

Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

A COMMUNIST ON TRIAL.

"Capitalism is a wrong system of Society, and it has got to be smashed—I would give my life to smash it."

—(SYLVIA PANKHURST, at the Mansion House Police Court).

The formal charge against Miss Pankhurst was that she did an act calculated and likely to cause sedition amongst His Majesty's Forces, in the Navy, and among the civilian population, by publishing and causing and procuring to be published in the City of London, a newspaper called the *Workers' Dreadnought*, organ of the Communist Party, dated October 16th, 1920, containing articles called "Discontent on the Lower Deck," "How to get a Labour Government," "The Datum Line," and "The Yellow Peril and the Dockers," contrary to Regulation 42 of the Defence of the Realm Regulations.

Mr. Travers Humphreys again appeared on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions. Miss Pankhurst, as even the *Daily Telegraph* report admits, conducted her own defence with great ability.

On the case being called, Sir Alfred Newton said to the defendant: "This case was adjourned in order that you might have an opportunity of obtaining legal advice. Are you legally represented now?"

Comrade Pankhurst: "I have taken legal opinion, and I wish to defend myself."

Mr. Travers Humphreys said the evidence was complete, but if the Alderman eventually found against the defendant, he (Mr. Humphreys) would have something else to say to him.

Mr. Richards (the clerk) informed the defendant that she could go into the witness-box and make her statement on oath or she could stand where she was and state her case there.

Comrade Pankhurst: "I will speak from where I am."

Mr. Richards: "You do not wish to be sworn?"
Comrade Pankhurst: "No."

Comrade Pankhurst said while four articles were mentioned in the charge, three of them were not written by her, although she took the responsibility for them, as editor of the paper. There was only one short article called "The Datum Line," for which she was personally responsible, and she was surprised that it had not been read on that account.

She then read the article "The Datum Line," which appeared in our issue of October 16th.

That was the only part for which she was personally responsible, she said, though indirectly, she was responsible for the whole thing, and she stood by it. She next quoted from an article by H. Rubinstein, entitled, "How to Get a Labour Government," which included the following:—

We shall soon have the scientific thesis on this question, from the Moscow Conference. Parliament is an institution of the capitalist State for doping the workers, and it can never be anything else. The Parliamentary majority, whether the Government be Tory, Liberal, or Labour, remains a part of the oppressive machinery of the bourgeois State. Consequently, it is our mission, as Communists, to destroy it, and perhaps, as William Morris said, turn its building into a storehouse for manure. First, by destroying the faith which millions of British workers still have in it. Secondly, when we have secured power enough, by dispersing it by the force of Red Guards in the street and the force of paralysing strikes in industry.

It seemed to her that "The Datum Line" article and that paragraph were really the matters on which the charge against her was based. The other parts of the articles were "padding" around this kernel. "Those ideas in the short article of mine and in the longer articles of the other witness," continued the defendant, "were current for very long before I was born. Everyone knows the works of Karl Marx. You can get them at any public library, at the British Museum, and the London County Council libraries. His works are studied up and down the country by working-class education societies, and everybody knows that in South Wales they are studying Karl Marx. They are producing many teachers from the miners, who work by day and study by night, and these teachers have become so numerous that they get work in other coalfields." As to the phrase in the Rubinstein article, "And turn its building into a storehouse for manure," that came from one of the works of William Morris, which she read as a child, and was given to her by her father.

Continuing, the defendant said that last week she heard that there had been such a run on her paper that there had been "repeat" orders for 6,000 copies in South Wales. The number of people holding the ideas which she did was growing in the world. "These ideas are rather startling to you, Sir Alfred," added Miss Pankhurst, "because you do not move in the same world. I was brought up by a Socialist father, who taught me, and I have had these ideas all my life. I spoke of these ideas when I was a Suffragette, but I did not realise then how unimportant the vote was. What has given me special hope, is that we now begin to see the realisation of our ideas, in Russia, they are being put into practice with great success, and I believe the revolution is coming for all the world. The more people understand what is happening, and that a change of system is inevitable, the less bloodshed there will be."

"I want to say to you, Sir Alfred," she said, "that although I have been a Socialist all my life, I have tried to palliate this capitalist system. I have been a journalist, and I was only 15 when my father died. I saved £400, and went to work in the East End, just before the war. At the beginning of the war, there were no separation allowances for the women. Many and many a time they have brought their children dying to me. I started four clinics for dying children, and I have sat up night after night with the little ones who were brought to me. I also set up a day nursery, but all my experience showed that it was useless trying to palliate an impossible system. This is a wrong system, and has got to be smashed. I would give my life to smash it. You cannot frighten me with any sentence you may impose. The only thing that distresses me, is that if I am sentenced, I shall have to stop work for a time, but no sentence which you may impose on me will distract me. Nothing which you do to me will make any difference, because my friends and I have definitely made up our minds that the capitalist system is an iniquitous and wicked one, and it must go. I have just returned from Soviet Russia. There the children are not left to starve..."

The Alderman: "I don't want to interrupt you, Miss Pankhurst, but you are wandering from the charge."

Comrade Pankhurst: "The charge is that I have taught revolution in this country, and I shall continue to teach it. It was suggested by the prosecution, the other day, that perhaps the men who caused the disturbance in Whitehall the other day, were the Red Guards to which the article refers and that it was they who broke windows. No, they were not. I should require a much more disciplined force. Oliver Cromwell was out for a change of system, in his day, and I am out for a change of system in my day. You will not stop the agitation going on. The words that are being written in my paper will be as common as daily bread; they will be in the mouths of all the people. The economic situation is driving them so that in order to live at all they will have to have a change."

Sir Alfred Newton: "You are merely taking advantage of the opportunity to deliver one of your lectures."

Miss Pankhurst: "If I made these remarks in Russia I should be applauded. If you punish me for my ideas, I think you are going to do wrong. You are limiting the right of free speech in this country. If these ideas do not appeal to the larger number of people as reasonable and right, then they cannot succeed. I do not apologise for them. It is what I think. You are giving an importance to the articles for which I thank you. If you punish me for them your conscience should ask you why it is I should not be able to say the same things as others have done."

Sir Alfred: "The Soviet Government which you admire so much, Miss Pankhurst, would not have given you such a patient hearing as I have; they would have sentenced you to instant death."

Comrade Pankhurst ironically thanked the "capitalist Press" for the long reports they gave of her case last week, and said her views got greater publicity that way than they would through her own publication.

"Why am I the only one to be punished?" she asked. "I ask you to be quite sure, if you do sentence me, that it is not political bias. Every Com-

munist and Socialist organisation in this country circulates articles of this kind. I have been publishing articles on these lines for a number of years. Other papers are doing the same. Why am I to be made the scapegoat? There is still supposed to be free speech in this country."

Sir Alfred Newton: "Your incitement to sedition for the overthrow of all recognised government is of the very gravest consequence to yourself. These are outrageous suggestions to the poor people that they should sack warehouses, that they should rob, and commit all sorts of depredation. Such ideas can only enter into perverted minds. There can be no question whatever that you are guilty of this charge, and, to my astonishment, the Government has brought the charge in a very limited form to what they might have done; if you had been proceeded against for treason or felony you would have had to go to the Old Bailey."

Mr. Travers Humphreys said the defendant had had ample warning of consequences of breaches of Regulation 42 of the Defence of the Realm Act, because she had already, in September, 1918, been fined £50 for offences against it. Counsel went on to refer to the arrest of a man at Stoke Newington, and was proceeding to read two letters found on him when Comrade Sylvia intervened, and asked whether such procedure was usual.

The Alderman: "I am inclined to agree with you, but I'm quite sure that Mr. Humphreys will do nothing that is not in accordance with legal procedure."

Mr. Humphreys read portions of the two letters in Miss Pankhurst's handwriting, which were found on the arrested man. One of them was written to a man named Sinovieff.

Comrade Pankhurst: "A member of the Moscow Soviet."

Mr. Humphreys: "This explained why the defendant asked for an adjournment at the last hearing. In it, she wrote, 'Dear Comrade—I shall be going to prison in a few days and I suppose I shall get six months. . . . I asked it (an adjournment), on the plea that I wanted to consult my solicitor, a plea which is very seldom refused.' The other letter, said Mr. Travers Humphreys, was written to Lenin, and he proceeded to read various passages from it, the communication being the one which at Bow-street, on Tuesday, was stated to have been found in the possession of the alleged Bolshevik courier who was then in the dock.

Evidence in connection with the letters was given by Detective-sergeant Foster, of the Special Branch, New Scotland Yard.

Sir Alfred Newton: "Frankly, these letters will not affect the punishment which I intend to inflict."

Mr. Humphreys: "I thought I would proceed in the regular way."

The officer next gave evidence of the previous conviction referred to against Miss Pankhurst.

Comrade Sylvia asked no questions of the witness, but addressing the Alderman, said on the last occasion, on the question of bail, she had made an appeal to him to allow her to put her financial affairs in order, and his answers then had left her in a very difficult position.

