

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

VOL. VI.—No. 33.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

A MESSAGE FROM PETROGRAD.

We give below the text of the appeal which the recently elected new Petrograd Soviet addressed to the workers, soldiers and sailors of the Allied countries, and those of Estonia and Finland. No publicity has been given to this most important appeal, with the exception of a few extracts, published a little while ago by the general Press:

"At a moment of great stress we, the workers of Petrograd, have re-elected our Soviet. The elections took place at a time when the armies of your Governments were threatening our city and when we were suffering terrible hunger in consequence of the blockade directed against us. Nevertheless, the workers of Petrograd remained at their posts. Hundreds of thousands of them took part in the elections, and to-day the new Soviet has met for the first time. Thousands of delegates representing the workers, the Red Army and the Red Navy are attending the session, and unanimously they have resolved to send you the following message: We shall continue to maintain the Soviet system, the political power of the workers and peasants. We shall fight to the last breath against the capitalist class for the triumph of Socialism.

"At this solemn hour we ask you:— Why have your Governments started the present campaign against our city?

"Why do they carry anarchy into our city; why do they shoot our fathers and our brothers; why have they condemned us to death by starvation?

"All the stories spread by a corrupt Press about the reign of terror in Petrograd are lies. We are suffering from hunger, we collapse at our work in the factories through sheer exhaustion; yet proletarian discipline and perfect order reign among us. We are defending ourselves against the enemies who are attacking us from all sides, but at the same time we are building up, step by step, the working class State. We are guilty in the eyes of your capitalists by the mere fact that we were the first to unfurl the Red Flag and the first to suppress Tsardom and Capitalism. Is it not now two years since we took public power into our hands, and the land has belonged to the peasants, and the workshops to the workers? Your Governments hate us because we published the secret treaties which had been concluded between them and Tsardom. They hate our city because it was the first to raise the banner of the Revolution.

"We also address ourselves to the workers of Finland and Estonia. For nearly two years you have been fed on lies. You are told that we want to annex Estonia and Finland. This is not true. Our official representative, Zinovieff, declared at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, in the name of the entire Soviet Government, in plain and explicit words that our armies had received an express order not to cross the Estonian or Finnish frontiers. The Central Executive Committee is the highest authority in the country, and an order issued by it has a binding official character. We are convinced that for you, too, the hour of emancipation from the yoke of Capitalism is near at hand, and your Governments are doing their best to avert their fall. We do not want to fight against you; it is your own Governments which started the war.

"Comrades all, how long will you allow your Governments to supply our executioners with arms, money, officers and provisions? On the Murmanak front we have to fight British, French, Italian and Serbian troops. On the Narva front we have had to deal with Swedish divisions. Along Estonian and Finnish frontiers it is regular Estonian and Finnish troops who are fighting us. Your Governments are sending spies and agents to Petrograd who organise explosions and distribute bags of gold among traitors. The White Government of Finland causes our railway stations and villages to be bombarded from aeroplanes. Yet we do not yield and shall never surrender. We are convinced, comrades, that in your countries, too, the Red Flag will triumph. We consider the general action which you had arranged for July 21st as a symptom of your awakening consciousness. We live in the certain hope that the workers of Britain, France, America, Italy and other countries will soon refuse to act as gendarmes and executioners of the Labour Revolution.

"Your Governments deny any intention to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. This is a barefaced lie. Your Governments have appointed

JOHN BULL
CHAMPION
BABY
KILLER

HOLDER OF
WORLD'S
RECORD

BE BRITISH! WOMEN
AND CHILDREN FIRST



as the lawful autocrat of Russia a hangman and murderer, Admiral Koltchak, against whom all the workers and peasants of Siberia and the Urals are in revolt. Your Governments are spending millions in assisting Tsarist generals to restore the old Monarchy. They are providing the Russian counter-revolutionaries with all they need, from tanks to spies. Your Governments have helped in the formation of the army of General Denikin, which has massacred thousands of workers in Kharkoff and Ekaterinoslav for the mere crime of being workers. Your Governments are responsible for the horrors of Perm where, on the eve of evacuation, many thousands of the Red Guards were burned alive. And your Governments are responsible for the famine in our country.

"Comrades all, forward to Revolution. Put an end to the crimes of your Governments. Extend your brotherly hands to the workers of other countries. Do all you can to prevent any assistance being given to the Counter-Revolution in Russia. We send you our fraternal greetings, and call out with you: Long Live the Workers' Revolution in all countries."

From The People's Russian Information Bureau.

Preliminary Notice.

Our Christmas Double Number will appear on December 6th and will be a COMMUNIST NUMBER. Contributions on the Movement from leading Comrades including G. M. Serrati, Editor of the "Avanti" Ernst Nobs, Editor of "Volksrecht", Paul Faure, Editor of the "Le Populaire", Comrade Bordiga, leader of the Italian Anti-Parliamentary Group, etc., etc.

This issue promises to be full of interest; further details later.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

Part II. Continued from last issue.
SERRATI'S MOTION.

The motion of the Serrati section is that of by far the largest group in the Party. Perhaps this is partly due to the fact that Serrati is Editor of the "Avanti!" and, therefore can press his views home every day: it is also partly because it adopts a centre position, expressing the revolutionary sentiments with which the party is surging, without breaking with the old political tactics, on which, until recently, the hopes of the vast majority of Socialists in all countries were entirely concentrated.

Serrati's motion states:

That the Party Programme of 1892 is now superseded, and proclaims the Russian Revolution as "the most fortunate event in the history of the workers." It affirms that, since no dominant class has renounced its despotism until constrained by violence and the exploiting class has always defended its privileges by violence.

The Conference is convinced that the Proletariat ought to have recourse to the use of violence, for defence against the violence of the capitalist class, for the conquest of power, and to consolidate its revolutionary conquests.

It affirms the necessity for both technical and spiritual preparation for the revolution.

It decides to take part in election contests, in order to make propaganda for communism and for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

It recognises that the present organs of local and national Government cannot be transformed into instruments for liberating the workers; and that such organs must be replaced by workers' soldiers' and peasants' councils, workers' economic councils, and so on. These councils functioning at first under the capitalist domination, will be instruments of the violent war of liberation, and afterwards will become the organs of social and economic transformation and reconstruction in the Communist Social Order.

The violent conquest of power by the workers should be followed by the transitory dictatorship of all the workers.

During this dictatorship Communism should be realised after which, with the disappearance of classes, every sort of class domination will also disappear, and the free development of everyone will become a condition of the free development of all.

It is therefore decided that;

1. The organisation of the Italian Socialist Party shall be prepared according to these principles.

2. That the Party shall adhere to the Third International.

3. That it shall work with the industrial organisations in the class war.

We have condensed the main points of this long resolution, and set them forth here, because this is the resolution which was actually adopted by an overwhelming majority and now becomes the official policy of the Italian Socialist Party.

THE ABSTENTIONISTS' RESOLUTION.

The motion of those who believe the time for participating in electoral contests is now past, and who call themselves simply Communists, stated:

1. That the programme of 1892 is out of date, and that the Party should form an integral part of the International Communist movement, accepting the Moscow programme, and engaging itself to observe the discipline of the International Communist Congress.

