Kaiser Karl's Attempt.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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GERMAN NOTES FROM THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

By Our Special Correspondent in Germany.

We publish below, the first instalment of a continuous series of notes by a member of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany (the K.A.P.D.), which, after being excluded from the Third International by the Parliamentary opportunists, originated the Fourth Workers' Communist International. These notes will explain clearly and with illustrations drawn from facts of everyday experience, the need for an Anti-Parliamentary and genuine Revolutionary movement.

We urge you to study the notes with impartial care.

That our K.A.P.D. correspondent is accurate in his news items, is shown by the fact that his statements are frequently borne out by those in the official Third International communications of the "Rosta" Agency and the newspapers of the Third International. These publications, however, too often approve what our correspondent condemns.

One of the political questions most in evidence in Germany, at present, is the decision of the League of Nations as to the fate of Upper Silesia. Political parties, from the German Nationalists to the Communist Party, are doing their utmost to rouse the indignation of the working population against the attempt of the Allied Powers to throttle Germany economically, by depriving it of some of its most important industrial territory.

In spite of all the so-called revolutionary Socialist and Communist aspirations of the working masses, their leaders have concentrated on inducing them to demonstrate for the "united front of the black, red, and gold democratic Republic."

On the death of Labour's arch-enemy, Erzberger, the "Socialists and Communists" held protest demonstrations of hundreds of thousands.

On the recent opening of the Reichstag, Clara Zetkin, as representative of the Communist Party, pledged her Party's solidarity with all other democratic Republican Parties, to protect and safeguard, by all and every means, the existence of the German "free" Republic.

To-day, with regard to the Upper Silesian situation, the attitude of the Socialists and would-be Communists remains unchanged. Their organs, throughout, lament the "outrage committed upon Germany." They glorify the "loyal" intentions of the Wirth Cabinet to resign in a body, if the Supreme Council of the Entente should decline to revise the decision of the League of Nations, on the ground that it violates certain clauses of the Versailles Peace Agreement.

The fact that the Communist Party continually blows the Nationalist trumpet, and effaces the line of demarcation between the interests of Capital and Labour, goes to prove how deeply the opportunist policy, which has grown up in the Third International, has undermined the principles of the militant class-war in all countries.

Whilst writing on this subject, it is necessary to point out that, although, the Communist Party here refuses, for the present, to join the "pure" Socialist Governments of the various constituent German States, it nevertheless uses its Parliamentary power to maintain the bourgeois Socialists in office, by voting for and supporting these "pure" Socialist Governments.

This counter-revolutionary policy has already borne fruit, as, for instance, in Saxony, where the "Socialist" Government have called out the troops against the starving unemployed, who publicly demanded more adequate provision for their needs.

This self-same Saxon "Socialist" Government has declined to comply with the request of the Parliamentary Communists, to demand of the German Government amnesty for the victims of the last March revolt, now filling the various prisons.

These bitter experiences have, nevertheless, not prevented the Communist Party of Thuringia quite recently from using their votes to secure the return of a "pure" Socialist Government, and to hold the Parliamentary balance between them and their bourgeois Reformist competitors.

On Sunday, October 16th, the Municipal elections will be held here, and the "Red" Parties—Social Democrats, Independents, and Parliamentary Communists—have formed, as they call it, "a tremendous phalanx," to beat the great combine of all bourgeois parties. The Parliamentary Communists play absolute havoc with the adherents of their Party. On the one hand, they appeal to the Bourgeois-Social Democratic Government to come to the succour of Soviet Russia, and to take up the most intimate business relations with it; they also continually bombard the leaders of the Social Democrats and Independents, demanding an active united front of the whole proletariat, and in Municipal matters they are prepared to form the "Red" unity block. On the other hand, they abuse the majority Socialists for their treachery in seeking coalition with the Stinnes Party (as if such coalition is any worse than that with the Centre, or Democratic Party!) and shout from the housetops their "determined" hostility to the German Government and its supporters. A tragic comedy, indeed!

The revolutionary Communists of the Communist Workers' Party have a tremendous task before them to prove to the proletariat the utter failure and futility of this opportunist policy.

How the German Government Lies.

The answer given by the Government to the question concerning the ill-treatment of Comrade Max Hoelz, in the prison of Muenster, proves that all charges brought against the Government are fully justified. Hoelz suffers from a nervous disease that he has contracted in the war, through being buried by falling earth. His neurotic pain, that is much aggravated by his imprisonment, causes him sometimes to cry out and talk to himself. Once when he was thus overcome, the Prison Governor sent four warders to take Hoelz to a padded cell. In doing so, the warders ill-used him by hitting him on the head. He was made to stay in the padded cell the first night, naked and shivering with cold, and although he kept perfectly calm, he was kept there four days and four nights. The reply of the Parliamentary representatives of the Government alleges that Hoelz had delivered propaganda speeches in prison, and that though he had been threatened with removal to an observation cell, he continued his agitation; that therefore five warders had been ordered to take him to the observation cell. He offered violent resistance; he had not been ill-used, but it was possible he had knocked himself as he was being removed. The conduct of the Governor had been correct. As Hoelz is undergoing a life-sentence, leave of absence could not be granted him. A further question as to whether the illness of Hoelz has grown worse, and whether measures for relieving his pain have been taken, was suppressed by the Chairman of the Reichstag, who remarked that this was a new question.

Strike Breakers Supplied with Weapons by Employers.

The strike of the Hotel and Restaurant employees continues unabated. The employers now supply their strike-breakers with weapons and employ provocative agents, to make it appear that the strikers are terrorists. The police side with the employers, being heavily bribed by good food, drink, smokes, and money. The employers have vainly tried to get the cooks to organise themselves in a separate organisation, so that they may be able to enter into special agreements. The employers have also tried to break the strike by inducing the organised managers and clerks to persuade the strikers to come to a settlement. This attempt has failed, the only result being that several managers and clerks who had been on the Executive of the men's organisations, have been removed from such posts.

As in Britain—Higher Prices, Lower Wages, Longer Hours.

According to the statistics of the Government, the rise in prices continues. During September, prices have gone up generally by 8 per cent. Potatoes and corn have kept stationary, but all other articles are higher in price, and some considerably; meat, fish, fat. 10 per cent.; colonial produce, 30 per cent.; agricultural home produce, 5 per cent.; hides and leather, 35 per cent.; textile goods, 27 per cent.; metals, 20 per cent.; coal and iron, 30 per cent.; industrial goods, altogether, 16 per cent.; the home produced articles (corn, potatoes, meat, fish, fat, coal, iron), from 3 to 10 per cent.; the imported articles, from 20 to 35 per cent. Since 1914, the prices of food, clothing, etc., have become sixteen times as high, wages, however, only five to eight times as high. And yet the employers resist every demand for a rise in wages with utter brutality, and gradually proceed to break through the legal eight-hours' day, as in the case of the great Senna Works and some coal mines. And in view of all this misery, the Parliamentary Communists call for the protection of the dear democratic Republic of Ebert, Wirth, Stinnes and Co.

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MAX HAVELAAR.

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

Continued from last week.

"My child, if they tell you I am a wretch, who had no courage to do justice; that so many mothers have died by my fault; if they tell you that the neglect of your father stole away the bliss of their lives . . . Max bear witness how I suffer!"

He bursts into tears, which Tine kissed away. Then she put little Max to bed—a mat of straw—and when she returned found Havelaar in conversation with Verbrugge and Duclari.

"The Resident is in a difficult position," said Duclari. "He cannot advise the Government to accept your proposals, for too much would come to light. If after an open investigation all this should be known, the Governor-General will summon the Resident to account for it, and ask how it is that he has not discovered in two years what was obvious to you immediately. The Resident must therefore prevent that investigation."

"I have considered that," replied Havelaar," and, put on my guard by his endeavours to move the Regent to say something against me—which seems to show that he will try to alter the question by accusing me of . . . I know not what. I have covered myself against that by sending copies of my letters direct to the Government. In one of these letters I beg to be called to account if it can be pretended that I have done something wrong. And if the Resident now attack me no decision can be taken before I have been heard—that is allowed even to a criminal, and I have done nothing wrong . . . "

"There is the post!" Verbrugge said.

Yes, it was the post, bringing the following letter from the Governor-General of the Dutch Indies to Havelaar, *late* Assistant Resident of Lebak:—

"*Official.*—No. 54.

"BUITENZORG.

"23*rd March*, 1856.