The Alderman: "I told you what you must not do." Continuing, Sir Alfred said: "I have quite made up my mind as to the sentence I shall give you, and these letters do not influence me one tithe so far as that sentence is concerned. I shall abstain from any attempt to lecture you, because it would be a waste of time. I cannot say how much I regret that you have been misled, and have, unfortunately, attempted to mislead others. The Government have taken a very lenient course in limiting the charge as they have done, and the six months' imprisonment which I propose to give you is totally inadequate for the offence."

Comrade Sylvia: "This is a political offence."

Sir Alfred: "Having regard to your sex, your imprisonment will be in the second division. If you had been a man, I should have made it hard labour."

Comrade Sylvia: "It is a disgrace to the country, if they do not recognise political offences."

Sylvia seemed quite unconcerned at her long sentence, and smiled cheerily at her friends, as she went down towards the cells. She was afterwards removed in a taxi-cab to prison.

SYLVIA PANKHURST AND THE "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT."

[Extract from *Daily Telegraph*.]

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who was described on the charge sheet, as an "editor," and whose age was given as 36, was charged before Sir Alfred Newton, at the Mansion House yesterday, with doing an act calculated and likely to cause sedition and disaffection amongst His Majesty's Forces, in the Navy, and among the civilian population, by publishing and causing and procuring to be published in the City of London, a newspaper called the *Workers' Dreadnought*, organ of the Communist Party, dated October 16th, 1920, containing articles called "Discontent on the Lower Deck," "How to Get a Labour Government," "The Datum Line," and "The Yellow Peril and the Dockers," contrary to Regulation 42 of the Defence of the Realm Regulations.

Defendant at the outset asked for an adjournment in order that she might obtain legal assistance.

Sir Alfred Newton said that she could make her application later.

On the charge being read over to her, the defendant said she pleaded "Not guilty," and stated that she thought the articles were quite proper ones.

Mr. Travers Humphreys (with him Mr. Harold Pearce), appeared for the Director of Public Prosecutions, and stated that, in accordance with the regulations, the prosecution had been authorised by a competent naval authority. The publication which was the subject of the prosecution, was a paper called the *Workers' Dreadnought*, but he wished to make it quite clear, as the word "workers" was used, that the paper had no sort of connection with any association of working men in this country. The whole tone of it was antagonistic to the Labour Party, which was abused in it, and therefore, it must be assumed that it had nothing to do with respectable working men. It was published at 152, Fleet-street, by the Communist Party, and the Editor was Sylvia Pankhurst. One of its conditions of membership was "non-affiliation to the Labour Party." On October 18th, defendant was seen on the premises of the paper, a number of copies of which were seized, and made a statement to the officer to the effect: "If you are looking for the Hunter letter you will not find it. I anticipated a visit from the police, and am not likely to have such a letter left on the premises." The Hunter letter was evidently something that she knew might lead to a visit from the police to her premises. It was the first article in the paper, and was headed: "Discontent on the Lower Deck," by S. 000 (Gunner) H.M.S. Hunter.

STAND BY YOUR CLASS.

"I shall ask you to look over the paper," added counsel, "but I should be sorry to nauseate you by reading the whole of it to you." The magistrate would find on reading the paper as a whole that while the one thing that was not advocated was work of any description, what was advocated was revolution, resistance to all constituted authority, and the overthrow, not of the present Government, but of all government in this country. The Alderman would also find incitement to His Majesty's Naval Forces, the men in the Navy, to disobey orders, incitement to destroy Parliament by force, and direct incitement to loot the docks of London. Mr. Humphreys proceeded to quote articles from the *Workers' Dreadnought*, commencing with "Discontent on the Lower Deck." Under the heading "Stand by Your Class," this article proceeded:—

Men of the lower deck: Are you going to realise that the fight of the working class is your fight? Are you going to see your class go under in the fight with the capitalist brutes who made millions out of your sacrifices during the war? Under the heading, "To Win the Navy for Communism," the writer proceeded:

Now then, comrades, here is fertile ground for propaganda in accordance with Method B. of the Party's Provisional Resolutions, viz., "to win the allegiance of the Army and Navy to the cause of the workers." Comrade Lenin especially stresses this point; he says: "But a refusal to do such work would be equal to treason against the revolutionary cause, and is inconsistent with their belonging to the Third International." Seeing that the Army and Navy are recruited from the working class, it devolves upon the Communists to urge at branch meetings and at Trade Union branch meetings, that all workers having relations or friends serving in the forces, should make it their business to write to them from now onwards, urging them to become class-conscious, and not let themselves be used to blackleg the working-class, or to oppose them in any way at all. Quite effective work could be done in this manner, especially as it is very difficult for our comrades in the Navy to "bore from within."

HAIL! THE RED NAVY.

To the rank and file of the Navy I say: "You are the sons of the working class, therefore, it is your duty to stand by that class and not the class and Government which is responsible for the starving of your ex-Service brothers. Therefore, hail the formation of the Red Navy, which protects the interests of the working class, and repudiates the dirty financial interests which you are protecting now."

That article, continued Mr. Humphreys, purported to come from a ship called his Majesty's ship "Hunter," and if there were people who read it seriously, it was likely to cause disaffection amongst the Naval Forces. Under the name of H. Rubinstein, there was an article entitled "How to Get a Labour Gov-

ernment," and the defendant started this with some observations on the "Unimportance of Parliament." This article began under a sub-heading of "Strikes and Parliamentary Action," and continued:—

There seems to be much misunderstanding—and perhaps misrepresentation—in our own ranks, of the meaning of Communist Parliamentarism. Let us try to make it clear popularly, and then see whether and how it was applicable in this country. We shall soon have the scientific thesis on this question from the Moscow Conference. Parliament is an institution of the capitalist State for doping the workers and it can never be anything else. The Parliamentary majority, whether the Government be Tory, Liberal, or Labour, remains a part of the oppressive machinery of the bourgeois State. Consequently it is our mission, as Communists, to destroy it, and perhaps, as William Morris said, turn its building into a storehouse for manure.

First, by destroying the faith which millions of British workers still have in it.

Secondly, when we have secured power enough, by dispersing it by the force of Red Guards in the street and the force of paralysing strikes in industry.

To destroy the faith of the workers in Parliament requires an enormous amount of direct propaganda outside it. We must preach the futility and humbug of Parliament, unmask, reveal, and denounce Parliamentarians. That is obvious. To disperse Parliament by force it is necessary to organise and prepare also outside Parliament for the armed mass revolt and the general industrial strike. This is obvious.

Counsel wondered whether those scenes which had taken place in the last day or two were the Red Guards in the streets that were referred to in the course of that contribution.

Comrade Sylvia (interjecting): "No."

Mr. Humphreys, continuing, said the article concluded: "At any rate, it should be made clear to the revolutionary rank and file that there is a heaven-wide difference between the constructive Parliamentarism of the I.L.P. and destructive Communist Parliamentarism." Dealing with another contribution, "The Yellow Peril and the Dockers," counsel said the author, Mr. Leon Lopez, was entitled to say what he liked about the association of white women and yellow men, and to refer to the restaurants "where white mothers sit with their quaint, half-caste babies," but having written an article in order to show that there was no "Yellow Peril," he went on to say in the last paragraph:—

THE YELLOW PERIL.

The dockers, instead of being unduly concerned about the presence of their coloured fellow-men, who, like themselves, are the victims of capitalism and civilisation, should turn their attention to the huge stores of wealth along the water-front. The country's riches are not in the West End, in the palatial houses of the suburbs; they are stored in the East End, and the jobless should lead the attack on the bastilles, the bonded warehouses along the docks to solve the question of unemployment.

In counsel's submission that article was a direct incitement to the criminal classes and to those who, being out of employment, might be subjected to temptation from others, to make an attempt on those warehouses in order to obtain by that means what they could not get because they were out of employment. It was a very serious matter in these days to find such a course as that advocated, even in such a publication as that before the Court.

Inspector Lionel Kirchner, of the Special Branch, New Scotland Yard, deposed to having called on the defendant at the printing office in Wine Office Court. He asked her if she was the Editor of the paper and held herself responsible for the articles in the copy he showed her, and she replied, "Yes, certainly I do." While he was making a search the defendant made the observation about the "Hunter" letter referred to by counsel.

Comrade Sylvia: "Did I not say, 'A sailor's letter?'" "No; you said the 'Hunter' letter."

Comrade Sylvia: "Is it not true that I said I was expecting a message from the police because a member of the force had come and bought a copy of the paper?" "You said a police officer had been there to buy a paper."

Detective-Inspector Hubert Smith, of the City Police, said when he read the warrant to the defendant, she said: "Are there any more to come into this?" When formally charged, she made no reply.

Mr. Travers Humphreys said this concluded the case for the prosecution.

Comrade Sylvia asked for an adjournment in order that she could obtain legal aid.

The Alderman: "Are you prepared to give security that you will abstain in every respect from having anything whatever to do with this publication if I grant your application?"

Comrade Sylvia: "If the time is not too long."

The Alderman: "Are you prepared without any equivocation whatever?" "Yes."

Mr. Humphreys asked that Comrade Sylvia should be ordered to abstain from attending any public meeting during the adjournment.

The Alderman: "Yes, I shall make that explicit."

Comrade Sylvia was then remanded, Sir Alfred Newton fixing the bail at two sureties in £500 each, and the defendant herself in £1,000. He told Comrade Sylvia that she could put her financial affairs in order, but prohibited her from taking any other part in connection with the paper or any public meeting.