2. It declared incompatible the presence in the party of those who proclaim the possibility of proletarian emancipation within the ambit of the present "democratic" régime, and who repudiate the method of the armed fight against the bourgeoisie by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. That the Party should assume the name "The Communist Party of Italy."

4. That the Party should abstain from the electoral struggle, intervening in the contest only to make known the reason of its attitude and engaging all the organisation and force of the Party in the work.

5. That the organs of the workers should be armed with the practical means of warfare necessary for the attainment of the Communist programme.

A manifesto was issued by the abstentionists together with the resolution, from which we have condensed the most outstanding points. This manifesto surveys the situation and outlines a revolutionary programme, the setting up of the Soviets, socialisation of banks, industries, the land and so on. It calls for the setting up of a Provisional Committee before the proletarian triumph, which will direct the struggle against Capitalism and arrange for the election of the Soviets.

The second point in the abstentionist's programme, that which dictated the ejection from the Party of the Reformists who say that the workers can be emancipated within the bourgeois Parliamentary system, and who repudiate the Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, received support from many of the Maximalists, who, though still wishing to run Parliamentary candidates, desire the Revolution and the Soviets. Abigail Zanette and another woman comrade, with Altobelli the only women delegates who addressed the Congress, announced that though they would vote for the Serrati motion, they wished that it might have excluded the Reformists from the Party. Indeed the logic of the debate was with the Abstentionists and there were signs that large numbers of delegates were aware of that, though the Serrati motion secured upwards of 48,000 votes and the Lazari motion upwards of 16,000, whilst the Abstentionists' motion had only 3,627. Many voices cried out: "Bordiga! next year you will have the 48,000." Bordiga smiled carelessly, for he believes that the Revolution will have arrived in Italy before next year's Socialist Congress can be held.

Some sober right wing Socialist also told us that in their view the Congress will have reached the Abstentionist position within the year. As a matter of fact, it is not only in the question of preparing directly for the revolution, instead of dallying further with Parliamentarism, that the Italian Abstentionists are thorough-going revolutionaries. It seemed to us that even in Italy, the approach of the Parliamentary election has a tendency to delay revolutionary action, though not as in Britain to cool revolutionary speech.

THE RISE OF THE ABSTENTIONIST MOVEMENT IN ITALY.

We were eager to know how the Abstentionist movement had arisen in the Italian Socialist Party; whether it had had an originating leader, and had started from one centre. We were informed that the movement had developed spontaneously in all directions, each section ignorant of the existence of the rest. Only at the Congress itself had the Abstentionists learnt their full strength, and how widely they were diffused. Comrade Bordiga kindly sup-

plied us with this table, which shows the strength of the movement in various parts of the country.

Branches of the Italian Socialist Party adhering to the Abstentionist position:—

Departments:	No. of Branches:
Piedmont	Northern 23
Lombardy	" 3
Liguria	" 3
Emilia	" 4
Venetia	" 1
Venice Gealia	" 1
Tuscany	Central 9
Marches	" 3
Umbria	" 1
Campania	Southern 5
Apulia	" 4
Catalonia	" 4
Abruzzi	" 1
Sardina	" 1
Sicily	" 3
	3417 votes.

This important movement, important because it is composed entirely of those who are prepared to proceed to revolution, is of very recent growth. In Turin, where it comprises one-third of the Socialist Party, it arose because it was felt to be the logical outcome of the Executive's decision to join the Third International and to recognise the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat, a policy approved by the Party as a whole. The Abstentionist group was formed in Turin immediately after the strike of July 20th and 21st, but the discussion from which it sprang had been going on for some time before. The Abstentionist movement in Naples, which has absorbed practically the whole of the Socialist Party there—the Party is not large in the South—began immediately after the Armistice, when the prospects of the next General Election came under review. At Naples is published a weekly organ of the Abstentionist movement, which is called "The Soviet" and has a circulation, as yet, of only 3,000 copies weekly.

Bordiga, who moved the Abstentionist resolution and was its principal spokesman at the Congress, is a young civil engineer of Naples and looks curiously like the press photographs of Bela Kun, though probably, if one saw the two men together, one would find them absolutely unlike. He is full of energy; every evening following the Congress he addressed a public meeting on "Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." His thought is exceedingly clear-cut: he declares himself a doctrinaire. In speaking he makes sharp-pointed references to the big wigs of the movement; and it seems at times that his very presence excites passion in the assembly. His voice is rather harsh and exceedingly penetrating: it lacks, at least it lacked in the Congress, that emotional quality which sways those very numerous people who are moved rather by sympathy than by logic. But he makes an impression on the Congress greater than that made by any other delegate. When he is speaking all attention, especially that of the platform, is upon him, and when others were speaking, he, in the centre of a group of comrades in a box at the extreme right of the stage, seemed to cause all the speakers to refer to him and his sayings whilst he punctuated the speakers' remarks with caustic comment. Nevertheless he seems to be on quite friendly terms with the Maximalists whom he attacks.

In conversation they dismiss him and the Abstentionist movement by saying that Naples always produced extreme types of just his quality, and that the Neapolitan extremists later degenerate into reformists, and yet again one finds them consulting with him! The fact that he is the spokesman of the logical position—the position towards which the movement is inexorably tending—is the power behind this combative and enthusiastic personality. Moreover, though its detractors may seek to dismiss the Naples movement as a local eccentricity, the Abstentionist movement

TRUTH AT LAST!

is developing roots everywhere: it is a movement that makes a special appeal to the workers. Boero, who seconded the motion, was the only workman to address the Congress.

BORDIGA PREDICTS A SPLIT.

Bordiga told us that the large vote given to the Maximalists is accounted for by the fact that many Socialists desire to give Parliamentary action a last chance before abandoning it. He does not think it so certain as others do that the Socialist Party will have the expected great success at the polls.

He believes a split in the Party to be inevitable: when it comes, he says, the greater part of the Serrati faction will join the Abstentionists, and the smaller part will fall back with the Reformists. In the Abstentionist movement, he told us, there are few "intellectuals"; the majority of its members are of the working-class. In Turin and some other places the Abstentionists are working closely with the Workshop Committees. Many Turin Abstentionists believe that the industrial councils of workers, which are now being built up to perform economic and technical functions, will eventually form the Soviets. Bordiga does not think so and he believes this conception to be dangerous. He believes that the representation of the workers as a class, in the Marxist meaning of the phrase, should be independent of any accident of trade, especially in the period of expropriating the capitalists. The Soviets at this stage should, in his view, be above mere industrial divisions, as purely economic functions will be taken over by economic councils. He agrees that the economic function is more important than the political; nevertheless, he says, Soviets, unless dominated by Communists, will not secure Communism. He points out that there is Communism in Russia because the Soviets are Communist, and there is not Communism in Germany although there are Soviets. He says this is because those Soviets are not Communist. [They would now be Communist however had the Spartacist Revolution succeeded, we believe.] He believes that the Communist Party has as big a function to fulfil after the initial Revolution as before. A Communist majority in the Soviets, he says, makes possible the continuation of the revolution, and unless the Russian Soviets had been Communist, they would not have made the Soviets an organ of proletarian dictatorship.