"The manner in which you have acted on the discovery, or supposition of wrong-doing on the part of the chiefs in the district of Lebak, and your attitude towards your superior, the Resident of Bantam, have excited, in a high degree, my displeasure. In your acts there is not only a want of the deliberate judgment, caution, and prudence so indispensable to a functionary entrusted with power in the interior of Java, but also notions of insubordination to your immediate superior. Only a few days after your appointment to your present office, you made the head of the native Government of Lebak the subject of irritating examinations, without first consulting the Resident. In these examinations you found cause, without substantiating your accusations against that chief by facts, much less by proofs, to make proposals which tended to subject a native functionary, of the rank of the Regent of Lebak (a man of sixty years, but still a zealous servant, related to neighbouring influential Regents, and of whom favourable testimony has always been given), to a morally annihiliating treatment. Moreover, when the Resident did not feel inclined to give his consent to your proposals, you refused to satisfy the just desire of your superior that you should say openly what you knew of the native Government of Lebak.

"Such conduct merits all disapprobation, and sanctions belief in your incapacity to bear office in the interior Government of Java. I am therefore obliged to dismiss you from your employment as Assistant Resident of Lebak.

"Yet in consideration of the favourable reports received formerly of you, I have not found cause to deprive you of the prospect of again getting a situation in the Government of the interior. I have therefore given you the temporary appointment of Assistant Resident of Ngawie. On your behaviour in this office will entirely depend whether you remain a functionary in the service of the Government."

Beneath that stood the name of the man on whose "*zeal, capacity and good faith*" the King said that he could rely, when he signed his appointment as Governor-General of the Dutch Indies.

"We go from here, dear Tine," said Havelaar; and he gave the letter to Verbrugge, who read the document with Duclari.

Verbrugge had tears in his eyes, but he did not speak. Duclari, a very polite and well bred man, burst out with a wild curse.

"G——, I have seen rogues and thieves in the Government here . . . they have gone from here with honours, and to *you* they write such a letter!"

"It is nothing," said Havelaar, "the Governor-General is an honest man . . . he must be deceived; though he could have guarded himself against that deceit by first hearing me. But I will go to him, and show him how matters stand here; he will do justice, I am certain of it."

"But if you go to Ngawie——"

"The Regent of Ngawie is related to the Regent of Bantam. I should have to do the same at Ngawie as I have done here; it would be a useless journey. Moreover, it is impossible for me to serve the trial as though I had behaved badly. I see that to put an end to this deceit I must cease to be a functionary. Whilst I am a functionary there are too many people between me and the Government who have an interest in denying the misery of the population. There are other reasons that prevent me going to Ngawie. There was no vacancy there; one has been made for me. Look here!"

He showed in the Javanese newspaper, which had come by the same post, that by the same decree of the Government which appointed him Assistant Resident of Ngawie, the Assistant Resident of that place was appointed to another district where there was a vacancy.

"Do you know why I am sent to Ngawie and not to the district where there was a vacancy? I will tell you—the Resident of Madiven, to which Ngawie belongs, is *the brother-in-law of the late Resident of Bantam*. I have said that scandalous things went on here—that the Regent had had bad example——"

"Ah,' cried Verbrugge and Duclari together; they understood why it was to Ngawie that Havelaar was to be sent on trial.

"There is still another reason why I cannot go there," said he. "The present Governor-General will soon resign. I *know* his successor and what I may expect from him. In order to do something for in time to help these poor people I must speak to the present Governor before his departure—Tine!

"Dear Max!"

"You have courage; have you not?"

"You know I have courage when I am with you."

"Good!"

Havelaar wrote:—

"RANKAS-BETONG.

"29*th March*, 1856.

"*To the Governor-General of the Dutch Indies.*

"I have the honour to receive the official letter of your Excellency of the 23rd inst., No. 54. In reply to that document, I feel constrained to beg your Excellency to grant me an honourable discharge from the service of the Government.

"MAX HAVELAAR."

It did not take so long at Buitenzorg to grant the discharge requested as to decide how Havelaar's accusation could be evaded. For the latter a month was required, whilst the discharge arrived at Lebak in a few days.

"God be praised," said Tine, "that you can be yourself at last!"

Havelaar received no instructions to surrender the Government to Verbrugge; he therefore awaited his successor, who was a long time in coming, because he had to travel from a remote corner of Java. After waiting three weeks Havelaar learnt, on April 15th, from Verbrugge that the Resident was astonished that he had not yet asked to be permitted to transfer Verbrugge, asked to be permitted to transfer his duties to Verbrugge.

"Nothing could be more agreeable to me than this news, for the most simple matter has been difficult to me placed as I am between my conscience and the principles of the Government, to which I owe fidelity as long as I am not freed from my functions. This difficulty showed itself principally in the reply which I had to give to plaintiffs. I had promised to betray no one to the rancour of the chiefs, and, imprudently enough, I had given my word for the justice of the Government.

"The poor population could not know that this promise and this bail had been denied, and that I, poor and impotent, stood alone with my desire for justice and humanity. The people went on complaining. It was painful to sit there as a supposed refuge as a powerless protector. It was heartrending to hear the complaints of ill-treatment, extortion, poverty, hunger, whilst I myself, with wife and child, had also to face hunger and poverty! Neither could I betray the Government. I might not say to these people: 'Go and suffer, for it is the will of the Government that you should suffer extortion.'

"I replied: 'I cannot help you immediately, but I will go to Batavia; I will speak to the Governor about your misery. Go now quietly to your home; do not oppose, do not remove, wait patiently. I hope that justice will be done.'

"Seven persons had complained; I gave them the above reply. They returned to their homes. The district chief met them on the way. He forbade them to leave their village again, and took away their clothes (as I am told) to oblige them to remain at home. One of them escaped, came back to me and declared *he dared not return to his village*.

"What could I answer this man? I might not avow my impotence; I would not prosecute the district chief, for this would have appeared as though the matter had been raked up by me in support of my case. I did not know what to do . . .

"I charge you with the Government of the district of Lebak from to-morrow morning—the Assistant Resident of Lebak.

"MAX HAVELAAR."

Then Havelaar departed with wife and child from Rankas-Betong. He refused an escort. Duclari and Verbrugge were deeply touched at the leave-taking. Havelaar was likewise moved; above all, when he found at the first stage a great number of persons who had gone secretly from Rankas-Betong to bid him a last farewell.

At Serang, the family were received into the house of Mr .Slymering with the ordinary Indian hospitality. In the evening many visitors came to the Resident saying they had come to say good-bye to Havelaar from whom they received many an eloquent shake of the hand.

To be continued.

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HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

By Charles Brower.

(Continued from our last issue).

II.

The freedom gained by the French Revolution resolved itself into the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. For the industrial bourgeoisie it meant the freedom to exploit the natural resources and human labour-power without any external interference; for the working masses it meant physical and moral degradation without even the possibility of organising against the undue encroachments of its new masters. In France, in 1791, in England in 1800, laws had been passed forbidding the combination of workmen.

After the Napoleonic wars, the condition of working men in England became still more precarious. The demand for English manufactures shrank, throwing many out of employment. The ranks of the unemployed were swelled by demobilisation. Due to failure of harvests and the high import duties, the price of wheat in 1816-17 was extremely high. This precipitated a series of peasant insurrections and urban riots—Luddite Riots. Driven by despair, workers indulged in wanton destruction of machinery.

This state of affairs furnished a fertile field for reformers who demanded political equality as a necessary weapon in the daily struggle for existence of the lower classes. Clubs and societies were everywhere formed for discussion of political and social problems. The Government became apprehensive. In 1817 a report was rendered in the Commons by a secret commission on the activities of these clubs, according to which these clubs, especially in the great manufacturing districts, were composed of the lower order of artisans, whose avowed object was nothing short of revolution. Habeus Corpus was suspended, and open meetings prohibited.

Engels tell us in his "Essay on Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," that "it seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of political power—at least, for any length of time—in the same exclusive way in which feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages. . . . Even in France and America the successors of the bourgeoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door." Thus, while the Industrial Revolution transferred the social power from the feudal nobility to the bourgeoisie, it simultaneously brought forth its successor. It brought to the surface of the social crucible a new class, "the proletariat," that was destined almost immediately to threaten the rule of the very bourgeoisie whose battles it had fought against the feudal aristocracy.

Secret societies were now formed aiming at reform. For a time the wrath of the masses smouldered under cover. Finally it broke out in 1819 in a series of defiant demonstrations at Birmingham, Leeds, Stockport, Smithfield, etc. This outburst culminated in the Manchester Massacre, on August 16th, 1819, at which a demonstration of about 80,000 people was indiscriminately attacked by military forces, wounding hundreds of men, women and children.