THE STRIKE: THE NEXT STEP.

Why Wait for a Labour Government?

In the midst of the strike, we have the daily press giving pictures of miners bringing up pit-ponies. We have pictures of miners keeping the mines from being flooded. We have pictures of miners working surface seams and selling the produce.

You can search in vain for pictures of colliery owners doing anything—except talking and smoking cigars. You can search in vain for pictures of the shareholders doing anything useful. The miners do everything; the owners and the share-holders do nothing. Yet the miners, who work hard, are being urged to work harder. But about the owners and the share-holders, the Press is discreetly silent.

Some of the Press is still harping on the immense wages of the colliers. We hear a great deal of fur coats, champagne, and cigars. One illustrated weekly has a drawing of miners going home in motor-cars after a Saturday evening's "booze." The colliers are having a fine time, spending money freely and going off on holiday to Scotland, London and Paris. But you never hear of the Editors of these papers applying for a collier's job. The inference is that these Editors know that the news they print is false and faked.

But we are not concerned with the lies uttered by the Press, because that is what they exist for. The business of a liar is to lie.

Now, a word with our fellow-workers, the miners. You are on strike, and we know what a strike is. It is no picnic; it is not all whippet-racing and champagne-swilling; a strike is sometimes worse than real hard graft. Why strike then? It is to try and wrench a two-bob rise from the owners, but the owners are backed by the Government and the Press, and it will not be a walk-over.

But supposing the two-bob rise is granted? It may be, on condition that you sweat harder; and the harder you work, the shorter your life will be. Is it worth while?

Isn't it better to strike for a happy life, a decent home, and well-fed and educated children?

A miner is as much entitled to ride in motor-cars as anyone else; he has as much right to champagne—if his taste lies that way. He has as much right to the best plays, the best operas, the best books, and other luxuries of life. He has more right to all of these than the people who now enjoy them—the Dukes of Northumberland, the financiers, the capitalists, and the whole crowd of well-dressed do-nothings.

At the beginning of this article it has been shown that the miners do everything that is necessary about the mines. The owners simply sit in armchairs and dispose of the money made on the coal produced by the miners. Why cannot the miners run the mines themselves?

The country wants more production. Good. Let the miners take over the mines and manage them. Let them order whatever timbering, or other improvements, they want. Let them, in a word, run things exactly as they think they ought to be run, without having to consult either profits of owners or dividends of shareholders. The miners will then find that they will need the help of the railwaymen and the dockers to transport the coal. And the railwaymen and the dockers will find they cannot help the miners effectively unless these workers take over the railways and docks and run them themselves.

Your leaders, fellow-workers, will tell you that this is revolution, that it will mean the ruin of the country. And at the same time these leaders will tell you that once they are in power as a Labour Government, they will pass laws to enable you to take over the mines, docks, railways, etc. If that is so, why wait till then? If the mines, docks, railways, etc., are going to be run some day, WHY NOT NOW?

Putting a Labour Government in means sending some men to Parliament to give yourselves permission to take over the mines. Why send the men there? Why not give yourselves permission right now? Get together in Miners' Councils or Soviets and find out how the industries of the country can be run, not for the benefit of the few, but for the benefit of ALL.

And if you are afraid of making mistakes, remember that the capitalists have been in power for hundreds of years, and note what a mess they have made of it all.

About time you had a go, fellow-workers, at looking after your own business, instead of paying rogues to mismanage it for you. On with the Miners' Councils. All power to the Workers!

THE "DREADNOUGHT" IN DANGER.

The Communist Party is determined to carry on and keep its organ alive whilst its Editor is in prison. Your support is needed more than ever to keep the paper going. It is up to you to do your part.

Apply for a collecting card!

Send your donation to the Manager, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

DO IT NOW!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

MEXICO.

Is Going Red.

The fact stands out in bold relief against a background of recent developments that are making capital here sweat blood and swear frantic oaths.

The demonstration on Sunday, September 26th, in the National Palace, when Filaberto Villalón ran a red flag up a pole on the top of that ancient building, and thousands of workers rent the air with their yells for Bolshevism, was the last link in the chain of evidence that Mexico is nearing the Red Dawn.

To-day, 75 per cent. or more of the Mexican Federation of Labour are as revolutionary as the members of the I.W.W., the Communist Party and the Syndicalist Unions. All are going in the same direction. Scientific working-class education is still painfully lacking among the majority of toilers, but Radical sentiment is unmistakable. Even the Conservative Labour leaders have been swept along in the current and hurled toward revolutionary destinations.

Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama, in charge of the Government's project of restoring land in small tracts to peons and retired soldiers, and one of the leaders of the Socialist block in the Chamber of Deputies, delivered, in the Palace, a speech predicting the early coming of Bolshevism in Mexico. "In the distance," he said, "we can see the Red Flag coming. It is coming to Mexico. It is coming everywhere. Its red stands for the blood of the capitalists and bourgeoisie, who will try to crush the rising workers with guns."

Felipe Carrillo, Deputy from Yucatan and President of the Yucatan Socialist Party, delivered the most fiery speech of all. "We want no more Congressmen, Presidents, churches and bourgeois Governments," he thundered. "Soviets and Communism are what we want. We demand them. We are going to have them, peacefully, if we can, otherwise if we must. It would be better to dynamite the National Palace, the home of the Catholic Archbishop and the Cathedral than to permit the will of the masses to be thwarted." The next morning, the press of the whole city was screaming that Carrillo had advocated arson, pillage and murder.

Luis N. Morones, head of the Mexican Federation of Labour, and friend of Samuel Gompers, to whose school of ideas he was formerly supposed to belong, was hardly less emphatic than the others. He advocated Bolshevism frankly, and appealed to the workers to prepare for the day of Soviets. Morones is in charge of the Government Munitions Factory.

Deputies Manuel Fabio Altamirano and Luis León spoke from the balcony of the "Salón Rojo," Mexico City's finest movie house, also endorsing Bolshevism, and calling for the overthrow of Capitalism.

The occasion of the demonstration was a procession through the streets, whose purpose was to demand the amendment of Articles 27 and 123 of the Constitution, along lines more favourable to the workers. Article 27 is the article nationalising oil and minerals, and Article 123 deals with labour. The delegations went to the Palace to speak on these amendments. Eduardo Moneda, head of the Government Labour Department and close friend of President De la Huerta, was present at the speech-making in the Palace. De la Huerta was in Chapultepec Castle, where he has been ill several days.

The demonstration was peaceful from beginning to end, but marked by deadly earnestness.

LINN A. E. GALE.

GREECE.

What is Prohibited.

In Greece, the state of siege is said to have been raised, and the elections for the National Assembly are proclaimed. The Venizelist Government vaunts itself that they will take place freely and will not be interfered with. What this freedom, which the Government widely advertises, at home and abroad, is like, will be shown by a small selection from the decrees and orders of the police and military authorities:—

"The assembling of several persons in the streets and in the places of Athens, is strictly forbidden."

"It is forbidden to hold meetings after sunset."

"All kinds of demonstrations of which notice has not been given to the police, 24 hours previously, are prohibited."

"Demonstrators are forbidden to go to the suburbs or to public resorts."

"It is forbidden to shout: 'Down with the tyrant,' if the Dictator Venizelos is meant thereby."

"In the Army and in the newly-acquired provinces, it is forbidden to read Opposition papers."

"It is forbidden to stick to the walls of public and private buildings, election posters and the like, without having previously obtained the necessary permission from the police."

"It is forbidden to express in public, any views which may be considered a criticism of the Government's foreign policy."

"Any favourable expression referring to the ex-King is forbidden. You must not say: 'He was a great General,' or anything else flattering."

"It is forbidden to hang the portrait of the ex-King up in public."

"It is forbidden to play or sing the royal anthem."

"It is forbidden to cheer the ex-King even in symbolic form."

"It is forbidden to say: 'King Constantine,' without prefixing ex-."

"Any expression about King Alexander, in reference to his being only provisionally on the throne, is prohibited."

"It is forbidden to say: 'King Constantine will return.'"

The only thing that is not prohibited, is that the "bravi" of the ruling party may roam about the streets, armed to the teeth, and terrorise the peaceful citizens.

Suppression of Workers and Strikes.

Athens, October 20th. For several days, the railwaymen of Thessaly have been on strike, because the Government has not kept the obligations it had taken. The railwaymen in Macedonia are also threatening to strike, and if the Government does not show the necessary consideration, a general strike of the railwaymen throughout Greece is to be expected.

Among the tobacco workers of Macedonia, there is great excitement, due to the death of the Secretary of their Union, Zukos, through ill-treatment in prison, where he was kept for months, on account of a strike of the tobacco workers. In Kavalla, the police have closed the meeting-place of the Socialist Party, on the grounds of a police bye-law, which prohibits the permanence of the party election rooms of two parties in one and the same road, and this, because the neighbouring coffee-houses are frequented by Venizelists.

—From Greek Press Bureau.

INDIA.

Anti-Bolshevism by Kinema.