He says that during the preliminary stages of the Revolution the Soviets should consist of members of the Communist Party only, and that before the Revolution the Party should prepare a list of persons who are to assume the preliminary Executive functions.

We observed that the Russian Revolution did not proceed in this way; that all workers were eligible for election to the Soviets; that the Communists were originally in a minority in the Soviets, but that they demanded all power for the Soviets, trusting to the inevitable drift to the left when the workers had secured control, to bring the majority round to their way of thinking. Bordiga replied that observation of the Russian Revolution should teach us to take a shorter cut to the same objective.

In asserting that in the early stages of revolution the Soviets should be confined to Communist workers, Bordiga was expressing his personal view to us for this is not indicated in the manifesto and resolution of the Abstentionist faction, though the preparation of a Communist professional Executive finds a place in it.

After the Congress the Abstentionists met and decided to remain in the Socialist Party, and to propagate their abstentionist views only within the Party and not amongst the workers

Those who, both prior to the war and on its outbreak, denounced the aggressiveness of our real governing class, have now been rewarded for their fidelity to truth by the recent publication of Lord Fisher's "Memories." This gentleman has proved that the British press lied throughout the war—as some of us knew it would have to do to retain its circulation and power over "public" opinion—(a) as to British unpreparedness; (b) as to the "peaceful" intentions of the inner circle of the British Government. Lord Fisher now boastfully writes that he had prepared a scheme in 1905, (after the Secret Treaty with France had been signed by Lord Lansdowne, which changed our Francophobia to Germanophobia thenceforwards,) to bottle up the German Fleet at Kiel, wipe it out, and land an army on the Pomeranian coast; and, he it noted, without a declaration of war, as in the case of the onslaught, carefully chosen again be it remembered, against Soviet Russia. So much for the honest intentions of our Governors in regard to "the war menace which came down like a meteor from the clouds" (*vide* the daily press and a certain critical weekly in August, 1914.) It was this same gentleman—who, besides his pay of £30 weekly in 1914, received a big pension out of public funds and a peerage—uttered words which frighten the namby-pacifists amongst us, that in war "you must be ruthless, relentless, remorseless." He knew the game of politics and Imperialism!

Today we are heading straight for a continuous war with Russia. I know personally of an officer who was taking out his regiment to Batoum at the time of the Railway Strike, to guard the Persian oil-pipe line of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, in which the British Government is financially interested to the tune of £2,200,000. (See "Hansard," June 18, 1914, when Lord Grey got a Liberal House of Commons to vote the funds for this business.) What is more, the railway line at Murmansk, built by British money has not been abandoned. Oh dear, no!

In addition to that, the secret German-Japanese Treaty, which has been withheld from publication in the British Press, (though it has already appeared in the Congressional Record Reports at Washington) explains in its clauses why Von der Goltz, the Prussian Commander, stirs up strife in the new 'liberated' countries

of Eastern Europe, (*vide* our Press), and is unmolested, in spite of their talk to the contrary, by our governing class. For General von der Goltz, like Koltchak, who recently sent his emissaries to Berlin, (see "Frankfurter Zeitung" during August), intends to carry out the workings of the German-Russian side of the Treaty aforesaid, to bring about a monarchical reaction (called a "new" Russia); and whose Government, in return for help provided for this work, would have the assistance of Japan in mitigating the hardships of the Peace Treaty and would be able to exploit the "new" Russia which they, with British guns and finance, would bring into being; whilst Japan was to have a free hand in exploiting Siberia and China. I will say nothing here about the part to be played against the United States in "opening-up" China, which has caused grave disquiet in the United States. That must be left for an article at some other time.

My point, however, in writing now is this: At a time when reaction stalks the earth, when Militarism dangles its bloody, unsheathed sword throughout Europe, the United States, Japan, and in the British Colonies, there are still reformers and pacifists who think our Cause is strong, and that the "new heaven on earth is coming very soon."

At this dark hour, it is the bounden duty of everyone who sees the light of truth burning brightly in his or her breast to help to consolidate the REAL forces of peace that still remain amongst us. And yet, forsooth, it is proposed to split up the No-Conscription Fellowship by bringing into being two satyrs, which will, on the one hand, allow the Government to sow its seeds of discord among them, and, on the other, allow Pan, their god, to laugh at the futilities of our forward, united effort towards real Peace. He knows, like his masters, that the birth of two societies from one that has gone through the fire of experience, as it has always been in history, (and the use made of the Mensheviks by the reactionaries of England, France, and Russia at the beginning of the 1918 economic revolution, to weaken the Soviets, bears this out,) will enable the forces of reaction to ride rough-shod over the one force which alone withstood them against all the powers of hell from 1914 to 1919.

"Experimentia docet!"

ARTHUR FINCH.

outside—thus it should not be said that they were injuring the electoral prospects of the majority.

The voting upon the three propositions Unitarian, Maximalist, and Communist, occupied several hours. From the platform is called the name of each delegate, the branch represented, and the number of votes: the delegate replies by naming the mover of the motion for which he wishes to vote. Italian comrades told us that this lengthy procedure is the only accurate method available: we explained the British card system to a number of incredulous hearers.

After the vote on the motions of Lazzari Serrati and Bordiga had shown the relative strength of the different factions, it was proposed that the seats on the executive should be distributed proportionally amongst them. But Lazzari objected to the proposal, saying it was best that the majority faction should have a homogeneous committee. He withdrew his name from amongst the nominees for the Executive, and thus automatically resigned the secretaryship of the Party which he has held for many years. There is an element of nobility in his resignation, and his loss as an official, in many ways will be greatly felt, for he has been a sturdy fighter: the Italian Socialist

Party is far in advance of the French and British Parties, and that is in a large part due to his work.

Lazzari's proposal to allow the Maximalist faction to have all the seats on the Executive was agreed to and that faction now controls the Party.

Serrati withdrew the proposal that Socialist Members of Parliament should place in the hands of the Party Executive a letter resigning from Parliament, which the Executive might use as and when it thought fit.

We were impressed by the way in which the Italian Socialist Party thus made a clean sweep of its old executive in order that the new policy to which it had pledged itself might be whole heartedly administered, and the fine spirit shown by the men who stepped aside now that the majority had moved beyond their policy.

Meanwhile no news has reached us that the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive of the British Labour Party have yet bowed to the rank and file, which has ordered them to summon a conference to decide what action shall be taken to stop the war on our Russian comrades.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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MOSCOW MANIFESTO.

We give below an extract from the Manifesto of the First Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow, March, 1919:—

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its programme in the form of the Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades Communism has travelled a hard road: of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the programme proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the Communist revolution.

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organised power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalist army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, Government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government: disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard: arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of workingmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary Government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the opposition of the despoilers of labour, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favoured position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie

is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there are no more class distinctions.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as a unified people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small minority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organisation and through its Soviets, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless Communist Commonwealth.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Soviet system the mass organizations rule, and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Soviets draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the Government. The Soviet system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the Soviets themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The Soviet system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislature and executive powers, and by use of working boards. Above all his union is fostered by the fact that in the Soviet system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Soviet system brings true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favoured in this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized, and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the semi-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communistic structure.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND SOCIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION.

The breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on a capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workingmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old régime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of Capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the

other hand, is the best, only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it society itself.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all production to a systematic plan. As the first steps—socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the power of the proletariat of all Government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labour will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organisation through the force of example, through practical demonstrations of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers' control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products; to which end the following methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all bourgeois State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still have an important role in the production-epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution, all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken, and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science and Labour be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the Councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but on the other hand, constantly draw ever increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital!

Long live the International Republic of the Proletarian Soviets!

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

A LABOUR TRIUMPH.

At the Municipal Elections on November 1st Labour candidates experienced an unprecedented success both in London and the Provinces. London, which hitherto boasted of but forty-eight Labour and Socialist members, has now no less than 573. Not only are they returned in such numbers, but Labour actually controls twelve boroughs; a fact which will enable those boroughs to take a lead without opposition.

The *Morning Post*, *Daily Telegraph*, and other capitalistic dailies, fear these successes will mean the introduction of Sovietism! We are not so sanguine: but events will show. A good beginning can be made by municipalising the milk supply. Just now everyone groans under the high price of milk, which we hear is being left unsold by many retailers, because of the inability of the workers to pay these prices. Meanwhile the vitality of the nation is being undermined to satisfy the profiteer!

SUGAR.

Sugar, which could be bought in 1914 at 11d. per lb., has now increased to 7½d. per lb. We are told that the present increase of one penny per pound is due to the sugar shortage. Yet, would anyone think there was a sugar shortage to look at any of the Patisserie Belge or Maison Lyons? If there is a real sugar shortage, the Government should prohibit the manufacture of all fancy sweets and icings.

THE GREAT STRIKE!

The United States coal strike began on November 1st, and as we are going to press the strikers are as solid as at the beginning of the strike. The men's demands include:—

A sixty per cent. increase in wages; a six-hour day; a five-day week; weekly pay days; time and a half for overtime; double time for holiday work; the abolition of automatic penalties for the failure to carry out labour contracts.

An injunction of the Government forbids all officials taking any active part, thereby jeopardising the distribution of strike pay, and totally crippling the men's publicity campaign. Having still vividly in mind the atrocious calumnies of our capitalistic Press against the railwaymen one can form some idea of how American capitalists will malign the strikers who are deprived of an opportunity to reply. The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labour has authorised the calling of a general strike if the Government fail to restore "free speech, a free Press, and free assembly." The *Daily Herald* correspondent from New York states that all the miners have downed tools. As yet, there is no news of sympathetic strikes, but the railwaymen are expected to join issue.

Judging by the troops called in to "protect" possible volunteers, this strike promises to be a regular battle between Capital and Labour.

CAPITALISM GONE MAD.

Jack Carney, of Illinois, editor of *Truth*, in a letter to the Editor, throws the following light on the "liberty" of America, at the same

time exposing the incredible power of capitalism. He writes:—

"Let me give you an insight into the workings of capitalism as represented by the Steel Trust. The U.S. Government allows our paper *Truth* to go through the mails, in fact we have 250 subscribers in prison. Yet the U.S. Steel Corporation will not allow the U.S. Post Office to deliver it in houses owned by the corporation. If a man is seen with a copy of the paper, he is fired from his job, and naturally enough he loses his home.

"Last year they took one of our readers out, and after gouging out his two eyes, severing his sexual organs, they poured boiling tar over him and then feathered him. After penetrating such atrocities they found that he was still alive, so they lynched him. That is capitalism in all its hideousness. It is a direct refutation of those who prate about a peaceful transition. In this city, the heart of the Steel Trust, there is one law, and that law is the law of Steel. Steel means power, and you cannot withstand the attacks of that law, only by the use of power. All laws will be annulled or ignored if they stand in the way of the Steel Trust. We have no hope in the ballot, we use it simply to propagandise our ideas, that is all. To-day there are over 350,000 workers out on strike in the basic industry of society—STEEL. Can you see what I can see? Can you feel what I can feel? They say that the darkest hour is before the dawn. We are now passing through the dark hour and in the morning we will greet the dawn, with the sun of liberty all ablaze and shedding its warm rays over all the world."

RUSSIA.

The White Paper now published shows that the "Russian Adventure" has cost the people of this country \$95,000,000. A large part of this sum is made up by what we are told were "nonmarketable" munitions and stores. Was that any reason to use them to destroy human beings, or does the Government think that it was a pity to waste these instruments of death? How vile must be the reasoning power of those who juggle with humanity as "man-power"!

Despite this extravagant support none of the British favourites has been able to take either Petrograd or Moscow. The Red Army has retailed both Yudenitch and Denikin. Now Yudenitch is making an effort to rope in the Finns to help him capture Petrograd. The *Times* is hopeful of the success of this move, and Entente pressure is, we are told, being brought to bear to realise this. But the Finnish Socialists are alive to the meaning of these negotiations, and we read in the *Berlin Börsen-Kurier* that they demand an alliance of the Scandinavian peoples to counteract the propaganda in favour of intervention. A victory of the Whites would, they affirm, be synonymous with the restoration of Russian reaction, and a policy of conquest.

Rumours of peace negotiations to take place in Denmark between this country and Soviet Russia again begin to be circulated. The Government acknowledges that a conference with reference to the exchange of prisoners is to take place in Denmark, but of Peace not a word. As a suitable way of celebrating the second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution we should insist on the Entente making peace with Russia NOW!

AGAINST THE BLOCKADE.

Dutch Socialists have issued a manifesto to the revolutionaries of all countries to take action against the blockade of Soviet Russia.

GENERAL STRIKES.

To celebrate the second anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution general strikes are announced to take place on November 7th in Germany, Switzerland, and possibly Paris.

DENIKIN'S S.O.S. TO THE ENTENTE.

On October 22nd, the "Folkets Dagblad Politiken" reports that Sassonov, president of the Russian Political Conference at Paris, has presented to the Peace Conference a statement from Denikin on the military situation in Russia. Denikin made it clear that his armies were numerically too weak to be expected to march on Moscow without reinforcements. Yudenitch should come to his aid and join up with him by an energetic push from the North or the West. Denikin's demands were carefully considered at Paris, and as a result a special military commission was sent to Russia led by General Mangin, the French commander at Mainz.

[General Mangin, accompanied by 30 Entente officers of high rank, departed for South Russia some time ago.]

WHAT DENIKIN'S RULE MEANS.