In the meantime, the revolutionising of industry continued apace. In machine industry, the repeated reduction in wages, rapid alteration in processes and the substitution of women and children for adult male workers was reducing the workers to a condition of miserable poverty. This condition, coupled with the tyranny and suppression by the Government, led to a growing sense of solidarity among the whole body of wage earners. Competition among the workers likewise decreased, due to the emigration of many to the United States, Canada and Australia. Finally, in 1824, the Government was virtually compelled to repeal the laws against the combination of workers. In 1825, for the first time, by Act of Parliament, the right of collective bargaining involving the right to withhold labour from the market by concerted action, was expressly established.

The Act of 1825 stimulated Union activities. But the year closed with a financial crisis, the first classical crisis of the capitalist mode of production. For the first time in history, the workers were to be deprived of the means of subsistence—by being denied the right of labour by the owners of the means of production, because they had produced an over-abundance of the means of subsistence. The next four years were years of distress such as have attended all crises since. This taught the workers the futility of mere sectional combinations and turned their eyes to larger aims. Hence, from 1829 to 1848, the Trade Union movement became inextricably entangled in the Radical and Socialist agitation of the time.

On the Continent, in the interim, the rule of Metternich and his reaction had weakened. In 1821-1823 there were Constitutionalist uprisings in Spain, Piedmont and Naples, which were suppressed. In 1822 the attitude of England toward the revolt in the Spanish colonies in America caused her defection from the Quadruple Alliance. Later the differences in interests between Russia and Austria regarding the attempt of the Greeks to obtain their independence from Turkey, caused the further disintegration of the Alliance. Finally, the July Revolution in France established the Liberals in power.

(to be continued).

BARTER.

One took his heart to market
And sold it at a stall;
He could not sell his soul there,
Because it was so small.

—JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

THE WAR POET.

I sing the songs of war,
My brothers go to fight,
They suffer pains of Hell,
I sit at home—and write!

—JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

WHO WILL PAY?

"The children of France will pay the debts contracted by their fathers in the world war."
RENE VIVIANI.

We will sow the whirlwind, our son's part is to reap;
We will tune the fiddles the while our daughters weep;
We will rattle sabres, the game of nations play,
And to-morrow France's children for our sport will have to pay.
The son will curse his father's name,
And the daughter weep for her father's shame!

—JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

WILL THERE BE THIRTY DRY YEARS?

Michels, the prominent Russian meteorologist, made the following statement to a *Rosta* reporter:

"We are at present in the so-called Brückner drought period. The period embraces the next thirty-five years. A number of arguments led to the assumption that this period would begin in 1924, but, as a result of the coincidence of the Brückner Period with a number of shorter periods, an alteration of the picture which had been foreseen took place.

"The coincidence of various periods presents a complicated picture and does not permit the forecast of the weather situation for each individual year, because unexpected results may occur. For this reason the drought in the current year was so dispersed territorially that in Siberia there was a good harvest and in the Volga a drought. In the course of the present autumn the meteorological stations in Turkestan have given quite other reports in the Volga districts and Western Siberia to those which were given by Moscow. The Brückner Period will be subjected to variations, not only territorially, but also in its other manifestations, which are very hard to foresee. Without doubt, as a result of the Brückner Period, a repetition of the drought of this year is to be expected in the course of the next thirty years

"The Central Observatory is at present busy with the investigation of the further development of the Brückner Period ,which will yield material for the preparation of a plan of practical measures.

"In any case, it can now be stated that those years of the Brückner Period which will be more favourable to the harvest will be used to the utmost. By the development of agriculture, the execution of various measures for combating drought, and rational use of the harvest, the approaching Brückner Period can be neutralised."

ON SALE NOW.

SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE, 152, FLEET STREET, E.C. 4.

SPYING AND SUICIDE.

The Evils of the Penal Code.

Clanwaring, the poor Cambridge hawker, who was charged with murder on the basis of a mass of very foolish tittle-tattle, has been released.

A most disquieting incident in the case is that the police sought to prove Clanwaring's guilt by the evidence of fellow prisoners to whom he is alleged to have admitted the murder. The practice of setting one prisoner to spy upon another is a highly objectionable one, and likely to secure the conviction of many innocent persons. It is well-known that many persons in prison are feeble-minded; moreover, prison conditions are liable to induce mental instability. Moreover, the question arises as to whether prisoners who give evidence against a fellow prisoner may be under the impression that they will gain thereby some advantage, either in mitigation of punishment or otherwise.

We ask whether the prisoners who gave evidence against Clanwaring received any reward for so doing.

It is widely charged against the U.S.A. authorities that they use the spying of fellow prisoners (or pretended prisoners) as a means of securing convictions in political cases. American methods are apt to spread to this country.

The suicide of a boy in the Borstal Juvenile Prison at Portland, the almost simultaneous attempt of two boys to escape, the fourth attempt within four weeks, raise again the vexed question of prison treatment and call for an immediate inquiry into the management of the Borstal Institution.

How glorious will be the day when the abolition of private property will have wiped out stealing and with it the main reason of prisons!

HENDERSON FEARS A GENERAL ELECTION.

Mr. Arthur Henderson at Portsmouth, on October 22nd, said there is a possibility that "we may be engineered into a general election."

"If the Irish Conference does break down," he said, "it will be no justification for plunging this country into an immediate election."

The lives of the Irish people and of the British troops who will be sent over to fight them are evidently very cheap to Mr. Henderson. It appears that, in his opinion, they are of less importance than the time and money that his party would spend in trying to win seats, were a general election declared.

Only those who can be excused for saying that a general election is unnecessary in the event of "a breakdown in the Irish negotiations," are they who consider that no Government could deal better, or substantially otherwise with the Irish situation than the present Government, and they who have lost faith in Parliamentarism altogether. Since Mr. Henderson does not belong to the second category, he is evidently of the first. We have pointed out on several occasions that Henderson's policy on Ireland differs little, if at all, from that of Lloyd George.

Irish comrades should observe that.

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EX-KAISER KARL'S ATTEMPT.

Ex-Kaiser Karl of Austria-Hungary has failed in his attempt to recapture the Hungarian throne. He has been vanquished by Horthy, the bloodthirsty butcher, supported by the Entente, whose ferocious White Terror has massacred such enormous numbers of Communists, Socialists, and people of mildly Reformist tendencies of all classes. Hungary has lain prostrate under the unprecedented atrocities of Horthy, which have filled with horrified awe, all the people throughout the world to whose notice they have been brought.

The people of the neighbouring countries have left Hungary to her misery and her shame. Yet, at the approach of Kaiser Karl, Smeral, the Czecho-Slovak Communist leader, summoned a Conference at Prague of Communists, Socialists, and Trade Unions. As a result, a Council of Action was formed, backed by 1,500,000 workers, who declared a blockade of Hungary, and promised support to the Czecho-Slovak Government in opposing Karl.

The Austrian Socialist Party also called upon workers to enlist in the Austrian army, saying;—

"We are anxious to avoid fresh bloodshed, but if a Habsburg seek to subjugate us again, we shall confront him with levelled rifles, determined to fight to the death."

How comparatively sluggish was the fight for Socialism against the bourgeois White Terror: how vigorous is the battle against the return of the old monarchy! What is the cause of this striking difference? Socialism is as yet untried even to the Socialists; they have not experienced it, and their faith is not very strong in that which only dwells in their imagination. Their imagination is but a poor thing, confused and frail: they do not know precisely what they mean by Socialism. They cannot implant this weakly faith of theirs as a strong growth in the hearts of the masses.

The *Daily Herald* has an apt and interesting comment on the situation. It says:—

"The overthrow of Bela Kun made a Karlish coup inevitable. . . . And Germany? There, because neither at the beginning, nor at the time of the Kupp Putsch, was the Revolution pushed home, the future is still uncertain."

But, Messieurs of the *Daily Herald*, abstention from pushing the Revolution home is precisely your policy: you are always for an agreed compromise: you always flinch and draw back at the prospect of causing a division in the ranks, even a division which would but cut off the extreme Right, and you always aver that you will not stand for the use of compulsion, force or violence. It is just those who adopt your attitude who cannot "push the Revolution home." When the British Revolution comes, it is amongst those who blow hot and cold that we shall find you. As you stand now, so will you stand then.

IRELAND.