The Indian Government has established a Bureau, at a cost of £9,000 a year "to counteract Bolshevism." Mr. Edmund Candler has been placed at the head of an official campaign, the great feature of which will be the use of the kinema. The Government has a scheme for using portable kinemas in the Bazaars throughout India.

IRELAND.

Elastic English Law.

On Wednesday, October 20th, 1920, Sir Hamar Greenwood, English Chief Secretary for Ireland, speaking in the English House of Commons, referred to the sacking of Balbriggan. Explaining his failure to bring to justice any of the "police" engaged in the savage murder of James Lawless and John Gibbons, which accompanied the burning of the town, he said:—

"I myself, have had the fullest investigation made into the case. I will tell the House what I found. I found that from 100 to 150 men went to Balbriggan and were determined to avenge the death of their popular comrade, shot at, and murdered in cold blood. I find it is impossible out of that 150, to find the men who did the deed, who did the burning."

(Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 133, No. 121, Col. 949).

The English Chief Secretary for Ireland, who is a Member of the British Cabinet, and is one of the most responsible Ministers of the English Crown, here lays it down that none of the party of his so-called "police-men," who sacked Balbriggan, can be punished for the murders of Lawless and Gibbons, because conclusive evidence cannot be obtained as to the identity of the men who committed these murders.

—From Irish Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 89.

RUSSIA.

Workers' and Peasants' "Sverdlov" University.

The "Sverdlov" University was recently opened in Moscow, so as to equip workmen and peasants with an elementary Marxian education in the shortest space of time. There is a practical and a theoretical course. Any workman or peasant of either sex, eighteen years old, who can read or write, is eligible if recommended by a Trade Union, Workmen's Corporation, Shop Committee, or any other proletarian organisation, or else at the request of a Board of Directors of the Government, or a District Committee of the Communist Party.

People of higher education are not admitted. Organisations which send students, are pledged to provide them with clothes and shoes for the entire term of study, as well as with food, and they must see to it that the food is sent regularly.

From the very beginning, the student takes part in the management and administration of the University, as part of his practical training (superintending the kitchen and provisions, providing fuel, hygienic inspection, etc.). The organisations which send students must pay the student's railroad fare, and pay the family of the student, the difference between 1,600 roubles (the sum paid the students at the University, and his former earnings). For those families that have less than 1,600 roubles per month, the Community must provide, according to the rule for the families of those serving in the Red Guard.

Measures of Security at Moscow.

Moscow, October 22nd.

Special measures of security have been adopted at Moscow, and a Governmental communique has been published on the subject. The cause of this decision is the recrudescence of the activity of secret agents of the Entente in Russia. The campaign of lies which goes on unabated in the occidental press, where every day, new fables are invented about so-called mutinies in Russia, is but a sign which betrays the sinister secret designs hatched in the Chancelleries of the great powers. The noise in the Entente Press, with which false news of mutinies which never happened, is being spread, is a token which indicates that the veritables, the grenards, the Poles—as the Russian Government has been informed—are on the march. They hide

themselves, they distribute the gold, they prepare under cover, terroristic acts. The dark factory of the Entente is full of activity, sending into Russia its secret agents. But the working people of Russia are wide awake. The organs of security keep an open eye and a firm hand. To frustrate these designs, special measures of security have just now been introduced at Moscow, and a Governmental declaration has fully informed the citizens about the situation.

Moscow, October 18th.

Joint meeting Executive Committee International Council Trades Unions and Czech-Slovak and Roumanian delegations Trade Unions was held. For the purpose of acquainting themselves with Trade Union movement in Russia and elucidating question of actual joining Third Communist International, both delegations remain in Russia for the present.

Georgian papers say that great parties of French instructors have arrived in the Crimea to help Baron Wrangel.

From all corners of Russia comes news of masses volunteering for Southern front against Wiangel. Ekaterinodar gave 6,000 volunteers. Congress of structure workers unanimously decided to leave in a body for front. Front and rear are merging in one mighty effort for victory over enemy.

Economic life.—Decree of Inner Council of People's Commissaries was published, abolishing completely all payments for products received by state for rent, fuel, gas, electricity, telephone, water-supply, for all public servants and their families. Not later than January 1st, abolition of passenger fares and rates for goods on all railways will be in force. By these decrees, new rapid strides are being made towards abolishing the power of money.

Plan of repairing rolling-stock of Soviet Russia according to Trotsky's historical decrees, is being carried out more than successfully. According to present estimates, programme of production will be fully completed at appointed date. At many places, railway workers are repairing locomotives and waggons above expected rate.

Big tracts of land in many parts of Soviet Russia have been set apart for experimental electrification of agriculture.

October 25th, at Moscow, Conference will be held of People's Health Commissaries of following Soviet Republics: Ukraine, Turkestan, Siberia, Tartars, Bashkirs, White Russia; to discuss question of united measures for combatting possible epidemics. One of items discussed will be the question of taking measures to prevent carrying epidemics from one Republic into another.

Political situation. Council of Labour and Defence mobilised all citizens of Soviet Russia born in years 1888, 1887 and 1886 for labour purposes directed towards regeneration of economic and industrial might of Russia.

Petrograd Commissariat of Justice is preparing materials and lists for amnesty which will be proclaimed on the day of the third anniversary of proletarian revolution.

Presidium of All-Russian Central Executive Committee convenes extraordinary session, October 23rd, for ratification of peace treaties with Poland and Finland.

Moscow, October, 19th.

Voluntary contributions of warm clothing for Red Army, from inhabitants of Moscow, continue pouring in. Many different things have been contributed and metal-workers donated wool sweaters. Many officials and middle-class families are contributing fur coats and other valuable things likely to be useful to army.

Red soldiers of Smolensk garrison are conducting collection to benefit Soviet soldiers interned in Germany.

Information from Verkhne Udinsk, East Siberia, states continuance of peasant risings north of Tchita, against Ataman Semenov. Insurgents are led by Jaeger regiment, which recently deserted Semenov. Insurgents within 20 versts of Tchita. South of Tchita, risings spread to rivers Alegus and Ilia.

In conversation with staff member of Petrograd Pravda, member of Finnish-Russian Peace Conference, Kershentzeff, declared that Russo-Finnish peace is based on conciliation of equal interests to both sides, which is best guarantee of its fulfilment. According to Kershentzeff's impressions, Finland will readily and speedily renew trade with us. For export to Russia there is much paper, factory products, agricultural products and timber. On its part, Finland needs grain and raw materials.

First All-Russian Congress of Proletarian Writers opened yesterday. Delegates welcomed by famous poet Valeriy Briusoff and by Chairman of International Bureau of Proletarian Culture, Poliansky.

Economic Situation.—Council of Labour and Defence recognised repairing of ships as one of most important enterprises in Soviet Russia. All work on repairing Fleet is included in program of military defence work.

Council of People's Commissaries abolished all duties and other monetary State levies.

On right bank of Don river, near Azoff, rich deposit of mercury discovered. Special scientific expedition despatched by Soviet Government to explore these deposits.

Soviet provisioning organs have accumulated for the winter, 152 million eggs. Eight and a half times last year's amount.

Petrograd Soviet of People's Economy opened electrical museum.

(Continued on page five.)

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Pending Comrade Pankhurst's appeal, on the ground, we believe, that it was a political offence, and should be treated as such, the case being once more *sub judice*, no editorial comment appears on her trial.

The Editor's Imprisonment.

"DO NOT DISPUTE WITH US SO LONG AS YOU APPLY TO THE ABOLITION OF BOURGEOIS PROPERTY THE STANDARD OF YOUR BOURGEOIS IDEAS OF FREEDOM, CULTURE, JUSTICE. YOUR VERY IDEAS THEMSELVES ARE BUT PRODUCTS OF BOURGEOIS CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION AND PROPERTY, AS YOUR JUSTICE IS BUT THE WILL OF YOUR CLASS UPLIFTED INTO LAW."—MARX & ENGELS.

These words, from founders of modern Communism, say all there is to say on our Comrade's behalf. Defence of the realm, forsooth! And is "the realm" in danger? The only thing that is in danger from our comrade's words is the continuity of that insane system of society in which we live. Is the King endangered by our propaganda? Not a bit of it. Communists would give him a fair deal. Let him do his share of useful labour, and he should have his share of the fruits of labour. Are Capitalists themselves endangered by Communist propaganda? Not a bit of it. We will give them a fair deal, too. Let them also do their fair share of useful labour, and they, too, shall share in the common weal. What is in danger by our propaganda? Living without working on rent interests, and dividends is in danger. The robbers' plunder is in danger of confiscation by the plundered. Rags and tatters, starvation, alms, ignorance—these, too, are in danger of extinction, if Communist propaganda is allowed to continue. With economic equality of Communism, with equality of opportunity to all people to the avenues of cultural and educational growth, all these evils are in danger of extinction if Communism triumphs. No wonder "Law and Order" is vindictive.

Our Responsibility.

I cannot help feeling that in this matter, where Comrade Pankhurst is Editor of a Party organ, and as such merely holds the impartial tribunal in order for the Party position to be put in the Party paper—where every single member of the Party agrees with the alleged "seditious" paragraphs which frighten the bourgeoisie so much—that we, as Party members, have considerable responsibility for our Editor. I am not sure that individual editorship should not be abolished in Party papers, so as to avoid iniquitous distinction in this fashion. It is not Comrade Pankhurst that was in the Dock at the Mansion House. It was Communism. And equally with her every believer in the class struggle, some tens of thousands in this country at the least, were equally indicted before the juridical weapon of the bourgeois domination.