On June 25th Kharkoff was occupied by Denikin's Army; General May-Maievsky was at the head of that army of occupation. The bourgeoisie gave him an enthusiastic reception: a triumphal entry was made to the accompaniment of joy-bells; at the head of which marched the priests, the mayor and the bearers of banners, torches and icons. Behind them, seated in a litter, came the hero of the day, General May-Maievsky himself. Around the litter came men and women in evening dress throwing flowers to the general and crying "Hurrah." The general smiled, but his triumph did not make him forget the promise which his master, Denikin, had made to the workers of Kharkoff. Under an order given by him to General Vitkovsky, commander of the 3rd division, the latter began at once the horrible pogrom of Kharkoff, the massacre of hundreds and hundreds of workers, of Jews and of intellectuals. There were some Red Guards who had not managed to rid themselves of their caps decorated with the red star; they were at once lynched by the mad crowd; they were branded on the forehead with hot irons, whilst the crowd cried to them: "Now go to the devil"; "No honest shopkeeper will take you into his service." The Jewish soldiers were put carefully apart and handed over afterwards to the volunteers, who had thus satisfied their desire for vengeance on the Reds; the Whites set to work to chastise the workers. In the middle of the town, in the Rosa Luxembourg Square, four gallows were erected. Every head of a working man suspected of sympathising with the Communists, was worth a good reward to the informer from the White Guards. Soon four gallows were not enough. For lack of gibbets lamp-posts were used. Thus, as a beginning, 200 workers were executed. This orgy reached its zenith on July 6th; that was, eleven days after the occupation of the town. On that day Denikin's representatives resolved to proceed to a great public execution. The executioners prepared to organise a "splendid spectacle" and to employ new methods. Those condemned to death (34 in all) were divided into two groups each destined to suffer a different kind of death. Fifteen members of the metal workers' trade union and two military uniform makers were hung; the other seventeen, amongst whom were two Menchevik leaders,

well known in the trade unions movement, Grossman and Bobino, were shot at the foot of one of the gallows.

The White Terror of the Denikinians is such that whole families of workers abandon their poor belongings and fly from the town. And this regime continues a month after the occupation of Karkoff by Denikin's hands.

After Kharkoff the Denikin hands managed to take possession of another important centre in the Donetz basin—Ekaterinoslav. At Ekaterinoslav, as at Kharkoff, the White Guards were received with the same enthusiasm by the bourgeoisie. The counter-revolutionary generals made the same "triumphal entry."

The generals allowed their "valiant army to amuse itself." This amusement was translated into a pogrom of workers. Hired Cossacks and Ingouches (the latter are enrolled in Denikin's army solely in the hope of plunder) appeared in the streets with the cries "death to the Jews" and "to the intellectuals." The shooting and murdering began and lasted for several days and nights without stopping. The sick and the sleeping were torn from their beds and put to death on the spot. Whole working class districts were the prey of the murderers. In one quarter alone more than a thousand workers were arrested in a single night. Not only were men imprisoned but also women and young children. Near the Alexander Hospital hundreds of unburied corpses were heaped up in the ditches. A doctor of the hospital, was shot for having ordered the removal of tortured corpses to the operating room.

During the first three days more than three thousand workers were killed.

This information has been circulated by the *Vänsterpress* which received the facts from witnesses.

Is it to help in this inhuman cruelty that British dockers load ships of munitions for Russia. Is it to help to massacre our fellow workers in Russia that British seamen bring these munitions to Denikin? There are £15,000,000 worth of munitions still to be shipped to Denikin according to Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons on October 29th. Are British workers going to give their labour to help in this?

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

MONDAY, 27TH.—Neither funds nor supplies are now being furnished to Admiral Koltchak, Mr. Harmsworth stated.

STRIKE BREAKING.

In reply to Colonel Wedgwood (L.) Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Government was determined to retain any organisation it thought necessary to deal with strikes!

The Government spent £32,657 on publicity and propaganda during the railway strike!

ALIENS BILL.

The Government, as already recorded, saved the situation on Clause 4 of the Aliens Bill by definitely stating that only French certificated pilots might navigate their ships into the ports of Grimsby and Newhaven. After the members had made an absurd show of regret for even attempting to bar our French ally from obtaining the pilotage certificate, the Bill was adjourned for a week.

BRITISH PRISONERS IN RUSSIA.

OCTOBER 28TH.—Mr. Harmsworth made the extraordinary statement that "The Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government was informed by wireless that Messrs. Lenin, Trotsky and other persons concerned would be held strictly and personally responsible for the treatment of British prisoners of war, and of other British subjects in Russia."!!

BLOCKADE.

The Allied naval forces have been instructed, according to Mr. Harmsworth, to turn back ships sailing to Russian Baltic ports. He went on to explain that this was not a blockade. Then, we ask, what is a blockade?

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK EMBASSY.

Mr. Sabine has succeeded M. Nabokoff as representative of Koltchak's Government at the Russian Embassy in London. Yet Bolsheviki representatives were not thought fit to come here to negotiate the very pressing question of exchange of prisoners. What a farce!

HIGH PRICES.

Inflation in currency Mr. Bonar Law admitted to be the main cause of the rise in prices, though increased wages are also, in his opinion, responsible. He seems to forget that workers first asked for increased wages to meet the high cost of living.

D.O.R.A.

Members were apparently surprised when the Attorney-General announced that it would be "necessary" to retain some of the Dora Regulations, which were understood to have been merely necessary for the "successful prosecution" of the war. Perhaps these Labour men and others now realise that once you cut shackles on the people you will have as much difficulty in removing them as, for instance, reducing food prices to pre-war value! Yet they expostulated loudly against the retention

of any section of Dora, and Mr. A. Henderson (Lab.) went so far as to remind the House that he had assisted in getting some of the measures placed on the Statute Book as "war measures," but he seems to be oblivious of the fact that the Government is now starting its war on the workers in earnest. This new piece of "liberty" legislation was given a second reading.

SEX EQUALITY.

The committee stage of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill was taken on October 27th and 28th when the Bill was finally passed. This Bill will open a wider field of activity to women, though the higher paid posts of the Civil Service still remain the monopoly of men. Women jurors, which the Bill legislates for, may, however, be barred from being at any case a judge may think unsuitable for women! As Captain Elliott (C.U.) said in protest against this provision, this attitude of pretending to protect women is Victorian, and that no matter what a woman might hear in Court it could not compare with the things done to women.

AN ARGUMENT FOR THE SOVIETS.

OCTOBER 29TH.—Mr. Bonar Law, in reference to the railway negotiations: "It must be obvious that we could not discuss wages agreements in a body of this size."

THAT "TISSUE OF LIES."

OCTOBER 30TH.—Mr. Lunn (Lab.) asked whether an "official version" of the meetings in Paris between the Peace Council and Mr. Bullitt would be published. Mr. Bonar Law said that the Prime Minister was not at liberty to disclose these proceedings, adding that Mr. Bullitt's statements on the subject were so "absolutely inaccurate" that they "deserved" to be called a "tissue of lies." Is there no way in which Mr. Bullitt can combat this accusation of being a liar?

MEDICINES FOR PETROGRAD.

Colonel Wedgwood asked whether the Government would sanction a small yacht going to Petrograd with medicines and disinfectants; to which Mr. Harmsworth replied that the Supreme Council of the Allies would have to be consulted. Meantime the Russian people in need of these medicines will have died.

FREEDOM.

Forty-three newspapers have been suppressed in Ireland since May 1916. There were one hundred and seventy-four Orders and Proclamations issued during the same period. During the past twelve months seventy-two meetings were prohibited. If anyone accuses the Government of not governing Ireland here now is the proof of its very close attention.

