysterious signs to one another. But at the sight of her the men, suddenly becoming suspicious, put on top hats to disguise themselves. Then she imagined herself getting round the Chinamen, and the mystery men, and walking straight through to the room where Comrade Pankhurst was sitting, and then she became confused and dropped her note-book, which was picked up by a Persian guard, who read it, and uttered some words in an unknown language, then all the company rushed at her in a threatening manner, as if they would kill her. She was saved at last by a misled Britisher who happened to be there, and escaping, she hurried off, in imagination, to Sir Bernard Sleuth, and thus saved the country—in imagination.

But when an hour later she found herself at 152, Fleet Street, and climbed some dark stairs—no Chinamen were to be seen, no mystery men. But still Mrs. Fitzgerald hoped. But lo! she is at the fourth floor! There three doors confront her. A note on one of them says: "'Workers' Dreadnought.' Come in"—she crept in.

There was only an ordinary office. Books and pamphlets, here and there. A lady sitting alone in plain attire, studying the "Sunday Truth."

"Can I see Miss—er—Comrade Pankhurst?" inquired Mrs. Fitzgerald in faltering tones.

"I am Miss Pankhurst. What can I do for you," replied the lady.

"I am glad to see you—I just came to inquire if you think the Revolution will break out soon," said Mrs. Fitzgerald, at a loss for something to say.

"I think the Revolution will come when the people desire it," replied Miss Pankhurst, gently. "Perhaps you would like to buy some literature on the subject, here is Upton Sinclair's 'The Spy,' here is ——."

But Mrs. Fitzgerald did not wait for any more, she was out of the office and down the stairs in a twinkling.

Once safely in Fleet Street she called the first taxi, and was whisked off to Earl's Court, never again to venture on the trail of the "Reds."

WHAT'S SHE, THE GRANNY WITH DEMENTED LOOKS?

What's she, the old soul with wild, whispish hair,
And black eyes burning in a pallid face,
Her fingers sticking out like waxen spikes
Under the long sleeves that engulf her hands?
Goes she not tamed among the ordered file,
But hither, thither, runneth o'er the grass,
Gathers green leaves and tells a chattering tale,
Her garments flapping in the frisky wind,
Her stockings and her garters round her feet.
Now stern the officer to order calls:
Pays Gran no heed; but eager rusheth on,
To pick a crust from some cell window cast,
And childish, fancying pigeons to entice,
Chases their buoyant flight with tottering tread.

* * * *

The well-fed Magistrate hath felt no shame
To send this old demented granny here.

E.S.P.

CONGRATULATIONS.

To Errico Malatesta and Amando Borghi, released in Milan on July 31st.

To John McLean, released in Glasgow in August 2nd.

To Comrades Cook, Dollings and Wells, the South Wales Rebels, who are always fighting, on their present. We hope they will suffer as little as possible from their ordeal.

BADGES.

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THE DEBASEMENT OF LOVE.

By D. E. MULLINS.

In our endeavours to overthrow an economic system which is a standing violation of the principles of brotherhood and mutual service, it is essential for us to remember that it is not on economic grounds alone that we are fighting for revolution. The social revolutionary must guard against restriction of interests and activities, if the New Order for which he is striving is to be worthy of his sufferings and sacrifices. The more he learns of the complex nature of human relationships and of the influences which affect them, the more will he realise the futility of such a tendency. It renders his appeal less effective; since it is only a broad outlook which can attract men of varied types and sympathies. It may seem, for example, a far cry from Socialism to psycho-analysis—yet each is devoted to the same great task: the deliverance of humanity from tyranny and repression. At the present critical juncture we are obliged to emphasise the economic aspect—we cannot as yet appeal to slum-dwellers by lectures on psychology or Greek art. Yet that is our ultimate objective. Our Russian comrades have shown their realisation of this fact by their zeal in education and their encouragement of theatres and Art schools. We desire fullness of life for each worker who is prepared to devote himself to the common weal; the treasures of music, art, and literature are a part of his heritage, not the monopoly of the privileged few.