Self-Interest and the Communist Party.

This question was put to me last week: Why should a worker with a steady job at £4 a week bother himself about Communist parties and the Communist Revolution? From the point of view of self-interest alone we will first give the reply. Under Communism, where competition, advertising, and unemployment are cut out, and production for use and not for profit is the rule of society, the national productivity would be enormously increased. Even if it were not increased, but remained as it is to-day, the average income per family per day in this country is in the neighbourhood of £10 per week. Under Communism and economic equality, on merely a purely selfish basis, it is in line with the economic interests of all in receipt of less than £10 per family to work for Communism so as to raise the standard of their own living and comforts. But apart from the selfish interest involved, are we to sit down quietly and acquiesce with slumdom, prostitution, ignorance, and starvation, that are the fruits

of capitalist robbery? In the history of the world there never have been greater robbers and thieves than the capitalist thieves of to-day. It is with the indictment and bringing to justice of those thieves that Communism is concerned with. And in that mission every worker should do his bit.

Why Do the Railwaymen Stand It?

J. H. Thomas is, I believe, the highest paid person in the Labour Movement to-day. He has one stomach to put food into, one back on which to hang a coat, one knob between his shoulders on which to balance a hat, two feet on which to put boots—in a word, his economic needs are precisely the same as those of every other human being. "To each according to his needs." Precisely so. Communism teaches that the needs are the same, so the economic emolument should be the same. "From each according to his ability." Is not any railway guard doing as valuable and useful work, certainly more arduous and monotonous work, than J.H.T. Then why are the railwaymen such fools as to pamper him as they do? Do they not realise that one man drawing £1,000 a year of necessity means a smaller part of the cake for the others. High salaries for some inevitably spell poverty and privation for others. Not only that, but the actual giving of a man of a bourgeois income inevitably means also giving him a bourgeois class interest and a bourgeois outlook. Equal wages for workers and "leaders" is what Communism has to say for such idiocy.

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD.

Workers! Take the Mines.

By T. Young.

The strike barometer for the Ely Valley district is "Set Fair," with occasional warm breezes. A mass meeting of the strikers, who crowded the large new cinema (which has been placed at the disposal of the men during the strike, rent free, by the kindness of the manager and directors), was addressed by A. J. Cook, miners' agent. We are pleased to note that Cook is well up to his old form and full of fight. It seems that some of the local milk-and-water political fraternity have got the wind up, and are trying to prevent Cook coming to Tonyrefail, and intend getting some of the political compromisers instead. This is greatly resented by the local rank and file, who are absolutely fed up and sick of parliamentary intrigue and the intrigues.

Cook gave us a good fighting speech which was loudly cheered by the men, especially when he said South Wales was against making a demand for reduction in the cost of living until all the big

LECTURE

BY

W. GALLACHER

AT THE

South Place Institute, South
Place, Moorgate Street, E.C.,

ON

Wednesday, Nov. 10th, at 8 p.m.

SUBJECT:

"What I think of National Guilds."

Tickets, at door, 2s. and 1s.

unions were prepared to make a united stand and down tools altogether for workers' control of production and distribution.

Speaking of the Government proposals, he said "the vote of the rank and file had damned the datum line for ever, and convinced the 'leaders' that the day of 'their opinions' was gone, and henceforth they must voice the opinions of the rank and file they were supposed to represent. It was no use for the Government to talk of 'tribunals'—we have had some of their impartiality before, and we were not going to hand over the power of our organisation to these Governmental frauds again.

At the close of a real fighting speech, the following resolution was passed: "That this mass meeting recommends the South Wales Conference to agree that in the event of the strike being prolonged to the end of the month, we should ask the railway men, transport workers, and all other workers to co-operate with us in taking over the mines, and working them under workers' control." The delegates from four lodges were instructed to support this demand, and also the withdrawal of all labour from the mines during the strike. We are fighting a most unscrupulous capitalist Government, which is merely the executive committee for the big financiers. Then why should we fight with gloves on? If we hope to win, we must expect some punishment and sacrifice, and we, like our opponent, must "use all the forces" we can command in order to make our blows as effective as possible.

The Railwaymen.

A mass meeting of the railwaymen at Llantrisant was addressed by two of the miners' local re-

ELECTRIFICATION IN RUSSIA.

The electrical industry of Russia, both prior to and during the war, obtained most of its material and necessary machinery from abroad. The Soviet Government was therefore confronted with the task of organising the production of most indispensable materials. Fortunately it was able to call on a number of experts in this sphere. An electrical trust was formed, and various competing enterprises were amalgamated. In 1919, 32,000 electrical machines and transformers, 50,000 accumulators, and 320,000 incandescent lamps were manufactured. A special electrification commission was created by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, which prepared and set to work on plans for electrifying all the principal districts of Russia within ten years—a vast undertaking. The construction of two large electric stations, Kashira and Shaturskaya, was at once begun for electrifying the entire central district of Russia. These stations are both within 100 versts of Moscow. The Shaturskaya station is complete, and is now transferring electric energy. The surrounding district, which was until recently occupied by forests and marshes, has within a year become a considerable labour settlement, inhabited by 12,000 workers. Turf from the neighbourhood is used for fuel for the Shaturskaya.

The Moscow coal basin is also being electrified, and the electrification of the Donetz Basin and certain railway lines is about to begin. Small electric stations are also being installed on farms for electrification of agricultural work, and the neighbouring villas will also have the use of the power.

Textile Industry.

The re-establishment of communications with Turkestan has improved the position of the textile industry. There are 8,000,000 poods of cotton there waiting to be exported, and of which 700,000 poods has already been received in Central Russia. In the first half of 1920, 228,000,000 of textile goods were manufactured. In the second half of the year it was hoped to manufacture 268,000,000 more, to be turned out.

Wool and Flax.

Seventy-five per cent. of the flax factories and 80 per cent. of the woollen factories are turning out supplies.

Coloured Troops and Russia.

The French Navy is transporting coloured troops to Russian ports.

Moscow Coal Basin.

The production of coal from the Moscow Basin increases thus:—

	Poods.
May, 1920	2,471,931
June, 1920	8,091,482
July, 1920	8,101,000

Ural Coal.

The output of coal in the ural district was 27,837,803 poods for the first half of 1920.

Metal and Machine Works.

Shortage of material and skilled workers has been a serious handicap. In 1919, the machine constructing works of the Supreme Council of Public Economy has manufactured 94 new locomotives and repaired 80. It constructed 1,639 new railway carriages and repaired 2,221. The programme for 1920 included 600 locomotives, both new and repaired. It is expected, however, that the actual output will be 3,400 locomotives.

Agricultural Machines.

Prior to the war 50 per cent. of agricultural machines and implements were imported from abroad. During recent years they have all been made at home. In 1919 the constructing works of the Supreme Council of Public Economy had manufactured 157,000 ploughs, 11,000 harrows, 12,000 harvesters. Several new enterprises have been opened at Podolsk, Simbirsk and other places.

representatives, and, although the branches had already given their delegates a mandate in favour of supporting the miners to the extent of a sympathetic strike, they were loud in their expressions of approval of the delegates' explanation of the miners' case. A unanimous resolution was passed assuring the miners of sympathy and support, and hoping their conference would agree to a national strike of railwaymen to enforce the miners' "just and reasonable" demands.

In spite of the voice and vote of the rank and file, Mr. J. H. Thomas declared in Parliament that he was going to fight his own workmen in the endeavour to prevent a strike. How long, fellow workers, are we going to put up with this attitude on the part of our leaders? Smillie recommending the datum line, J. H. Thomas opposed to fighting for a "just and reasonable" demand. How long, fellow-workers, must we be led by the nose, to compromise and failure, by these place-seeking leaders, who are always ready to sell us, in order to keep "peace," and, of course, at the same time, their own comfortable position in this vale of tears and woe. Comrades in all industries, our cause is one; we are in the class-war against one common enemy, the exploiting class, represented by Lloyd George, and assisted by these compromising "leaders." Let your own voice be heard, men; shout the opinion of the rank and file and oust these fakirs who put forward their own views instead of yours. Let us stand shoulder to shoulder in the fight, till victory is ours, and the industries under workers' control.

THE VALUE OF RESEARCH.

By ROBERT MORLEY.

A. L. Bacharach, the hon. treasurer of the Labour Research Department, has been appealing for carry-on funds for his Department. It takes £4,500 a year to keep the show going. An £80,000 endowment would give the Labour Movement a permanent possession in the shape of a Research Department; and the Labour movement need never pay another penny to its upkeep.

When I read the appeal, I fancied a department of this nature might be a very valuable asset to us. Investigation is little use unless it means the collecting of facts for a definite object; and if this object even approached what we would like it to be, then we might feel inclined to back up the Department for all we are worth.

We should like to see the Department collecting and arranging every possible kind of fact that emerges from the industrial system as it exists. Especially should we like to know that the clerks had at their finger ends the necessary facts for the smooth running of each and all of the large industrial concerns, so that the new controllers might be able to obtain the requisite information immediately they were faced with a difficulty.