FINLAND.

"His Majesty's Government would not feel justified in interfering in the internal affairs of

Finland," Mr. Harmsworth said when asked to bring pressure to bear on the Finns to grant a political amnesty. Apparently intervention is only possible when freedom is to be limited.

WHY WORRY?

Two whole debates were devoted to the question of Finance, and on October 29th and 30th the House and through it the country were told not to be panicky. Mr. Chamberlain placidly detailed items about how hundreds of millions had been spent and tens of millions had been saved, but these statements convey nothing to ordinary mortals—all that one does know is that the Budget deficit is £473,500,000 and the national debt amounts to £28,000,000,000. Apart from these trifles we are informed that additional taxation will not be necessary unless "the House imposes additional charges on the Exchequer," or it should want to pay off the national debt at a quicker rate than now provided for—which is that in "a little over fifty years" the debt will be redeemed. What a pleasant prospect for this and the next generation! Should Old Age Pensioners get an increase, the country will be told that new taxes will be necessary. And so on for every decent measure for which money is required. But for making way on Russia no permission is wanted, and Mr. Churchill can declare without fear that a "final contribution" of surplus stores about £15,000,000 worth, has been made. And this without the consent of Parliament. The Prime Minister made a long speech saying vague nothing. He, too, pointed out that the unemployment dole would be stopped this month. The Labour Party is against this; but as such a custom cannot be perpetuated the Government has chosen the best time to stop it if it wants revolution! One sentence in his speech we should all remember: For economy, as well as for liberty, the price is eternal vigilance. We must be watchful! The Government must feel itself in a very precarious position if it must resort to such measures as putting an extra penny per pound on sugar, rather than declare some new direct taxation.

IRISH POLICE.

OCTOBER 31ST.—Great sympathy is being expressed by staunch unionists for the Irish Police Force, and the Bill was passed granting them increased pay. The difficulty in getting recruits has doubtless much to do in making the Government take this step.

RATS!

If you neglect to destroy vermin on your premises you may be fined £20 under the "Rats and Mice" Bill just passed. M. O'C.

IRELAND.

There must be something not altogether sound in the ranks of Sinn Féin since the "Times" has taken up the cudgels for it. An unofficial meeting of a Government representative, Lord Southborough is suggested, is the latest recommendation of the "Times."

Has the fact that the non-Socialist Sinn Féiners might be overthrown by what are generally styled "extremists" anything to do with this sudden support of Sinn Féin? It seems quite plausible, and therefore one must conclude that Socialism must be increasing in the ranks of Sinn Féin, and absentee property-holders are beginning to fear for their great estates in the Green Isle.

THE BRITISH WAY.

Direct commercial relations have been re-established between Ireland and America. Naturally, it would be too crude to stop this trade by open measures; but the British authorities are to treat all sailors on American ships as suspects according to a recent order!

EGYPT.

Egypt is again beginning to fret under military control. Riots are taking place, and the iron rule of "law and order" is applied by the troops. The battle-cry of the crowd is: "We don't want the Milner Commission!"

"RAISE HELL."

"You have got to raise hell if you want to get anything done" was the view generally expressed at a meeting of the Ex-Officers' National Union at Australia House.

POLICING THE WORLD.

London police left for Poland last week to "inspect and report on the police force of that country." The *Daily Telegraph*, whilst stating that they intend to stay two months, remarks that it is not unlikely that they may be detained in Poland for two years!

THE GATHERING OF THE CLANS.

Assembled in London at present are the Shah of Persia, the King and Queen of Spain, the Queen of Norway—English hospitality is generously extended to all monarchies, doubtless as this is the last stronghold of Monarchy, the clans gather round it.

RAILWAY DIRECTORS.

Referring to the negotiations proceeding between the N.U.R. and the Government, Mr. J. H. Thomas remarked "we want to be railway directors!" The few particulars that have leaked out about these negotiations forebode the erection of big State machinery which will probably be styled "nationalising" the railways!

THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK CAMPAIGN.

From time to time reports reach us of how the minds of young children are poisoned against the Bolsheviks. In one school the teacher told the usual tale of Bolshevik cruelty, and then took a vote of the children as to whether they were in favour of the Bolsheviks! Now a girl aged eleven writes from Clapham Park:

Dear Editor,

I am writing this to let you know what we have been told about the Bolsheviks. On Tuesday morning (yesterday) our governess called us together and read a letter to us, which she explained was written by a Russian child. It stated that this little girl's father was arrested and kept in prison for six weeks. While he was there, he and some others, among them Mr. Pernbo his friend, had to carry heavy stones from one side of the yard to the other, and then the keepers would throw them all back again. The letter went on saying that her father had to sleep on the wet stone floor as the guards were always throwing buckets of water over it, and the blanket they sent him to lie on as well as a cushion was taken away. He was removed to another prison. One morning while in this prison he woke up and went out into the yard to refresh himself; to his horror he beheld a body with the head missing and another hanging up.

After that he was taken to the Committee of the Bolsheviks and was many times told he would be shot or hung but it did not take place. Then to end this dreadful part of the letter it says that the Committee floor was covered with blood and bones of innocent people. When the Russians saw our troops and heard our guns they were beside themselves with joy. I should like so know if you consider this to be the truth.

ELLEN FAIRBROTHER.

We would like to know whether the School Authorities approve of these teachers who tell these alleged horrors to children. The story in this letter is so absurdly impossible that it is needless to go into the details. How did the Russian child's letter get into the hands of this teacher, and was it really in writing or duplicated? These are points that need clearing up, to help to find out the people who are using children in this vile way.

Certain Clergymen are also lecturing their flocks on the "wickedness" of Bolshevism. We seem to have mistaken the uses of Churches and Schools, we thought they were to teach religion and give USEFUL knowledge—apparently we were mistaken.

AS THE EXPRESS SEES US.

"The adult population of London at the present time can be roughly divided into three classes—those who are dancing, those who are learning, and those who want to do both. The epidemic is not confined to any one degree of society."

But *The Express* continues: "Dancing begins in the West End at three in the afternoon." Evidently the "epidemic" is confined to a certain degree of society, for what wage-slave can start dancing at three in the afternoon? People who have so much leisure and money at their disposal might well do something towards that "increased production" we hear so much of. Apparently the "adult population" of London is all of the well-to-do class!!

AN ADMISSION.

Lord Bryce is of opinion that the Paris Peace Conference committed "some very grave errors."

METAL WORKERS' STRIKE IN ITALY.

FLORENCE, OCT. 10TH (Delayed).

The strike of 200,000 Italian metal workers, which has recently come to a successful end after more than eight weeks of bitter struggle, shows more clearly than could anything else the quality of the new Italian proletariat which has emerged from the war.