When the present negotiations between Sinn Fein and the British Government opened, we predicted in these columns that no settlement would be reached, and we stated emphatically that there would be no settlement at the present time unless Sinn Fein were prepared to forego the principle of Irish independence. We based our view on the undoubted fact that the Irish position has not touched the sluggish population of this island in a manner calculated to compel the Government to assent to the Irish claims, whilst the Imperialism of the British ruling classes, and the British who have landlord and capitalist interests in Ireland, are by no means prepared to relax the grip of domination upon that country.

De Valera's telegram to the Pope seems to indicate that Sinn Fein will not compromise the independence claim, at least, not yet. The story industriously circulated in British capitalist organs, that the telegram was a private indiscretion of De Valera's, unsupported either by Sinn Fein officialdom or by rank and file opinion, is of course, absurd.

But where, in all this, is the Labour Party; which, were it ably led, would make much profit for itself out of the present *impasse*?

The Labour Party is just nowhere: the *Daily Herald*, in these words, expresses all that can be gathered of the Labour Party's policy towards Ireland:—

"The only matter of moment is, that the Conference should continue; for, if it does break down, what is the alternative? Lloyd George would go back to his criminally insane policy of coercion."

So long as the Conference continues, the *status quo* is preserved in Ireland: the Government would most gladly arrange for a perpetual Irish Conference if it would but keep the Irish quiet for ever. From the Government standpoint, that would be a most highly desirable arrangement. But Sinn Fein cannot support a perpetual Conference, or one that drags indefinitely on and on without conclusion; Sinn Fein is the aggressor in a fight to overthrow British rule, and if, and as soon as it is obvious that the Conference is abortive, Sinn Fein must end it and return to the fight.

Were the Labour Party well led, it would make capital for itself by openly declaring for Irish Independence, and attacking the Government for its refusal to grant it. Should the Conference break down or become unduly prolonged, a Labour Party, ably conducted, would take some such striking action as that of the Belgian Socialists, who, on October 19th, resigned their portfolios in the Belgian Cabinet (which they ought not to have entered) and walked out of the Cabinet room, banging the door behind them.

What a sensation would be caused in the British Parliament were the Labour Members to move a vote of censure on the Government demanding Irish independence; and when this resolution were either ruled out of order or rejected, were they to unfurl the Red Flag and march out, declaring they would boycott the sittings of Parliament till the next election!

The Labour Party might fitly take such action on the unemployed question; but they will not; do not imagine it.

Do not sigh, comrade, that you have not the opportunity to lead a Party in Parliament to such dramatic action: you can do better work outside, showing the workers that Parliament is useless, and preparing them for the Soviets.

THE ONE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT.

The conference between the Second International and the "Second and a Half International" in London, has come to nothing. The Second International is now dominated by the British Labour Party, because all the other large Parties have left it, and especially by Arthur Henderson who so far from being a Socialist, is a Centrist Liberal. The British Labour Party was firmly determined to exclude the Communist Parties; the "Second and a Half" International desired to persuade the Communists to come in, hoping that they would be nullified by the reactionaries like the British Labour Party. It is all supremely unimportant.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

By Edward Garnett.

"Soviet Russia As I Saw It," by Sylvia Pankhurst. *Dreadnought* Publishers, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4. Price 2s. 6d.

This book has been sent me for review, presumably on the ground that an opinion from a person long interested in the Russian people, who belongs to no party and is, indeed, naturally sceptical about all parties in power, may be worth presenting.

Let me say at the outset that, so far as it goes, "Soviet Russia As I Saw It" seems to me a sincere book, one that should be studied carefully by both Capitalists and Communists.

As a testimony to the single-minded zeal, self-devotion, high aims and ardent culturism of the Bolshevist leaders and, indeed, of the Party generally. Miss Pankhurst's account is quite convincing. Her picture suggests a parallel between the Puritan and New Model of 1645 and the Bolshevik re-organisation of 1920.

Puritanism came into power as a consequence of the civil, religious and political abuses of the Stuarts, and it fell from power by the narrowness, rigidity and absolutism of its system, which alienated the body of the nation. Will the Bolshevists succeed, by their intense propaganda, faith in the proletariat, admirable educational reforms, schemes for Child and Mother welfare, reconstruction of industries, etc., in winning the nation generally? Will the Bolshevists show sufficient elasticity and sympathy with the Russian nature to scrap those aspects and features of Communism which experience shows do not work? Miss Pankhurst's volume gives us hope that such will be the case; that Lenin's mobile intelligence will encourage, more and more, all forms of the individualist spirit which do not aim at or work out in the exploitation of the community or the individual. The author's visit to Russia took place in August 1920, at the moment when the All-Russian Central Executive was broadening its basis of authority, and becoming, we gather, less autocratic and doctrinaire, both in its theory and its practice; and this movement would seem since to have developed steadily. One can quite understand that a new Bureaucratic Government, ably organised by the Webbs, no matter how admirable its aims and achievements, might soon antagonise the people by crystallizing in *doctrinaire* forms, and the future danger threatening the Bolshevist administration seems to me to lie in the "Cheka," or secret police, being allowed the "inner control" of both the Party itself and the public. Miss Pankhurst throws no light on the "Cheka." What she does is to give a broad yet detailed survey of the organisation of the Communist Party, of the way the Soviets function, of the machinery of the Russian Trade Unions and the Labour Commissariat. In three slight, but interesting, chapters she records her impressions of the work done by the Commissariat of Public Health, by Babies' Homes and Clinics, the House of the Mother and Child, and by the Rest Houses. Pleasant sketches of travel, of a Conference of the Local Party at Kolomna, of a visit to a Red Army Camouflage School, help to supply local colour.

One closes the book with the feeling that it is much too early for judgment to be passed on the Bolshevist administration. The incompetence and corruption of the Czaristic Government was a reflection in hypertrophied form of the national vices. The barbarous inhumanity of the Allied Governments towards famine-stricken Russia is a reflection, in hypertrophied form, of the terror inspired in high capitalist circles by Bolshevist propaganda. If the Bolshevists are wise they will devote all their energies to winning the affections of the people and not merely consolidate the efficient machine of their power by organised propaganda. The Russian is extraordinarily flexible in his spirit, but prone to see only one aspect at one time, and another at another time. This is his great strength and his past weakness. If the Soviets can take "broad views" in practice, their aims will prevail.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Parliament re-assembled on Tuesday, October 18th. Austen Chamberlain stated that the Government intends that it shall only sit for a fortnight, and that it shall deal only with unemployment. The Government motion to suspend the eleven o'clock rule was agreed to, though J. R. Clynes (Lab.) protested mildly that the decision might compel Members to work at an hour when their work could not be well done, and Wedgwood (Lab.) and Kenworthy (Lib.) urged that the Russian famine should also be discussed. G. N. Barnes (Lab.) urged the Government not to modify its intention to discuss unemployment only.

Minister of Health compels Scab Payments.

The Government plan being accepted, the Speaker proposed the adjournment, but Jack Jones (Lab.) raised the question of unemployment, he said that West Ham has 25,000 unemployed out of a population of 308,000, and that the rates there are 27s. in the £. He complained that the Minister of Health (who seems to be employed for the foulest and most inhuman work of the Government at present) had ordered that if the Borough Councils found work for the unemployed in repairing the roads they must only pay 75 per cent. of the standard rate of the district for that class of work.

Householders debarred from Relief.

Waterson (Co-op. and Lab.) pointed out that if a man owns his own house, even if he has bought it with borrowed money which he has to repay with interest, he is legally debarred from obtaining relief when through unemployment he is deprived of an income.

Unemployed must repay Poor Law Doles.

Waterson also revealed the fact that the Minister of Health has issued a circular to local authorities informing them that people to whom Poor Law Relief is granted must be made to sign a document promising to repay every penny when they obtain employment.

No Milk!

Waterson further complained that the Minister of Health has also informed local authorities that it is no longer prepared to pay 50 per cent. of the expenses of local authorities for supplying milk to necessitous mothers and babies. This refusal has since been withdrawn.

Jack Mills (Lab.) said that in Woolwich, where he lives, the rates are 29s. 8d. in the £. At Dartford, which he represents, the great factory of surgical and medical requisites of Borroughs & Welcome has dismissed half its staff and placed the rest on short time, yet, when he was in Russia he visited a children's hospital in Samara where the whole of the medical supplies could be covered by a small piece of paper, whilst the children had not a single undergarment amongst them. He said that the Russians are abandoning Communism.

Lloyd George on Unemployment—£10,000,000 for Relief Work.