In the pigeon-holes of the Labour Research Department would be found all the essential data for the smooth running of the bread-and-butter system of life. We should know exactly where to go for the knowledge that would solve the innumerable problems that will certainly arise during the transitional period between Capitalism and Communism. Docketed, ticketed, labelled and indexed, the staff would have the ways and means of distribution and exchange, supposing they left the reorganising of the methods of production to the local Councils or, in Russian terminology, Soviets of the various industries.

The ultimate objective of the Department would be the detailed preparation of a scheme of Communist commercialism sufficiently precise to be introduced whenever the Revolution occurred. Assistance could easily be obtained from the energetic remnants of the Fabian Society, from the exponents of Guildism, from the Snowdens and Webbs and other people who, while they are in the movement but not of it, are surely, after all their experience in the art of telling us how things might be worked out, able to formulate a scheme whereby the food part of the problem, at least, might be conducted.

It would ease the propaganda work of the revolutionaries considerably if they could produce a well cut-and-dried method of co-operative production and distribution, to be operated immediately the Revolution happened. And questioners could be referred to the Department of Labour Research for any more particulars they desired.

The possibility of Revolution should be the directing genius of the Department. Garnering facts for any other purpose is a waste of good time and energy so far as Labour is concerned. Troubling over things that will fade away as soon as the breath of revolt is breathed into the nostrils and upon the hearts of the workers is like pinning a dead fly to a paper, and fatuously writing a Latin name beneath it. Worrying over the thousand and one capitalistic dodges of modern commercialism in the hope of accumulating reconstructive values is like searching for truth amongst the metaphysicians. It is a dud reformism, futile as heaven to the needs of the moment, and as imbecile.

Had the Research Department been worth its salt the mining communities would, by this time, have been deluged with pamphlets showing how easily the mining industry might be reorganised in such a way as to negate the possibility of a strike, and showing, also, the many advantages that would accrue both to miners and public from an industry governed and worked communistically.

People always want to know how it is to be done. We never totally relinquish our boyhood's spirit; we want to see how it works. And the utility of a Labour Research Department will be proved by its capabilities in satisfying our curiosity and our thirst for knowledge; in short, by telling us how it will work. When the Department recognises that all its activities are only valuable in the light of this desire, then it will begin to receive its due meed of honour. It will become one of the instruments that are helping Labour to its emancipation from the thralldom of Capitalism. Appreciation will come to it quickly, and there will be no need to solicit appeals for cash.

The time is ripening fast to the harvest. Lack of preparation will lengthen the struggle. Mental coffers scantily stocked with the treasure of information, with the gold of facts, will make reaction more bitterly antagonistic. Weakness or delay in reconstruction operation will swing the mass mind back to the influence of the enemy, giving them more strength and more power. Indecision and feebleness in the cohesion of the central councils will open our ranks to the attack of the opposition. We must be prepared; and a properly motivated Research Department would go a long way towards this essential preparedness.

But its outlook must be revolutionary; its methods of collecting and classifying facts must never omit the principal justification of its existence; the

whole determination of the Department must be directed towards preparation for the Revolution; and all its activities must be governed by a keenly penetrative fore-knowledge of post-revolution needs.

Unless the Department of Labour Research is actuated by the spirit of the times, the workers who count in the war against Capitalism will continue to treat it to the contempt it merits. They have no use for a factory of facts merely as such. They have no use for a department that is merely concerned with the regimentation of statistics. If the Department is to be governed by reformist ideas, its utility, during a time of upheaval, will be nil. It, too, must be prepared to launch, at a moment's notice, a well-planned scheme of industrial reconstruction; and the preparation must take place beforehand, now, when reformist opportunism is having its day.

A Department of Labour Research, to justify its existence to the workers, must be based solely upon revolutionary principles, must believe implicitly in the imminence of the Revolution, and must convince the workers that the results of its research will be valuable when they are most required.

BOOK REVIEW.

"PARING-OFF THE CAPITALIST CLASS."

("Chaos and Order in Industry," by G. H. D. Cole). Publishers: Methuen and Co., Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. nett. 292 pp.

Far "above the battle," in the cool and quiet of his library, Mr. Cole marshals the warring elements that to-day keep that sick man, Industry, perpetually hovering between convulsions and paralysis, a violent end or suicide by inches. One by one he dissects them and the causes of the warfare, and then bids them back to the battle, claiming to have discovered the philosopher's stone which shall gradually, firmly, transmute their strife into harmony, their chaos into order, their sickness into health, if they will take only his recipe and use it, which is the "Guild Solution."

I read, transfixed with admiration at the dovetailed details of the scheme, at the brilliant analysis of the present state of industry, at the detached and constructive criticism of the various forms of the working-class movement on the industrial and political field.

Mr. Cole's work is invaluable for reference and for the criticism just mentioned, especially in connection with the workshop and One Big Union movements chiefly dealt with in chapter viii.

Over and over again I was reminded of De Leon's words on Palliatives, which I cannot forbear to quote here: "The tiger will defend the tips of his moustache with the same ferocity that he will defend his very heart. It is an instinctive process. The recourse to palliatives proceeds from and it imperceptibly inculcates the theory that he would not. It proceeds from the theory that the Capitalist Class will allow itself to be 'pared off' to death. A fatal illusion." And again, "Request a little when you have a right to the whole, and your request, whatever declamatory rhetoric or abstract scientific verbiage be it accompanied with, works a subscription to the principle that wrongs you." (Two pages from Roman History. S.L.P., 4d.)

It is this fact that, in his pathetic anxiety that one more try shall be made to save society in a peaceful way, before bloody Revolution overtakes us, Mr. Cole completely overlooks, although he is condemned out of his own mouth in the following words, when discussing the Report of the Coal Commission: "As soon as it became clear that the volume and cumulative effect of the evidence in favour of nationalisation could not be ignored, that is, long before the Commission had issued its Reports. The capitalist interests directly affected determined to exert all their strength in opposition. A temporary propagandist body, the Coal Association was called into being, and received warm support from Capitalists in other industries. . . . Mr. Balfour, a member of the Commission, suddenly changed his mind. It became clear that there would be no compromise on the employer's side." pp. 64, 65 (italics mine).

Thus Mr. Cole, while rejecting Whitleyism, leads us up the garden with "encroaching control" for some industries (with the ingenious and fascinating scheme of "collective contract"), National Guilds for others, and State Ownership for yet others, pointing out that these are all steps towards Socialisation.

Speaking of State Ownership leads me to the second of Mr. Cole's misconceptions, and I am afraid also slipshodness of thinking and definition. He makes two statements, both confusing and partially contradictory. Looking to the future, he says: "The Guild system is one of industrial partnership between the workers and the public." (p. 59), and, again, the object of the National Guilds League is "the abolition of the wage-system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry through a democratic system of National Guilds working in conjunction with a democratic State."

Is it worth one's while to effect a revolution, peaceful or otherwise, if the above is what we have to look for? And what does it mean, anyway? Mr. Cole has definitely stated in the first chapter that he is out for the elimination of all those who order production for profit, i.e., the Capitalists. Who then are to be the "public," if not workers and their families, or retired workers (the same thing), and not capitalists (for they are no more), who then? I can find no definition or description of that elusive body,

Then if the capitalists have been abolished, why will it be necessary to have a State to govern (implying repression of one section of the community by the other). Lenin in his "State and Revolution" has made all this clear and shown the absurdity of the term "Democratic State."

Until Mr. Cole clears his mind on these points, much of his fine brilliant work is rendered absolutely futile and moreover is side-tracking the workers, who will do best to follow their own instinct to the complete overthrow of the present system.

Mr. Cole naively suggests that large concerns like Harrods, Selfridges, etc., should be handed over by law to the Co-operative Societies!

That Mr. Cole has not the worker's outlook is clear from the following passage: "The schemes of ownership and control devised or adopted and put forward by the workers themselves . . . have to be considered, because (1) the failure or refusal of Labour to give good service under private ownership or without a real measure of control would be in itself fatal to the prospects of industrial efficiency and reasonable public service." pp. 98, 99.

MADELEINE STEINERT WERTHEIM.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

	s.	d.
Mrs. Evans	0	5 0
Le Rouge	0	5 0
Mrs. Ellis	0	10 0
N. Duenas	0	7 6
R. Harvey	1	1 0
J. Milquet	2	0 0
A Chelsea Communist	0	5 0
A Communist	2	0 0
R. S. Jeffreys	1	0 0
R.C. (Birmingham)	0	2 6
G.E.M.	0	8 6
A.F.M.	0	2 6
Mrs. Brimley	0	10 0
Katriaky	0	10 0
D.N. and H.R.	0	10 0
Mrs. F. Symes	0	2 0
Miss F. Houghton	0	5 0
Tooting Branch Communist Party of Great Britain	2	0 0
Total	11	18 0
Brought forward	83	10 1
Grand Total	45	8 1

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

(Continued from page three.)

Council of People's Commissaries decreed food rations for soldiers, commanders and staff officers of Red Army to be delivered gratuitously.