Life and Sex.

One of our strongest grounds for hating Society, as at present constituted, is its misconception and abuse of the sexual instinct. This, the source of all that is best in life, the inspiration of the poet's sweetest lays and the musician's divinest melodies, is degraded to the level of a commercial transaction and robbed of all its joy and beauty. Here, then, is a field for revolution—for the assertion of the rights of personality against the cash nexus.

Convention.

An undue respect for convention results in a warped and prejudiced view of ideas which, given but superficial consideration, seem calculated to encourage immorality. The intellectual inertia which forms so powerful an obstacle in the path of progressive thought and social reform, is a factor to be reckoned with in the moral sphere. It is much easier to accept without question the code upon which Society has set its seal of approbation, than to investigate the bases of that code and to judge them by rational analysis. It is self-evident that true morality must rest upon a more secure foundation than that of popular opinion, which is more easily influenced by custom, herd-instinct, and catch-words, than by calm reasoning.

Why Love is Misunderstood.

Popular ideas with regard to the sexual relationship are peculiarly subject to the influence of the "conventional" outlook. The requirements of traditional usage are considered all-important, while psychology and physiology are almost entirely disregarded. We therefore discover very clear and unmistakable manifestations of the conflicts and repressions familiar to students of psycho-analysis; tendencies which lead to mental instability rather than to radiant physical health. Not only is this a menace to national welfare—it constitutes a danger to civilisation itself. The primary instincts of the human race are those of self-preservation and sex, and it is therefore evident that society can be stable only in so far as it provides suitable means of expression for them. It is an unfortunate fact that sex has been so much misunderstood, through an entirely false and unnatural prudery, that popular education on the subject becomes a difficult matter. Obscurantism bears its natural fruit of unreality, and the dictates of "respectability" are accepted as inviolable laws (unless they can be broken in secret!).

Purity v. Legalism.

A man may be both impure and licentious in his private life, provided that his loveless liaison be sanctioned by Church or State. Purity is concerned less with morals than legality. There is a striking scene in Henrik Ibsen's famous play, "Ghosts," where Oswald Alving, cruel victim of parental vice, makes indignant reply to the pastor who has been shocked at hearing of the kind of life lived by the artists of Paris. He has learnt that legal bonds alone do not make for love, happiness, or purity—that "irregular unions," where there is mutual respect, are incomparably more beautiful.

The Fear of Freedom.

It is easy to understand the opposition of religious teachers and others to such ideas—they fear that liberty may lead to licence, and are dubious of placing too much faith in human nature. We would admit the possibilities of danger in that direction, but we would point out that prostitution and vice are rampant now; and also that progress in freedom, whether in the political, industrial, or any other sphere, must of necessity involve the taking of risks. We are reminded of the saying of Archbishop Magee: "I would rather see England free than England sober."

The Path to Reform.

In order to attain the fullness of our social aspirations, we need a higher standard of education and communal responsibility than obtains at present. We repudiate the idea that ideals may be depreciated, simply because they are "Utopian." It is our pitiful lack of ideals which stands in the way of progress. We therefore fail to realise the wonderful possibilities enshrined in the conception of the "Social Revolution." As for the mere legalist, he fails entirely to see that a community inspired by the spirit of comradeship and sacrifice can dispense with many laws rendered necessary by conditions of greed, force, and selfishness.

COMMUNICATIONS TO THE EDITOR.

All letters and MS. for the Editor should be addressed to:—

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,
152, FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

and should be clearly marked "*Editor.*"

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

THE ETHICS OF INVESTMENTS.

Dear Editor,—I was very much interested in your discussion on the above subject. May I be allowed to suggest that the reason why Dr. Sadler is unable to understand your acceptance of Lenin's Methods may be due to his misconception of what those Methods are, and that he ought to make himself acquainted with them from a reliable source, and not take for granted the garbled version of the adversary.