On October 19th Lloyd George made his statement on unemployment. He said that £48,000,000 had been distributed under the Unemployment Insurance Act since August 9th, 1920. £10,400 000 had been spent on arterial roads and £3,000,000 for assisting local authorities in providing relief work. Altogether £25,000,000 had been spent on relief work, 200,000 men had been given work.

The Government would now grant a further £10,000,000 to local authorities for relief works. Since £25,000,000 only provided relief employment for 200,000 men we must look to see a much smaller number get work out of £10,000,000. 1,376,768 persons are at present registered as wholly unemployed, and the number will grow.

£300,000 to Emigrate Ex-Servicemen.

£637,000 had been spent in sending ex-service men to the Dominions: 60,000 men had gone; £300,000 more would be given for that purpose. Judging by the cost of sending the 60,000 men to the Dominions, we must not look to see even 30,000 sent under the present grant. Did the ex-servicemen get £100 each, or was the bulk of the money spent on bureaucracy? We should like to know. It is strange that the only thing the soldier who fought for his country can get from it is a free passage out of it!

£25,000,000 for British Capitalists.

The Government will provide £25,000,000 for guaranteeing the payment of interest and loans for enterprises which will provide employment in the United Kingdom, such as railways, waterways, electrification, and so on. The London underground railways companies has already applied for £8,000 000 under this promise. The object of the scheme is supposed to be to provide work for the unemployed: the result is to provide more capital for the capitalist at the public expense. When Soviet Russia grants a concession to the capitalist, a procedure which we deplore, he is at least left to provide all his own capital and plant, and after a fixed term the whole enterprise with the plant becomes the property of the Soviet Government. Lloyd George's scheme is all gain to the capitalist; and the community takes all the risk. Naturally there will be a great demand for this money, and much rivalry. Lloyd George said: "The Government cannot adjudicate between the various schemes." It is therefore proposed to set up a committee of men of high authority and great knowledge in financial, industrial, and economic matters to administer the scheme." Lloyd George does not want to make enemies; he will let the great interests fight the matter out amongst themselves through their own representatives!

More Help for the Capitalists for Overseas Trade.

£26,000 000 has already been voted in credits to the capitalists for overseas trading. Further facilities are to be provided in this direction, and the Government will bear a larger share of the risk. The capitalists are certainly getting more out of the Government to tide them over the trade depression than are the unemployed.

The African Colonies.

Lloyd George boasted of the great trade being done through the African Colonies, a large part of which are the spoils we took from Germany in the war. Last year British trade with Nigeria (exports and imports) amounted to £33,000 000. The Home Secretary is raising on the credit of these colonies £20,000 000 for further development there. All this is to benefit the capitalist.

Cost of Production.

"Orders are tarrying," says Lloyd George. Trade is slow. "People are holding back. They say: "We will not give orders so long as the cost of production is so high." In the raising of more capital "at a price which would not unduly burden the enterprise," said Lloyd George the Government could assist and, as we have seen, it is doing so! Bringing down prices, he said, was "a matter employers and employed must work out amongst themselves:" that means, as Labour Members observed, lower wages; the Prime Minister said we must face the fact. He observed also that in Germany the mark is 750 to the £, in Poland 16,000, in Vienna 7,000, in Roumania 560. If British workers are to try to bring down British prices to compete with such a currency they will have to work without wages at all, or even pay their employers to enable them to produce their goods.

New Levies to increase the Unemployment Dole.

Finally Lloyd George said that a new Insurance Bill would be brought in to give 5s. a week to the wives of insured contributors, and 1s. for each child up to a maximum of 9s. for wife and children, nothing extra to be given to the single man. To raise these sums the workmen are to have a further 2d. a week deducted from their wages, the employer is to contribute 2d., and the State 3d. Women and boys and girls under 18 are to pay 1d., their employer 1d., and the State 2d. The boys and girls will receive no benefit, and the wives only the 1s. per dependent child.

J. R. Clynes tells Workers to accept Lower Wages.

J. R. Clynes replied with an extraordinary speech. He said that that sitting of Parliament denoted a turning point in the history of this country, because Parliament had accepted "the great obligation of entering into the general trade affairs of the world . . . in order to secure work and to keep the people employed." He echoed the reduce the cost of production cry. He pointed out that the wages of 6,700 000 workers have been reduced by £3,800,000 a week, and that the workers are levying themselves through their trade unions to assist the unemployed. Nevertheless, he said: *"I feel it is of such vital importance to all of us in the solution of this unemployment problem that it is essential that workmen should see that if they can make a contribution to reducing the cost of the article it is urgently necessary that they should do so."* He appealed to the workers to work faster and harder. It is not surprising that Mr. Asquith and some of the Tories complimented Clynes. G. N. Barnes also asked the workers to produce more.

A Protesting Voice.

Neil Maclean broke in on the chorus of mutual admiration with:—

"When 2,000 000 people are hungry and unemployed, dropping with exhaustion, you dare to come before the country with such a scheme as this to mock their starvation. . . . Why do you not bring down the interest of your bondholders? I have seen children in the streets barefooted and in rags picking up crusts from the roadway. . . ."

"I am no Bolshevik," said Neil Maclean awhile ago. Is he still sluggish enough to repeat it?

A Pathetic Enquiry.

W. R. Smith (Lab.) asked what is to be done for unemployed agricultural labourers in districts where there can be no drainage scheme because the land drains itself.

Dr. Addison Turns.

Dr. Addison (Lib.) made a vigorous attack on Lloyd George, saying: "You cannot satisfy the cravings of the unemployed by the dishing up of stuff like this." He said the export credits scheme had failed to function, and there was no reason why it should function now. The £25,000 000 to encourage development in this country would make little difference; a year ago one day's advertisements had amounted to precisely £25,000 000. As to the new insurance: the unemployed are to get 15s. plus 9s. from the Insurance Acts; from the Poor Law guardians they get from 50s. to £3. Who could secure that the workers would prefer 24s. from the Labour Exchange to 50s. from the guardians? As to drainage, the Minister of Health had announced that to qualify for grants from the £25,000 000, schemes must be in active operation by January 1st, that is too short a time to prepare plans, set up plant, etc. Housing was to form no part of the scheme; the Prime Minister had said the building trade was employed up to its capacity, but 110,000 builders are unemployed. We are paying for war services £4 7s. 3d. for every man, woman and child in the kingdom, but only 1½d. per head for housing.

The Jingo Stanton of Merthyr said that the real cause of labour's trouble is that men have been shouting "the mines for the miners," "the railways for the railwaymen," and so on.

Morgan Jones, the new Labour Member for Caerphilly, said: "I crave the indulgence of the House while I venture to address it for the first time." In his constituency rates were 30s. 8d. in the £, and the people cannot afford to pay. The Prime Minister's only solution was more borrowing by local authorities, but in his district they would not be able to get further loans. As to the £25,000,000 scheme, the high financial authorities interested in private enterprise who are to dispense the money would prove hostile to municipal enterprise.

A Hypocritical Move.

J. H. Thomas announced that the Labour Party is opposing the new unemployment insurance levy. The Labour Party is opposing it because it is unpopular; there can be no doubt of that. The Party spokesmen say that the unemployment charges should be met by taxation; but the Labour Party's own unemployment Bill proposes to proceed through the Insurance Acts, and since it does not indicate how the increased benefits are to be provided one is led to infer that it will be through increased contributions.

EXIT THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The British Government which refused to ratify the Eight-Hour Day proposal of the International Labour Office, set up in connection with the League of Nations, will end by securing the abandonment of this proposition. Powerful British employers are determined to lengthen the working day; so fade the painted dreams of reform under capitalism.

WHO ARE THE NATIONALISTS?

Serrati, in a recent number of *Avanti*, attacks us for our adherence to the Communist Workers' International, in which he says Anarchists and Syndicalists are to be found. He accuses the German Communist Workers' Party, the K.A.P.D., of being Nationalist. This is precisely the charge which the K.A.P.D. brings against the rival German Communist Party, the K.P.D., which is affiliated to the Third International. That the charge of the Communist Workers' Party has some substance may be gathered by the notes of our correspondent which appear on our front page, and from a recent speech of Clara Zetkin, the leader of the K.P.D., in the Reichstag. She said: "We are united with the majority of the deputies in the Reichstag in the opinion that the Republic must be defended even though this Republic is a black-red-yellow bourgeois Republic, and not the Red Soviet Republic of the workers." A writer in the *Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung*, an organ of the K.A.P.D., makes the following comment which appears to us to be quite sound from the Communist standpoint, and from that of the Russian Communist Party when first it raised the flag of International Revolution: "They (Parliamentary Communists) defend the constitution which assures undisturbed exploitation in the interests of international capital, instead of rejoicing when it is attacked by others, by the powers of military reaction, of which the workers would soon make an end if they stood directly opposed to them.