A department of the Army Command, Southern front has collected information as to the connection between Petljura and two very dissimilar institutions, Holy See and French Freemasons. Since 25th December, 1918, Petljura has been in close touch with the Central Lodge of the French Freemasons, sometimes through French Foreign Minister. We have letters from and to Petljura, Bernhard Pellissier and Halipet, referring to supply of war material for use against Bolsheviks. Also Petljura's special mission to Holy See for same purpose. Vatican acts as war contractor, owing to the fact that it has been indulging in usury on a large scale. It paid debts of Italian Government to United States and received surplus ammunition when Government could not meet obligations. This was to be sent to Petljura, through agents of ultra-Catholic Graf Tyshev'tch, agent of Petljura, promised for him, vast Catholic propaganda in Ukraine, even setting up of Cardinals' Sees there. Project failed because Petljura lost his own power there. No satirists could go further than Petljura, who at the same moment, is a member of the Freemason's Lodge and negotiates with Vatican, while remaining in touch with first patrons, the German Protestants' counter-revolution of the Hohenzollerns.

—From Rosta News Agency.

RESOLUTION FROM THE CENTRAL BRANCH.

That this branch records a vote of censure on Comrade Secretary Whitehead, for his persistent attacks upon the "Dreadnought" and its Editor, which has resulted in a most regrettable incident taking place at the Cardiff Conference, as featured in the "Communist." Such tactics can only make for disruption in the Party. We suggest that Comrade Whitehead should attend to his duties as Secretary, which should fully absorb his exuberance, and act as a check to his literary effusions. The Party as a whole is quite capable of looking after its organ, and does not want its Secretary to constitute himself a committee of one to criticise the "Dreadnought" in the name of the whole Party.

We also desire that this resolution be brought before the Executive Council, and a copy be sent to every branch.

From the "Communist," Sept. 30th, 1920:—

"Again Whitehead caused a mild sensation by announcing regretfully that the so-called organ of his Party, 'The Workers Dreadnought,' was not really their organ at all, as they had no control over it, except the back page, which, he triumphantly asserted, was theirs on which to print what they like. The 'Dreadnought' belonged to Comrade Sylvia, and when she went away to Russia she never consulted the N.E.C., but simply appointed her own nominee as acting Editor, and left the N.E.C. to chew the fat about it. Oh! what a fall for a 'strongly disciplined and organised Party.'"

MALONE ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

Speaking in the House of Commons on Thursday, October 21st, Mr. Malone said:—

Unemployment is the logical development of the present capitalist system, which cannot do better even if its supporters want to. It is absurd to have tinkering schemes brought down to this House by both sides. It can only be patchwork. The capitalist system may be patched here and there in order to keep it propped up, but you cannot deal with unemployment in that way. You cannot deal with it unless you deal with the root causes and abolish the system on which it depends. In the course of this debate this evening there has not been a single constructive suggestion from anyone in this House. A dole here, an extra insurance there, that is all we are offered. What are these doles? If capitalism cannot maintain itself without unemployment, if it cannot prevent itself collapsing without unemployment, then I hope it will collapse very soon, and any assistance which I can give it in that direction will be given gladly. I thought when this debate started there might be some more suggestions with regard to unemployment from this side of the House, but with hardly one exception I have been disappointed. I would have thought that Members of this House who are supposed to represent the working-class population would have had some ideas for dealing with unemployment. But when you read the speeches of the prominent Members of that party you can only come to one conclusion, and that is that they are the lackeys of the capitalist. It is rather an anomaly to hear hon. Members coming down here complaining of unemployment, when you have only to go into the great railway stations or into the country and see their pictures disfiguring the scenery. These people have been used by the capitalist class to call upon workmen for more production. We know that the resolutions they propose are as nothing in the penance which they are paying for the services they have rendered to that class for some months past. The speeches which representatives of the Labour Party are making now show the way in which they approach the question of unemployment. The right hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Thomas), speaking the other day at the New Cross Empire, said:

"Let us make a supreme effort to find the only safe road to success—confidence in each other." If that is his solution I cannot understand it. What does he mean by "confidence in each other"? Confidence in what? Does it mean the confidence of the working classes in those who are bleeding them of their wealth? Are railwaymen or miners to have confidence in the people who are bleeding them of two-thirds of what they produce—and that roughly is the amount of money which goes in dividends. Speaking later the same right hon. gentleman said—and I think it will be admitted he is the foremost spokesman of the Labour Party:

"The problems ahead will only be solved by all parties recognising that there are two sides to the question."

They are to recognise that there is an employer's class of parasite—the class which we are out to eliminate—and the party here which is supposed to represent the under dog, the working class, the wealth producers, the people who suffer from unemployment, from low wages, from war, and from international tumult, tells us we are to recognise their side of the case. Does not that show the fatuity of hon. Members' suggestions. Which side does the hon. Gentleman mean? Is it the side of the Secretary for War, with his militarism, his Cossacks and his troops in Whitehall and elsewhere, or is it the side over here which is leading the working classes into the hands of the employers? When I see suggestions concerning Industrial Courts and Whitley Councils I am reminded of the old story of the lion and the lamb and when I hear people suggesting that the lamb can lie down with the lion without lying inside the lion I am driven to the conclusion that these people are trying to imagine absolute impossibilities.

I have seen in the Press in the last few days great appeals to refer this industrial question to the House of Commons. I must say that when a Trade Union striking for an economic wage suggests that they should convert their demands into a political issue, they are always met by abuse and criticism from the capitalistic Press. Yet when the crisis was developing in the coal industry the whole capitalistic Press was in favour of transferring the coal question to the House of Commons. We are told that this is the institution best fitted to deal with it. It is a Party machine supposed to be elected by the people. If people think that a debate in the House of Commons is likely to produce any useful result in regard to unemployment, they are greatly mistaken. How can people believe that the House is a great impartial tribunal, democratically elected and quite able to give a judicial decision on these matters? I want to call attention to the fact that during the whole course of this debate there have not been present at any time more than 40 or 50 Members. I hope the people of this country will realise that. Here we have a House of 707 Members, or, minus the Sinn Feiners, over 600, and when a question affecting 338,817 people out of work, according to the registers, and many tens of thousands more not registered, when a vital ques-

tion of this nature affecting the homes of 400,000 people is under debate, only 40 or 50 Members are found willing to be present.

* * * * *

People outside must be beginning to lose faith in this institution. They would do so still more if they could see the number of hon. Members present during the debates, and the number who are outside this Chamber, while this question of unemployment is being threshed out by Parliament. They imagine that this institution really represents them. It does nothing of the kind. It is not a working-class house, it is a capitalistic talking house, and the working classes are only admitted on sufferance. What happens at a General Election? Do the working-classes send people here who will deal with industrial questions and social questions in their interests? Nothing of the kind. And why not? Because the masses of the working classes of this country are in the grip of the capitalist class, which gives them dope by means of the capitalistic Press. I do not blame them. It is part of the system under which they are brought up, a system of race meetings, football matches, betting and Royal shows. At an election, instead of voting for less unemployment, instead of voting for a changed system, instead of voting for better houses, the capitalistic Press, paid by hon. Members opposite, paid by the employers, is put up to draw a red herring across the trail, and so, instead of voting for better houses, and better conditions, instead of voting for a system which will obviate unemployment, they vote for hanging the Kaiser, or making Germany pay, or something of that sort. They do not see all the humbug and the mockery which goes on inside this institution. They do not see how questions are burked, how direct answers are never given, how debates are often closed, how difficult it is for speeches to be reported, and how speeches which are antagonistic to the employing classes are never reported by the Press; how they are always misconstrued; how they are always cut about, altered, misrepresented, and the parts which are antagonistic to the other side are left out. Let me develop that a little further. There are some people who are misguided enough to imagine that you can alter the present condition of society in this country through the House of Commons. I think that we are agreed that if we are going to eliminate unemployment—and that is what we are really after this evening—we must change the present conditions of society. How is that going to be done? Is it going to be done by the Parliamentary machine? Go into Whitehall; look at the Departments which have to deal with the government of this country. Nearly every Department in Whitehall is a capitalistic Department. Go to the Ministry of Labour; go to the Board of Education; go to all these Departments. They are all Departments which are running this country in the interests of the capitalists against the interests of the workers. Look at the Board of Education. The Board of Education is a Department which teaches people subservience to the old idea of two classes. It teaches the subservience of one class which works to another class which does not work. You find this in the first line of the child's first copybook; you find it in the history books; you find it in all the instruction books. Look at the histories. You find in your history books a long line of kings, queens, princes, and so on. I just give this example because it is an instance of the system under which we are living, and which we have to change root and branch, from the top to the bottom, if we are really going to eliminate these evils, of which unemployment is one of the greatest.