"If a man robbed and killed your friends in the process of educating his son, his action would have an excuse, though no justification;" but the Capitalist Governments kill and rob your friends without the shadow of an excuse, from sheer greed, rapacity and coretousness. And the Doctor has no one else to blame for his loss than his own British pseudo-government, whose action absolves Lenin from any responsibility.

When the Russian Czarist Army crumbled away, the Russian people, in the throes of the debacle, called Lenin to the rescue. Lenin was quite averse to the re-establishment of a National Army, and pleaded for peace, but the allied bandits (the British being the dominant factor) compelled Russia to reconstruct an Army in self-defence, and in direct opposition to, and violation of the principles* of Lenin and his group. The cost of reconstruction and maintenance of the Army, and the unnecessary continuance of war, completely dissipate any claim that the capitalists might otherwise have had. Had the allies been conciliatory or tractable, there would have been no Russian Army to-day!

When the Lenin government proposed to negotiate for peace, which of course includes repayment of capital† by instalments or otherwise, Dr. Sadler's capitalistic dictator, the British Plutocrats, arrogantly repudiated Lenin's authority and refused to negotiate, and thereby enforced Russia to re-mobilise, which would consume their capital and render it impossible for Lenin either to repay or negotiate for any repayment.

Further, Lenin's group never received either the capital or the Railways it was supposed to have built. The Czar's group had these, and the Czar's and capitalist's war destroyed both Capital and Railways along with the Russian Army long before the accession of Lenin! There is no case against Lenin. I have invested some savings in local enterprises and Industries, and received neither interest nor repayment of capital, of which I hold the worthless scrip, so much waste paper, I might just as easily accuse Lenin of robbing me of this.

The Doctor says "Capitalism is a great evil!" but tries to beguile himself that good comes out of it, which is against his own creed and principles. To argue thus would be to say that Plunder is good because it increases the robbers' capital, and incidentally brings grist to the capitalists' mill.

No! Doctor, your claim for breach of trust lies against Asquith, Lloyd George and the Coalition, with their allied confederates.

Lenin is not guilty!

Yours truly,
B. L. BOWERS.

97, Aireville Road,
Frizinghall, Bradford.

[* It would be more accurate to say against their desires. The Bolsheviki foresaw that capitalism would fight to maintain itself, and knew that Communism must be prepared to resist capitalism's armed attack. —EDITOR, "Workers' Dreadnought."]

[† Repayment of capital by a Communist country could only be forced as an unfortunate necessity; it could never be done willingly as a matter of principle.—EDITOR, "Workers' Dreadnought."]

Dear Editor,—I quite agree with Comrades Staple and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and is likely to be so for some time.

But I think that a very little more thought upon the matter will enable Comrades Staple and Goldberg to see that the way to meet the evil is not by setting up against the old religious dogmas the new ones of Marx: "Materialist conception of History Class Struggle: Theory of Surplus Value."

This way met the remedy would soon prove a greater evil than the disease. The evil must be met in quite another way, namely, by producing by the modern facts of exploitation an atmosphere which will cause the old dogmas to wither away, and will cause the Comrades who hold them to drop them, or go out from us.

If we are not content to rely on this, but must bring in force and a fresh set of Dogmas, then I think we may well question the strength of our own case. I remember well the time when the Sky Pilots entered the S.D.F. and I.L.P., destroyed its little revolutionary energy and reduced it to a state of fog, in which no man knew where he was.

But what was the cause? The vile wretches of our Class out for Graft, and to feed personal ambition, wanted to get on the Town Councils and in the Capitalist Parliament, and to get votes they told us that we must not hit too hard the Dopers. But this cannot occur again, because the Movement is rapidly becoming Anti-Parliamentarian.