The story of the strike contains nothing sensational. There were no riots, no shootings, no dramatic demonstrations of starving women and children. For this reason, doubtless, the foreign newspapers printed little about the struggle. But all the more for this reason it was a strike which tested the power of the Italian workers to go through the fires of revolution and build the new world which is daily assuming a clearer image in their minds. Briefly, the record of the struggle is this: About the end of July the metal workers (organized industrially, of course) broke off negotiations for a minimum wage with their employers in the provinces of Lombardy, Liguria and Emilia. About 200,000 in all went on strike—so nearly every factory and shop of any size in the provinces named was closed. The metal workers of Piedmont did not join, having previously obtained their minimum demands.

The time of the strike was perhaps ill-chosen. For the serious shortage of coal in Italy had already been hampering the operation of the larger factories, whose owners were facing an enforced shut-down. For this reason the strike was perhaps welcomed rather than otherwise by many employers. The latter felt themselves in a strong position and made no secret of the fact that they hoped to break not only the strike, but also the union and the eight-hour day which the workers had obtained earlier in the year.

The strike, from the first to the last day, was a struggle of endurance—of will, of class solidarity. As week after week went by the struggle seemed hopeless to the outsider. The strikers, their union funds quickly exhausted, received from their fellow-workers the contributions which enabled them and their families to live from day to day on a bit of macaroni, of vegetables and of flour. They

could do nothing but fold their arms and wait. Yet in all those weeks there was not a single desertion recorded. In one section a few minors, not technically metal workers, who had gone on a sympathetic strike with the others, returned to work for a few days but were soon persuaded to quit again. But otherwise not a single fighter left the struggle. At length the Government had to intervene as mediator. Before the impressive demonstration of passive solidarity on the part of the workers, the employers' association had to give way and an agreement was drawn up granting to all strikers an increase of pay of from one to three lire a day, and to nearly every category an increase over what the employers had offered before the strike.

This simple record does not at all convey the real significance of the metal workers' strike to an outsider. For in fact, the struggle has been an unprecedented victory not merely for the Union directly involved, but for the whole organised working-class of Italy.

The strike cost, in subsidies and benefits, about 1,000,000 lire a week. This sum was necessary simply to keep the strikers and their families from sheer starvation. To meet it, a per capita tax was levied on each member of the Unions affiliated with the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro—two lire a week for the men one lira for the women. The metal workers of Piedmont were assessed one day's wages each week. Private donations swelled the sum. In this way, about 4,000,000 lire had been collected by the Confederazione up to the end of the strike. The deficit is being made up by continued assessments. Further stipends are being paid to the families of some of the strikers so that the total cost will come close to the enormous sum of 10,000,000 lire. The Confederazione, however, is confident that it will be able quickly to cover the amount.

The striking fact about this struggle is that it was won by virtue of those very qualities which the Italians are supposed to lack—

patience, discipline and capacity for organisation. A long strike without desertions is in itself a rare thing, but most rare in Italy, where impulse is quick and faction is hot. To emotional people nothing is harder than grim waiting. And the willingness of hundreds of thousands of workers to give their money to a cause not directly their own—or rather, their new understanding that the cause of other workers was their own—reveals an impressive sense of class consciousness. But most impressive of all is the organisation of the Confederazione which could direct and finance such a strike. These things are significant because they are new in the Italian labour movement. It might almost be said that no one is more surprised at the success of the strike than the Italians themselves. Before the war it would have been unthinkable. The impulsive, rhetorical, faction-rant labour movement of pre-war Italy could perhaps have made a street revolution, but it could never have won a strike like this.

And so this victory of the metal workers is a barometer of the change that has come to the workers of this country during and since the war. They have acquired precisely the qualities they had most lacked. They now understand that the struggle they are engaged in is a struggle of classes, and they have learned to sink personal interest in that of their class. They have acquired that priceless kind of courage which can remain courageous when there is no blood to stir the passions, and the only thing to do, week after week, is—nothing. Finally, they have learned how to build, patiently and tirelessly, their organisations, capable of confronting those of capitalism and of constructing their new state within the bourgeois state that is crumbling.

One thing more: The qualities which the Italian working class is acquiring, are also precisely those which bourgeois Italy lacks, to-day as before the war. Bourgeois Italy, impulsive, individualistic, incapable of slow and methodical organisation, is helpless to solve the problems which the war has bequeathed to her. The future of the country can lie only in the hands of the workers, who are substituting patience for impulse, solidarity for individualism, and communistic mutual labour for factional squabbling.

H. K. MODERWELL.

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WORLD.

Proletarian Russia is now celebrating the second anniversary of the great 1917 Revolution, our German comrades of the Spartacist group remind us, and we, with them, ask all sympathisers with and believers in the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, to aid in making the celebration of this great anniversary a world festival. By continual acquiescence in the needless slaughter and inhuman blockade, we taint our movement with the same crime as that of which the capitalist world is guilty. The Spartacist group is loudest in its denunciation of the English help given to the counter-revolutionaries, but it does not spare the so-called German Socialist Government, which is also leagued with the other Capitalist countries in this final struggle against Socialism and the rule of the workers.

Lip-service, to the deeds of our Russian comrades, should give place to a definite scheme to help.

The German Spartacist message to us is:—

WORKERS! PROLETARIANS!

The International of the world reaction has arisen again. It is marching against the hearth of the World Revolution; against Soviet Russia. Now at last the International of the world revolution must arise. It is not the international of those who advised you yesterday to kill your own brothers. It is not the international of the social patriots and politicians of the "war to the bitter end" who are living now in fear of the verdict that the proletariat

will pronounce upon all those who betrayed it in the terrible time of the world war. It is the international of those who bore the grief of that war, who have sacrificed everything, who bore hunger and suffering, and who will now have to bear all the evils of this peace, unemployment and a fresh famine, doubled and trebled misery, a new servitude and a new repression.

Workers! Proletarians!

Now you yourselves perceive that the war and its end, whether victory or defeat, only brings you one thing—chains! Day by day you sink deeper into misery. Remember that there is only one way to liberty; that way Russia has taken. Do not allow your bourgeoisie to crush that outpost of the world revolution.

You must celebrate the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution in a worthy manner. Your Russian comrades, who now for more than two years have defied the oppression of the entire world, build their hopes upon you; they look forward longingly for your aid.

Do not disappoint them!

Arise! Prepare for the fight!

On the 7th of November, the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, rise up; you must stop work. You must gather in enormous demonstrations. Help your Russian brothers in this way. Demand from your bourgeoisie:—

To raise immediately the blockade of Russia.

Do not allow the revolution of a great people to be strangled for the profit of capitalists.

To break off the connections with the White Guard and with the counter-revolutionary Governments.

Do not allow your exploiters to deliver powder and lend equipment and money, thus murdering your Russian brothers with your sweat and blood.

To raise immediately the blockade from Russia. The murderers of the war have no right to leave apart, like a leper, the only Government in the world which is not defiled with proletarian blood. The proletariat of the world, united to celebrate the Russian Revolution, will in this way take the first step on the road that leads to its own freedom; it will be the first step to the world revolution.

Proletarians of the world, in all countries, unite with each other in the shout:—

Three cheers for Soviet Russia!

Three cheers for the World Revolution!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

The German Communist Party (Spartacist Union) For the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

London Branch.

"The Importance of Christian Dogma to Socialists."

FOUR LECTURES

In Caxton Hall, Westminster, at 8 p.m.