ULSTER.

Ulster, so loud in its professions of devotion to the Act of Union, is now asking, says the *Times*, for the transfer of services which will enable its Government to become a government in fact as well as in name. It wants to be given control of its civil service, its police and its finance." It is all a question of who is to have the power: what hypocrits these politicians are!

SHALL SACCO AND VANZETTI DIE?

Considering the very bad weather a good meeting was held at Osborne Street for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. It was proposed by members of the unemployed organisation present that the march to the American Embassy be postponed till next Sunday, and that the London District Committee of the Unemployed be appealed to to assist by organising a meeting for that purpose next Sunday. The suggestion was accepted by the meeting. A resolution expressing abhorence of the sentence and demanding the immediate release of the two Comrades under sentence of death was wired to the President of the United States, and also sent to the American Embassy in London.

CUTTING DOWN TRADE UNION RATES.

From South Africa comes news of another effort to destroy Trade Unionism. The Rand Chamber of Mines declares that it cannot force a man to join a Union, as one man employed by the East Rand Proprietary Mine refuses to join, 1,200 Europeans and 7,000 natives are on the point of striking.

From the same mine comes an ominous wages-cutting proposal, which is reported in the *Mining World*: it is that the employees shall forego half the existing rates of pay. Then the company would pay interest on the money owing, the next change would be to make up wages to the Union standards, and any remaining surplus would be divided amongst the shareholders and employers.

The position which the worker occupies under Capitalism is naïvely exposed by Lieut.-Col. H. B. Prothero-Smith, Chief Constable of Cornwall, who is appealing for the destitute Cornish miners thrown out of work, because, at the present time, the Cornish mines do not pay the capitalist. He says:—

"*I am trying to get all the help I can for them, because*:

(1) *These men have never lost a single day's work through being on strike*;

(2) *Whilst the mines were working, in some mines they voluntarily gave up 20 per cent. of their pay to keep them going*;

(3) *The miners received no subsidy and no inflated bonus was ever asked for or received by the men during the war*;

(4) *Their maximum pay, except the contract men, was 50/- minimum, 37/-; a week.*

(5) *Their conduct, up to the present, has been exemplary, in fact, wonderful.*

These men have been patterns of virtue, from the capitalist standpoint. When the mines were profitable, they worked without protest for a mere pittance; when profits decreased, they voluntarily surrendered 20 per cent. of their wages; and now the mines are shut, because they no longer pay, these men starve, without complaint: Capitalism says: "Let them starve; the interests of the workers cannot be taken into consideration where profit-making is concerned."

Everywhere the employers are trying to force the workers to share their losses, or rather, to accept lower wages, in order that the employers may still continue to make profits in this period of bad trade.

J. R. Clynes, who is still a Labour M.P., still a Trade Union official, made common cause with the employer against the worker, when he said in the House of Commons, the other day:—

"*Workmen should see that, if they can make a contribution to reducing the cost of the article, it is urgently necessary, primarily in their own interest that they should do so . . . if continued employment is to be found, our goods must be produced within the buying capacity of the people in other lands.*"

Such utterances are gravely treacherous to the working-class movement.

HAVELOCK WILSON AND THE MOSCOW POLICY.

The Third International, at its inception, called upon the workers to desert their old counter-revolutionary organisations, both industrial and political, and to form new revolutionary organisations.

Moscow, however, soon changed its policy and called upon the revolutionaries to work within the old organisations and strive to capture them. Thus, the British Communist Party was ordered to affiliate to the Labour Party, the greatest possible mistake. The Labour Party refused to accept the affiliation, but the Communists are still affiliated locally in many districts, and they support the old Trade Unions. The officials of the British Transport Workers are not revolutionaries, not extremists; on the contrary, they are opportunists and very canny moderates, who are not out to run any risks—their action, or rather, inaction on Black Friday proved that.

Nevertheless, when Havelock Wilson and his reactionary executive, which he rules with unquestioned sway, decided to leave the Transport Workers' Federation, the Federation officials did not follow the timid, tentative Moscow policy of carrying on propaganda to win back Havelock Wilson's Union. No, the Transport Federation's officials took up the gauntlet boldly and proceeded to set up a rival Union to oust Havelock Wilson's organisation from power. It entered into negotiations with the already existing Seafarer's Union, and Ships' Stewards' organisation and began a vigorous campaign to advertise 'his combination as a "One Big Union" for the Seamen. The result of this move remains to be seen, but if its promoters do not compromise, as is their wont, with Havelock Wilson, there is little doubt that the new Union will succeed until something more advanced takes its place.

The Belfast seamen have now also seceded from Havelock Wilson's Union and have formed a section of the Irish Transport Workers' Federation—they, too have decided to follow more bold and drastic tactics than those which at at present emanate from Moscow.

SCHOOL TAX IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

We are glad to learn that the report that Soviet Russia had re-established school fees is contradicted by Lunacharski, Commissary for Education.

A school tax is levied upon the population by the district Soviets, but this may not assume the form of school fees. Lunacharski speaks of additional "voluntary taxation of the wealthier strata of society." We deeply deplore the continued existence of poorer and wealthier strata.

BRITISH TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

Lloyd George, in his House of Commons statement on October 19th, declared that the reason this country only traded with Russia to the extent of £3,150,000 between January 1st and August 31st, 1921, is that Russia is incapable of trading to any greater extent. "There have been no restrictions on our side to any trading with Russia, none," he declared. Is it possible the Prime Minister can imagine that anyone will believe him? On reading that statement one at once discounts every figure and assertion in his speech. Yet he remains in power; for no one is making a strong fight to dislodge him.

REFLECTIONS ON RUSSIA.

By R. M. Fox.

The prevailing impression which one gets in Soviet Russia is that the social order is completely stable. There is a feeling of peaceful security everywhere. Those who look for the break up of the Soviet system are nursing a vain delusion. It is based firmly upon the will of the workers—and the workers rule in Russia. At the door of each hotel in Moscow—the hotels are used chiefly for delegates, and for the transaction of Soviet business—there is a stalwart Red Guard, with loaded rifle and fixed bayonet. And all who go in must show their passes. I saw Lunarcharsky, the Minister of Education, pulled up at the Kremlin gate while his pass was examined. All the Communists in Moscow, men and women, have a regular course of drilling if they are at all fit to do it. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not an empty phase in Russia, it is the reality of the workers in arms.

This brings me to mention the Red Army. The Red Army is like nothing else in the world. The essence of militarism, as we know it, is of a blind, dull, stupid force which simply obey orders. Such a force does not exist in Russia. They have brought intelligence and soldiering together—perhaps for the first time. As one looks down the massed ranks of the Red Army and sees thousands of fine strong men, well-equipped, well-disciplined, full of burning enthusiasm, and a consciousness of what they have fought for, and what they mean to hold, one realises that Russia is unconquerable on the military field. The Army organisation was built up as a matter of necessity; the splendid result stands as an indication of what the workers can do. So we find the capitalist powers all round "willing to wound but afraid to strike."

I remember going to a military academy where officers were being trained. Some 30 cadets had just completed their training, and there on the parade ground they were sworn in as officers.

There were several hundreds of soldiers present in their khaki uniforms and hooded caps, on which was worked a plain dark red star. In the centre stood the 30 young men in dark blue uniforms. An officer read out the oath and they repeated it line by line. It stated their adherence to the principle of the Class Struggle, to the International Communist movement, and pledged them to fight the enemies of the working class everywhere. That is the spirit of the Red Army. After it was all over, when the speeches had been made, and the band had played the "Internationale" many times, the young men crowded round the foreign delegates—there were French, Italian, Spanish, German and American delegates present and shook their hands warmly. They expressed their pleasure that comrades of other lands had visited them. I got there the feeling which was deepened everywhere, that the International is a living, vital principle in Russia. It is believed in by the people and is part of their lives.