We are approaching the stage when we are more likely to be divided by Modern Dogmas than by Ancient ones. The Marxian Dogmas have, to put it at the mildest, been proved insufficient where they have come up against facts. The Manhood Suffrage and Political State Socialist Movements did not at all come out as Marx and Engels expected. The whole vile pack of State Socialists ratted when the day of trial came. Therefore do away with all the Dogmas, say I, Religious, Political and Social, and let us keep our eyes on the living facts ever changing about us, and let us be guided by this living experience, and allow no man to erect his experience into a Dogma and standard for ours. We can only become faithful to such doctrines as the Class War and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat when they have entered into and have become a part of our life, and no longer exist as a mere intellectual formula of Marx or Lenin. The real vital experience of the Members must be the driving force of the Communist Movement, not the thoughts hardened into Dogmas of a few great men, past and present. As Michael Bakounine says: "Let us put our trust in the Eternal Spirit that destroys; it is the unfathomable and eternally creative source of all life. The passion of destruction is a creative passion."

JOHN TAMLYN.

15, New Street, Plymouth.

[This correspondence must now close.—ED., W.D.]

Clara Cole (Camberwell) writes: "John Brown's article in the week before last is specially fine."

PRISON LIFE.

DEAR EDITOR—

I had no intention of entering into a "debate" with you, but perhaps you will allow me a few words more.

1.—First, I am not Hon. Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform. That post is in the more competent hands of Miss Margery Fry, to whom I handed over the Hon. Secretaryship of the Penal Reform League more than two years ago.

2.—Your idea of the Probation Officer is perhaps taken from bad examples, of which their are plenty, or from a misconception. Many ex-probationers will give a very different account of the Probation Officer; for they have found him or her a good friend in need. The probation method may be only a makeshift to mitigate an evil system, but it introduces a new principle and a good one—namely, friendship in place of repression and retaliation. The fact of the Probation Officer being a Court official does not entirely spoil the friendship, if he is the right sort.

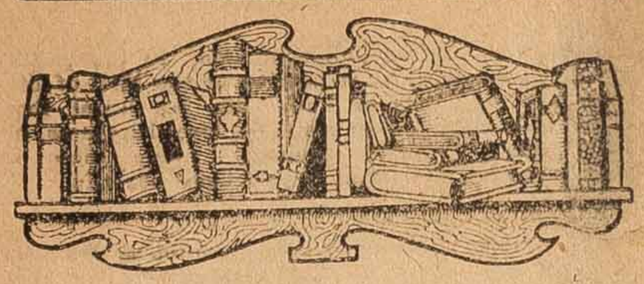
3.—Hospital colonies for inebriates, etc., such as I have advocated, are possible under Capitalism, as you would, I think, agree if you had seen the Norfolk State Hospital in Massachusetts.

4.—I have never forgotten that people will not want the fact that they have been punished to be known; but you will perhaps agree that they will not be ashamed of a training college in which they have found fellowship, useful knowledge, and happy life. My whole aim has been to get away from punishment.

5.—I do not think I said anything about militia in that rather hasty memorandum I wrote at the request of a friend of Kerensky, when he was Minister of Justice.

For the rest, I so much agree with you, especially over the children, that I am not inclined to quarrel with you or your programme. Certainly I am not very proud of the production which you have specially selected for criticism. My own aim, in directing the policy of the Penal Reform League was, in the main, not so much to formulate measures or programmes as to work out the principles and generate the spirit and understanding which would make a real revolution possible, not only in this department, but throughout human life.

Yours,
ARTHUR ST. JOHN



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE.

(By Karl Marx. With an historical Introduction by R. W. Postgate. Labour Classic No. 1. The Labour Publishing Co., 6, Tavistock Square, W.C. 48 pp. 3s. 6d. net.)