Lecture III. Thursday, Nov. 13th.

"The Resurrection." The Rev. C. Stuart Smith. The Rev. W. C. Roberts, Chairman.

Lecture IV. Thursday, Nov. 20th.

"The Kingdom of God." The Rev. P. E. T. Widdington. Rev. J. Symonds, Chairman.

Tickets—Sixpence.

Can be obtained at the door, and from the Secretary, Miss E. M. Alston, 1, Manor Place, Paddington, W. 2.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

DIBS AND DUBBS.

You and I, Henry, have seldom had much left over after paying the landlord, the clubman, the coalman, the grocer, the milkman, and the whole lot of them. So it is usually back to work on Monday with a heavy heart and a light pocket.

But, for once, let us talk of something that looks like "real money." I will ask you then to look at this—

£8,000,000,000.

Now there is a good solid look about it, which makes you think of all the beer you wouldn't drink if you had it. I am not going to tell you how many tons that tidy sum weighs in gold, let alone in "Bradburys," nor am I going to tell you how far they would stretch if placed end to end. Having taken a good look at it, I want to tell you that it is the exact amount—more or less—which you and the rest of the Dubb family owe. To whom do you owe it? Ah!.....

A little debt like that is called the "National" Debt, and it has simply got to be paid off, or the British Empire will suddenly fall for the dustbin. And the ones who are to pay that debt don't live in Park Lane or Mayfair. The sole joy, the sole happiness of paying it off is reserved for the working class. And that is why you are asked to produce more and eat less. If you could, by any means, possibly manage to live on air and pay all your wages in taxes, that would suit the Super-bunglers of Westminster to several "T's." You must not run away, Henry, with the idea that this 8,000 millions is all you have to pay. The patriots who lent it in order that "we" could win the war and snatch German trade and colonies, did not lend it for nixes. They want interest.

And the interest on this interesting array of figures is only £360,000,000.

What it amounts to in good solid English is this: The Dubb family has to find 360 million pounds every year for interest on the above "National" Debt; and supposing this 360 millions only is paid every year regularly, you will still owe

£8,000,000,000.

That is enough to make a man roll up his sleeves and—go for the Waitrels who ran up that little debt.

But, stay. We have a Labour Party. It is there to look after the working class, and it doesn't half do it, as you may have found out in the war, and after. This Labour Party has some brilliant ideas at times, and at this special time, its special brilliant idea is a Capital Levy. It is a capital idea—for capitalists.

The Labour Party wants the Government to make special machinery to collect all excess profits and squash the newly-rich. A man with an income of £300 would pay £2 10 0 and at the other end the man with £10,000 would fork out and cough up £881.

It is kind of the Labour Party to leave the ten-thousander to try and struggle along on a paltry £9,119 or £182 per week. But the point is, what is all this fuss about? What is all this Capital Levy for?

It is simply to pay the "National" Debt. But, what we all wish to know is,—TO WHOM IS THIS TO BE PAID?

The money is not being raised to find food for children or increase Old Age Pensions, but simply to make a present of to some unknown financiers and capitalists. Of course it may be said that the Labour Party is trying to make the

upper classes pay instead of the workers, but it must be remembered that the Members of Parliament are practically all of the upper or bourgeois classes. They are hardly likely to pass a law to make themselves pay, when they can make the Henry Dubbs do so.

The proposal of the Labour Party is therefore unlikely to pass into law, it is merely a piece of "window-dressing" to impress the bourgeoisie and the Labour world with their "wise statemanship."

The "Daily Herald" prints the whole thing in full and in detail. It seems quite proud of it as a piece of legal and Parliamentary flap-doodle. And it opens out with the following, absurd apology:—

"It is necessary, in the first place, to grasp the fact that it is not the same thing as the taxation, or confiscation, of war profits."

Be still, sad heart, and cease repining, behind the Bill this fact is shining; it is NOT a confiscation of war profits. May the profiteers sleep soundly in their beds. The Labour Party will not lay their unhallowed hands on legitimate war-profits, and as for confiscation, begone, dull care!

Financiers and capitalists, peace, be still. The Labour Party is going to act as bum-bailiffs to collect your little debts. All you have to do is to see if the receipt is correct. Sign, please!

Let us not look too closely at these things. These large matters are beyond us. They are fit only for the far-seeing foresight (and second-sight) of wise statesmanlike Labour men.

The Russian Revolutionists repudiated their National Debt. But they were Bolsheviks.

And outside the forts of Kronstadt, our gallant fleet is "learning 'em"—with 6-inch shells.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.

Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Friday, 7th Nov. Queen's Rd., Dalston Lane, — 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara.

Saturday, 8th Nov. Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in Hammersmith. Meetings: 3 and 7 p.m. at The Grove. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, P.A. Edmunds, (7 p.m.) H. Sara. (3 p.m.)

Sunday, 9th Nov. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, White-chapel. Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker. 7.30 p.m.—Dock Gates, Poplar. P. A. Edmunds. Chair: Melvina Walker.

Friday, 14th Nov. 12 noon—The Square Woolwich. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, 15th Nov. Great Push in Waterloo Rd.

INDOOR.

Sunday, 9th Nov. 7 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, E.3. David Ramsay. Chair: Norah L. Smyth.

Monday, 10th Nov. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m. Reading Circle.

Thursday, 13th Nov. 8 p.m.—Mark Starr. Second Lecture on Industrial History, (Social Systems, Past and Present.)

Friday, 14th Nov. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, E.3. Dancing.

NOTICE.

Fortnightly Sunday Meetings will be held at 400, Old Ford Road, E.3. at 7 p.m. We urgently appeal to members and friends to attend and to make these meetings known.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, 9th Nov. 12 noon—Victoria Park, Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, 11th Nov. Queen's Road, Dalston Lane, — 7.30 p.m.; Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, 13th Nov. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd., E.3. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, 11th Nov. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Melvina Walker.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

PUBLIC MEETING

400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

Sunday, Nov. 9th, at 7 p.m.

DAVID RAMSAY on "Industrial versus Political Action." Chair: Norah L. Smyth. Admission by Silver Collection.

A MEETING

TO COMMEMORATE THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

Will be held on Sunday, 9th Nov., 3.30 p.m. in HYDE PARK, (MARBLE ARCH.) Many Well-known Speakers.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements: One penny per word

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Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 153, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 14d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster.

READ

"THE RED DAWN," a Monthly Magazine for Young Workers. Monthly, TWOPENCE.

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

To celebrate the Second Anniversary of the RUSSIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC

GREAT DEMONSTRATION

Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C. on Monday, November 10th, at 8 p.m.

Chairman—A. A. WATTS, L.C.C.

Speakers:

J. G. Butler, L.C.C., J. F. Hodgson,
John MacLean, W. H. Ryde,
C. T. Cramp, H. Dawson Large,
Tom Mann, Robert Williams,
Fred Willis, Mrs. D. B. Montefiore.

Admission Free.

Reserved Seats (admitting at 7.15) 1s. and 6d. Ordinary doors open at 7.30. For further particulars apply to Albert Inkpin, Sec. B.S.P., 21a, Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

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