I was present at the funeral of the six delegates who were killed in a train accident. It was very impressive. The bodies were lying in state all night in a great hall, surrounded by flowers. I remember here seeing an officer of the army relieve a soldier who was standing at attention by one of the coffins. This was eloquent of the friendly relations existing between the ranks. The army is not run on the accustomed bullying model, yet the discipline does not suffer. Soermus, the Russian violinist, deported from this country, played the Russian Funeral Hymn with its sad, impressive beauty. Then the coffins were borne through the streets of Moscow towards the Red Square upon the shoulders of friends of the dead men. The sun was shining that morning, and everywhere it shone upon Red soldiers and men and women members of the Communist Party, who stood at the salute as the funeral procession went slowly by. In the Red Square, under the Kremlin wall, is the Westminster Abbey of Russia, where beneath the stars the heroes of the Revolution are buried. The bodies of the delegates rest there, and they and the movement which sent them are thus honoured by the Russians. By the Kremlin wall lie the bodies of brave fighters of all lands. Jack Reed of America rests there, his burial stone an unhewn, jagged piece of black rock, surmounted by a little weather-beaten red flag. On the side of the wall is an inscription: In memory of all those who have died for the Revolution. They have not buried an "Unknown Warrior" there. The soldiers of Russia have names, addresses and *a country of their own*. And they are not afraid to say what their men died for, because it wasn't rubber, oil shares, iron, coal or high finance.

It is impossible to dwell upon the educational work of Russia in this article. There is so much of it, and it is so marvellous. Russia is one vast experimental school. I remember one "Children's Colony" we visited. It was, as most of them are, a country estate and mansion elevated from its original purpose to serve a useful end. Its former owners were probably drinking vodka in Reval, which is how the White Russians there seem to spend their useless lives, or perhaps they are even working honestly under the Soviets. I mention this, partly to re-assure Mrs. Snowden, who in a recent book expressed some anxiety on the matter.

To be continued.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

German Communists Compromise.

The Thuringian Landtag was opened on October 6th. The Social Democrat Leber was elected President. The posts of vice-president were filled by an Independent and a Thuringian member of the Land Alliance. The German Nationalists demanded a place of third vice-president, but that was refused by the votes of the three proletarian parties.

Rosta, the III. International Press Agency, says: "For the first time the Communists, whose votes are necessary to the maintenance of the government, have promised their support upon the condition that the minimum program of the Independents shall be carried out. In Saxony, where there is at present a Socialist government, the Communists observed at the beginning a neutrality which became powerless against the Social Democrat alliance with the bourgeois at the time of the March action."

[This re-inforces the statements of our own correspondent.]

Communists accept Independents' Programme.

The *Rote Fahne* (the Communist Parliamentary organ) reported that the Conference between the three proletarian parties in Thuringia has resulted in the promise of the Communists to support a coalition government of the German Socialist Party and the Independents on the condition that the minimum program of the Independents is actually carried out.

[The German Communist Party has thus abandoned its independence and the fight for the Revolution.]

The Commercial and Industrial Trade Tax in Soviet Russia.

Arsky writes in the Petersburgh *Pravda*, September 18th:—

"Certain layers of the urban population, which have taken advantage of the last period for lucrative speculation, also hold large quantities of paper money. All these elements are now offered the possibility of opening shops and workshops for speculative purposes. Many get-rich-quick people will turn to these occupations now. Money circulation is very rapid and thus offers a possibility of enormous profits. As we are faced by the necessity of reforming State finances and bringing at least a portion of the piled-up currency back into the coffers of the State, we must consider the question of the taxation of commerce and industry. . . . Taxes must not be too large for fear of killing commercial initiative. . . ."

[Alas, what a grievous reaction in thought and deed!]

Rosta says: "The Communists and Left Socialists owe their electoral success to their steady propaganda and educational work. All three workers' parties issued their ballot papers under the common denomination of 'Workers' Party.' This circumstance gave every Communist working man the assurance that his vote would not go to strengthen the reaction even in the constituencies where the Communists themselves had no chance of success. Thus all Communist workers voted for the Communist list. In many constituencies the surplus Communist votes helped an otherwise unsuccessful Right Socialist to a seat. This coupling of lists on the other hand, brought the Communists one of the sixteen seats of Stockholm, up to now the stronghold of reaction.

[Really this *Rosta* statement reads like one from the I.L.P.! Where is Parliamentarism taking our Right Wing Communists?]

The final results in the Swedish elections are as follows:—

	Votes.	Seats.	
Conservatives	454,000	62	minus 9
Peasant Union	185,000	21	minus 8
Liberals	332,000	41	minus 7
Right Socialist	640,000	93	plus 8
Left Socialist	45,000	6	plus 1
Communist	90,000	7	plus 5

The Strike of the Bank Employees in Czecho-Slovakia.

On January 13th, 1920, the German Bank Employees won the fight for a 6-hour working day, and the right to participate in the decisions referring to the hiring, transfer, promotion, and dismissal of employees. A strike of the Czech Bank employees broke out on June 23rd. The strikers demanded that the code of laws of the Republic operative in German establishments should be extended to the Czech Banks. The German bank employees declared a boycott of the Czech Banks. When the German bank in sympathy with the Czech banks began to violate conditions of labour established there, the German bank employees joined the strike.

The principles underlying this strike were not only increased wages, but also the right of participation in the management of the banks.

Famine

On October 5th Kalenin reported to the Soviet Central E.C. that according to the latest figures the number of famine sufferers is 21,073,000, of whom 7,000,000 are children. Some other provinces must be regarded as suffering, so that the total number comes to about 25,000,000. Up to the present 567,000 pood of food has arrived from abroad intended chiefly for the children.

[This will not go far amongst 25,000,000 people, despite of all the babble of the relief agencies!]

Petrovski reported on the aid given by the Ukraine. Every county has sent a waggon of grain to the famine sufferers. The peasants are hastening the delivery of the Produce Tax, all collecting points are full, and even the schools are being used for storehouses. The Ukraine would deliver its full fifty-seven million pood of the Produce Tax. The peasants have worked behind the plough until they were almost ready to drop from exhaustion, but they had nevertheless completed their sowing, so that no single seed of grain would be lost.

[Compare that 57,000,000 from the Ukrainian peasants with the 567,000 from the entire capitalist world, which only sends relief in return for concessions to capitalist principles!]

Convention of Polish Railwaymen.

In August a Convention of Polish Railwaymen met in Warsaw. It has an active membership of 87,000, and next to the Foreign Labourers' Union it is the strongest organisation in Poland. Besides workers, this Federation includes middle-class elements, such as station masters, clerks, and the train service crew.

The Union's Lemburg Conference in 1920 instructed its Executive Council to call a strike in case the government did not, by January 1st, grant the economic demands of the railwaymen. The government refused to grant the most elementary demands of the workers; but the Executive Council, contrary to the clear and specific instructions given it by the Federation, for fear of the inevitable fight and at the behest of the Socialist Parties, failed to and went out on strike on February 8th, 1921. Though most of the railwaymen returned to work after a few days, the Warsaw shopmen kept their posts at the fighting front for 24 days in spite of much persecution. On the 18th day the train conductors joined them, and the strike spread all over the country.

The government replied by militarising the railways and threatening the death penalty for taking part in the strike. The Communists, who stood in the front ranks of the fighters, organised, and led the strike, and rallied the whole Polish proletariat in aid of the railwaymen. Kruszewski, the centrist president of the Federation, finally yielded, after waiting two months and wavering for 3 weeks, and gave the signal for the strike, and was arrested. The social patriots, to whom the coming plebiscite in Upper Silesia was of more importance than the interest of the workers, sabotaged the general strike on a national scale, and their leaders, Moraczewski, vice-president of the Federation, and formally Premier of the Republic; and Zulawski, president of the Trade Union Central Federation, hoisted the treacherous signal for retreat on the third day of the fight, issue the strike call. Numerous sections of the Federation, headed by Warsaw, voiced their distruct of the Executive Council, elected a strike committee.

At the Warsaw Conference just held, the reactionaries moved a resolution giving the Executive Council the right to expel from the Federation all those who come out against the Amsterdam International and for Moscow. This was carried by 160 to 140. The Right fraction then proposed that the Federation should extent no legal aid to its members charged with political crimes. But this proposition was too strong even for many workers belonging to the Right fraction; it was rejected. The motion of the Reds demanding the expulsion of Lagowski, a noted member of the Polish Socialist Party, was also voted down. This railwayman acted as the informer against a dozen of his colleagues, denouncing them as Communists, and as a consequence they spent eight months in prison.

In the election of the Executive Council proportional representation was rejected by a very small majority. The Right fraction then brought in a general ticket containing no Communists and only a few Centrists. At this the Centrists said that they refused to recognise the validity of the elections, and one of the P.S.P. nominees, Fram, tore up his membership card in front of the Convention and announced his withdrawal from the party. The ticket of the Right was then dropped, and a new fusion ticket was made up. The Communists insisted on their demand for proportional representation and took no part in the compromise. A few Centrists also stuck to their former decision to take no part in the elections.