As a note forewarns us, this volume partly consists of matter reprinted from "Revolution 1789—1906," by the same author, with the addition of two manifestoes issued by the E.C. of the First International in 1870, at their offices in 256, Holborn (W.C., as in up-to-date fashion the Author adds). Comrade Postgate is a painstaking student who is fortunate with his connection with printers. The Pelican Press Booklets are always good.

Although the slavery of the wages system remains, many things political have changed since Marx wrote, and consequently reprints of his pamphlets or newspaper articles without explanatory notes are likely to be somewhat dry reading, and may also fail to be of immediate educative utility, however much they may satisfy the historical student.

These useful reprints will assist greatly in awakening the attention of workers to the high importance to be attached to anything Marx wrote, and we hope the day is not distant when an English Comrade, uniting with Postgate's diligence, ability of author and critic, will provide the movement with a critical study of Marx's writings, showing clearly his attitude, not only towards the economic facts, but also towards more rapidly changing political happenings.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

History of Trade Councils. 1860—1875. By Cicely Richards. Labour Research Department, 33, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. 1s.

Labour Monthly. A magazine of International Labour. No. 1, July, 1921. Labour Publishing Company, Limited. 1s.

The Social Expression of the Spiritual Life. By Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A., LL.B. C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

J. H. THOMAS, MONARCHIST.

J. H. Thomas, in the House of Commons on July 29th, said:—

"The position that His Majesty occupies in this country to-day, is a position second to none occupied by any King in any part of the world. . . .

"If the party with which I am associated came into power to-morrow we all believe that His Majesty would accept our advice as he readily accepts the advice of the present Government. (Loud cheers.)

"It is the duty of all in the House to associate themselves with the dignified protest that he makes . . . not only in the interests of himself, but in the interests of constitutional government in this country."

We, of course, desire a Soviet *Republic*. We were under the impression that all Socialists must of necessity be republicans. It is said by some people that the Labour Party has become Socialist now.

BY RIGHT AND REASON—*Continued from Page 2.*

with fresh meat to one's liking gratis every day, is better than keeping a whole carcas on ice in one's private larder, the need to prevent people from seizing land or other forms of wealth for private hoarding will cease.

When there are not masses of hungry people watching the well-fed and well-to-do enjoying a life of plenty, robbery, burglary and such results of the existence of rich and poor will cease. When the world of the enterprising merchant, who is the citizen of a mighty Empire, and whose God is £ s. d., on the one hand; and of the weaker peoples dwelling in rich lands they cannot defend, on the other, has been replaced by a federation of Communist Republics' Armies and Navies will be memories of the past.

To-day force wars with force, and those who stand aside and refuse to take a hand in the overthrow of the exploiting system are consenting parties to the continuance of the rule of force.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THEY ARE TRYING TO STARVE YOU!

TO THE UNEMPLOYED.

The Government has cut down the unemployment dole.

You go to the guardians for relief.

The guardians are not very generous, but they give you something.

The guardians give only a little to each unemployed applicant. Some they refuse altogether, but all the little doles amount to a vast sum.

Up go the rates! The ratepayers are crying out! Up go the rents, too. That hits you, the unemployed, as well as the rest.

At last the rates get so high that the Borough Councillors dare not levy them.

That has happened first in Poplar: it will happen in other Boroughs next.

So the Council gets into debt.

The King "*George the Fifth* by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Defender of the Faith," sends greetings to Poplar Borough Council by order of Lloyd George's Government, the Government that cut down the unemployment dole. The King sends with his greetings two writs: one because the Poplar Borough Council has not paid the money it owes to the London County Council, and the other because it has not paid what it owes to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the latter sum being £7,036.

If the Poplar Councillors go to prison or cave in, then relief by the guardians to the unemployed is going to stop. It will be a case of "no relief to the able-bodied poor."

What will happen to you then?

Some of you will enlist. Some of you will emigrate.

The rest will starve or ——.

Change the system. That is the only way to put an end to unemployment.

There is no unemployment in Soviet Russia.

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