Caucasian Young Communists.

A Congress of Caucasian Young Communists is being held at Baku to bring about a fusion of Caucasian Young Communists with Russian Young Communists and an active participation of Young Communists in the economic reconstruction of the land.

The Food Crisis.

Shlapnikov, in *Pravda*, says the coal crisis in the Donetz, the naptha crisis in Baku, and the famine in the Volga demand the mobilisation of the greater portion of the rolling stock of the Soviet railways, and that consequently the fuell supply will be very difficult. The ptople will have to look after themselves or pass the winter sitting in cold rooms. He calls upon all workers to display the greatest possible initiative. All groups of workers who wish to attend to their own wood supply for the winter will be allotted a section of forest, and the State will grant them every possible assistance.

Congress of Soviet Workers.

Pravda, of September 30th, reports the opening in Moscow of the fourth all-Russian Congress of Soviet workers. Three hundred and five delegates are present representing nearly a million workers. About eighty per cent. of the delegates are Communists.

Soviet Farms.

In the all-Russian Conference of the Union of Land and Forest Workers Osinski reported on the work of the Commissariat for Agriculture. More than thirty million pood of seed grain were distributed to the peasants, which ensures a considerable increase in the acreage sown, as compared with last year. Compared with last year twice as much was done in the repairing of farm implements. The Soviet farms can show a great progress. During the past year they could only work one third of their land with their own labour power, and had to use outside labour for the other two-thirds. This year the proportion is just the opposite. Considerable credits have been granted for the combating of cattle epidemics.

Contract with Home Industry.

Two hundred and twenty-three Home Industry Productive Co-operatives have accepted the contract for the production of one hundred million household articles. They will be granted premiums in bread and fodder.

Fishing Concessions.

Extensive fishery concessions have been made for a term of four years to the Union of Fishers' Co-operatives in the Black Sea. The Union undertakes to obtain two refrigerator ships, motor boats, sailing ships, two hundred and fifty steam barges, and to put them into operation. After the expiration of the lease the whole plant passes into the hands of the State. The execution of the contract is guaranteed by a deposit in gold.

The Russian Budget.

The Russian Budget for 1921 amounts to six thousand milliard roubles. It is divided as follows: Administration, 8.4 per cent.; army, 2.1 per cent.; food, railways, posts, telegraphs, 49 per cent.; bonuses to industry, 40 per cent. The note circulation at the present time is 3,500 milliard roubles.

Leasing Agricultural Land.

A large Czech machinery concern proposed to lease thirty-six thousand hectares of land in the Kuban and Terek districts, which they will work with motor ploughs under the condition that the State supplies fuel and lubricants, and erects a repair shop in the district. The proposal has been approved by the Soviet government and the permission issued.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

Sidd Warr (Southend).—Since your letter represents in the main purely the official Labour Party view and raises no new issues, we cannot find space for it. On the one point you make, which is not precisely the official Labour Party view, you are wrong. You say: "Where is an industrial union in Britain? I know of none. The Miners' Federation is not such a union. It is a federation of trade unions."

To this we reply that the National Union of Railwaymen is an industrial union, though some sections of the railway workers have a craft union outside it. The Miners' Federation is a federation of industrial unions covering certain territorial areas. Before the lock-out in South Wales all the workers in the mining industry above and below ground, except the management and office staffs, were in the Federation. Since the lock-out some sections have broken away. The Miners' Union and the N.U.R. are near enough to complete industrial unionism to show that mere industrial unionism is not enough to win the class struggle. Finally you say: "Do not split the movement on tactics." Presumably you are as ready to do that as we, since from what you write it appears that you would not be prepared to adopt our tactics, even should the majority accept them.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Dear Comrade,—I left the Labour Party and joined the Communist Party because I was a rebel and wanted to work for Communism. Now I am worried and dissatisfied, I have seen a drift to the Right in the III. International ever since the German Communist workers, who were forming Revolutionary Unions, were ordered back to their old unions to organise on the old lines. The other day an organiser of the C.P. came down to our branch and told us that a new thesis has come out, and that we are to support the Labour Party. I cannot agree with it; I see they are becoming too constitutional. What am I to do? I am against Parliamentarism.

Yours for Communism,
PERPLEXED.

[Our advice to the Comrade is to join the Fourth Workers' Communist International, which is Non-Parliamentary and has a revolutionary industrial policy.—EDITOR, *Workers' Dreadnought*.]

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HAVE YOU ANY SAVINGS?

"My house used to be full of furniture," said a comrade, the other day. She called it a house, but, of course, it was only a couple of rooms; that is what we describe as a house in London, you know, because the rents are so high.

"Look at it now," she said; "I have sold everything but a bed and a table and a couple of chairs: even the linoleum I have got rolled up there to be sold to-day. My husband is out of work, and I have to part with my things, one after the other."

Mr. Lloyd George, for once, is right; he says: "I have no doubt at all that the unemployed have been drawing on their savings, but these must be nearly exhausted."

We do not think that Mr. Lloyd George and his kind regard their household goods as their savings. In spite of the great trade depression, we do not think Lord Leverhulme, Sir Thomas Lipton, the coal owners and the railway magnates are selling their furniture.

The savings of such great people are not touched yet, Mr. Workless; far from it. If ever their savings, their capital, shows any sign, not of ceasing to remain securely intact, but of failing to produce a fruitful dividend, then the Government rushes in to provide a moratorium or a subsidy, as in the case of coal and corn, or to provide the big capitalists with more capital and safeguard them from risk, by voting them millions, to enable them to expand their home enterprises, or credits to enable them to extend their trade overseas.

But your savings, Mr. Workless, are another matter; they are altogether too small for the Government to trouble about. So long as you have any savings, the Government considers that you should spend them, and so, as the snobs would say, preserve your self-respect, instead of going to the Boards of Guardians for Relief.

Mr. Lloyd George declares that the Boards of Guardians have acted unwisely in giving as much relief as they have done, although the unemployed have existed miserably on what they got.

Mr. Lloyd George admits that you and your family could not exist on the 15/- unemployment dole. "No one pretended," he says, "that it was an adequate sum; but it was a contribution." It was a contribution, Mr. Workless, towards what you could get from your Trade Union, and raise by selling your furniture and your shares in the Co-operative Stores, if you are so fortunate as to have any.

Mr. Lloyd George has further told us: "The miners' stoppage demonstrated that there was a larger fund of savings among the workmen of this country than anybody had imagined."

According to your employer, and Mr. Lloyd George agrees with the employer, for he is anxious to bring down the price of production; according to your employer, if you are able to save money on the wage he is paying you, then you can afford to live on less, and he intends that you shall do it: if there is to be any saving of money, the boss desires that it shall be done by him.

Do not forget, therefore, Mr. Workman, that, according to Mr. Lloyd George and the capitalists, the way to serve the country and to prevent unemployment is for you to take lower wages. Meanwhile, the capitalists have had £26,000,000 to help them to trade overseas, and Mr. Lloyd George is giving them a further £25,000,000 to provide them with more capital to lay down new plant: railways, water ways, electric plant, and all sorts of money-making machinery for use in this country. At the same time, he gives £300,000 to the unemployed ex-soldiers, to enable them to leave the land they fought for, and £10,000,000 for unemployed relief work.

Remember that if you get any relief, Mr. Workless, the Minister of Health has just issued an order that you are to pay it back whenever you get work.

Do not complain, Mr. Worker and Mr. Workless: you have your compensations: you belong to the Empire on which the sun never sets; you won the war, and now, by your labour, you must pay the interest on the £8,000,000,000 which our patriotic British property owners so shrewdly lent to the Government to win the war, taking care to insist that they should get in return higher rates of interest than ever were paid by any Government in the world before.

The Bible is certainly just in its condemnation of the usurers; but usury is the law of life under Capitalism. The great moneylenders are the most prosperous and most powerful people in the world to-day.

And you, Mr. Workless and Mr. Workman, have chosen the moneylenders to rule over you. When you are really tired of the moneylenders' Government, you will overthrow the capitalist system and set up your own Soviets.

Under Communism there will be neither employers nor employed; neither money nor money lending; neither buying nor selling. Each willtake according to need and desire from the common abundance.

The shabby and hungry men and women who tramp our streets, workless, to-day; the jaded masses who carry on production are still asleep to that possibility: will you not help to wake them?

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