We have had to-night a few feeble attempts to bolster up the capitalist system. The Minister of Labour took great credit to himself for suggesting the idea of the construction of roads by the unemployed. One of the great needs of this country is export trade. You cannot export roads. Roads will not improve the condition of this country so far as national trade is concerned. One of the fundamental causes of this unemployment is the fact that we have broken up the whole of Europe. We have cut up Germany, we have cut up Austria, we have cut up Hungary; we have refused to allow trade to flow normally. What is more important, we have refused to make peace with Russia. People talk here about unemployment, and they come down here with an idea of a twopenny-halfpenny dole—some idea of starting a State factory for the manufacture of roads; but these figures will give some idea of the trade with Russia before the war. The imports into the United Kingdom in 1913 were £40,270,539, and the exports to Russia were £27,693,963. To-day, allowing for the increase on pre-war prices, we can say that the imports from Russia would amount to £120,811,617 and the exports to Russia from this country to just over £83,000,000. The whole export trade of Russia with the rest of the world amounted in 1913 to over £150,000,000. At present prices, that would mean that the export trade of Russia would be £450,000,000, while her import trade would be £387,090,000. You cannot cut off a country with imports and exports amounting to £400,000,000 each without plunging the whole of Europe into desolation. It is very largely

if not primarily due to the refusal of the bondholders to make peace with Russia. I have said something about the bondholders before—the bondholders who support the Government. It is really their refusal to make peace with Russia which is one of the prime causes of this unemployment.

There can be no end to unemployment until there is an end to the present system, until we bring down the capitalist system in this country. We have to pull down this old system of society, which allows 86 per cent. of the population to work for the remaining 16 per cent., which allows the great majority of the people to toil and slave, in insecurity and poverty and misery, for the remaining 16 per cent. We have to pull down this old system, and plant a new and better tree in its place. We have to pull down these old, shaky edifices, which have proved in times gone by, and are proving again now, by the increase of unemployment, that they are quite unfitted to deal with the needs of mankind in this country to-day. There is only one solution. Industry as a whole must be run for the good of the multitude of the people—for the common good, and not simply for the selfish interests of a few private individuals. It is no good tinkering with it any longer; it is no good wasting time in debates, resolutions, divisions and so on. Industry has to be changed fundamentally; it has to be run by the masses in the interest of the masses, and on no other system. Call it Socialism, call it Communism, call it whatever you like, that is the only solution for the question of unemployment which we have before us. There is evidence, I thank God, that the people in this country are rising. There is evidence all over Great Britain that the workers are realising that this is the real and the only solution of the difficulties under which they have suffered and are suffering. We are now at the beginning of one of the last phases in the evolution of the human race. As the barons checked the absolutism of the monarch, as in a later phase the bourgeoisie checked the power of the barons, so, now, the working class is rising up to check the power of the bourgeoisie. I hope that, at a not too far distant time, we shall see changes in the industrial and social machinery of this country, when the wealth-producing plants, and all those institutions which produce the means of bettering humanity and of equitably meeting its needs, are controlled by the masses of the people in the interests of the masses of the people, and not for the sake of a few profiteers and self-seeking parasites.

LEADING MENSHEVIK LAUDS THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT.

The "Izvestia" publishes an interesting letter by Myasky, former member of the Central Committee of the Menshevik Party and ex-Minister of the Samara Government, who was for a long time actively fighting the Soviet Government.

"In 1917," writes Myasky, "I and my comrades were convinced that we were witnessing a bourgeois revolution. Then came October. I considered the Bolsheviks as mad dreamers. I became a hot apologist of the struggle against the Bolsheviks. This conviction deeply rooted in my heart. I crossed the firing-line in 1918 and became member of the Samara Government. My Samara activity was the swan-song to my faith in the bourgeois-democratic nature of our revolution. Then began the slow but irresistible revolution in my ideas."

"Subsequent events that developed in Russia and Western Europe showed me that with the outbreak of the world-war the whole of cultured humanity had stepped into the zone of active transition from capitalism to Socialism. I saw that our revolution, being the most evident manifestation of this transition, was far from being a 'bourgeois-democratic' revolution, but rose far above these elementary 'barriers.'"

Myasky goes on to give an estimation of the activity of the Bolshevik Party.

"The Bolsheviks," he writes, "stand out for their daring sense of organisation. They possess the high quality of grasping the situation, a trait in which our Mensheviks are lacking. It was the Bolsheviks, and only the Bolsheviks, who were the heralds of that new idea which lay dormant in our revolution; they proclaimed the new gospel of revolutionary creation. They created a new system of State order of economic life, of social relations, ideas which used to float in the air, but to realise which nobody else had the pluck and audacity to attempt. It is true, the Bolsheviks made many blunders in their work; but it has long been said that the people who make no mistakes are those that do nothing. The Bolsheviks made the revolution, a new revolution without its precedent in the world's history. The Bolsheviks displayed an ability to learn from life; they derived useful lessons from former errors, and constantly rationalised their policy. And it is precisely because the Bolsheviks managed so well to catch the spirit and strivings of the epoch that they have succeeded for the period of their rule in displaying such vitality and energy which has never been equalled before."

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

When Alf. came up to me, I could not fail to notice that something had happened not within the meaning of the Act. His right hand indeed looked as if it had had an argument with a stone wall, and the stone wall had come off best. We shook hands in Freemason style.

"What I want," he said after the howdy's were over, "is your candid opinion. I know you're a writer chap, and so you may be able to advise me. It is a delikit affair, ee?"

I had visions of a cold dark winter morning on Hampstead Heath, rather too near the ponds for sheer delight, and measuring off the twenty paces, with coffee for one at the stall afterwards.

"As you can see," he went on, "I have had an accident to my hand; accident is the word, although it felt more like a brick at the time. A very hefty brick, too, if you ask me. What would you say if a man was walking along peaceable like, and somebody suddenly jumped on him and bit and somebody suddenly jumped on him and bit a piece of his ear off?"

I looked at his ears, but both appeared intact; still, what with modern science being able to supply half-dead old men with monkey's glands to match their whiskers, one never knows. I said, cautiously, that it looked *prima facie* as a clear case of assault and battery.

"Never mind my face," Alf said, waving his bandaged arm about, "I was talking about ears. And if he jumped on you, slung you about and frogs-marched you down the street, would you say it was damages?"

I gave it as my opinion that it looked not only like damages, but a regular smash up.

"What I mean," went on Alf, "is how much do you put it down in rhino, splosh, spondulicks?"

"It sort of goes up progressively," I answered. "You get five pounds for a finger, twenty for a leg if it comes right off, and, maybe, fifty for two legs. If you lose both arms as well as legs, no sensible jury could let you off for less than a hundred and fifty, and if you were a whole corpse, you'd be able to put three hundred in Communist Bonds. But, of course, you have to prove it."

"Well, to tell you the truth," remarked Alf, confidentially, "I was strolling down Whitehall, one day last week. The place where they roll about in armchairs, and ask you to call again on Thursday, you know. Well, I thought it was a fine day for a stroll, and maybe I'd look up Lloyd George and have a talk over old times. Sort of remind him of a few of his old sayings. Mostly about a Land Fit for Heroes and a grateful country will never forget you, as the Lord liveth. I guess the Lord must have fallen asleep in the House of Lords, whoever that Lord might have been. There were a few of the boys with me—twenty thousand, as a marrer er fack—and some of us thought we'd let folks know about it, so we had things wrote up on banners to catch the eye. And me being a citizen of London and having fit for it, this being my country you know, I carried a banner. About

half way I changed off, and took it easy when we were round near Downing Street; and you know the nice affectionate way a policeman has of giving you a shove all of a sudden and whispering "Muvvonthar!"; so of course I tells him to leggo as I was on a depitation, and where I was, there I stuck. I guess you won't be surprised that they suddenly started shoving, with arms linked, and you know how easy it is to move in a crowd without treading on somebody's boots and getting it in the seat, but more often than not in the shin. And before I know where I was I found myself a casualty at the field hospital, with two coppers getting a grip on me, and then up before the cadi and fined forty. I reckon the police were lucky to get off as they did; fancy a lot of fools jumping suddenly into the middle of a football crowd and calling it preventing a riot. And the police supposed to be of the working class. I just say they are a sight worse than the street women, although these are bad enough handing out V.D. the way they do to chaps as had a bit of a drink. I don't suppose a copper thinks he is in for a Sunday School picnic when he joins up. Nunno. And he ain't got no call to shove folks about, neither. But these frens of the people take lessons in ju-jitsay and practise clubs, and I've heard they've took up revolver practice, too, and at the last shindy on Westminster Bridge, they mounted blokes brought up machine-guns of a sort. No wonder there was some talk about pinching Mills bombs from the Arsenal; but it was just talk. When folk go out for a riot, they don't go peaceable, with their hands in their pockets holding on to the bit of lunch they got till they get home for tea. It's my idea the authorities just want the people to have a bit of a shindy, so they can have Sidney Street over again, only with tanks and aeroplanes, 'praps. Look at the way the police have been going on Sunday after Sunday in Hyde Park and Edgware Road. Sort of bombing practice, for them, I reckon. Now what do you say about it all?"

"It seems to me," I replied, "you ex-servicemen are on the wrong track running round to Downing Street; the Government can't do anything for you, as they don't own the jobs. It's the men who own and control the workshops and factories that run the show, and you'd do better to go in and see them. They'll be sorry and all that, and wish you luck—elsewhere; and they are full up at present, and may even go on short time owing to the strike. But if you take in a poster of "The Gate To More," and some of the Government stuff on "More Production," they might listen to you—but I doubt it. If you want a job you'll have to present yourself with one; why not start on a bit of the land you fought for?"

"No, thanks! No revolution stuff for me," exclaimed Alf.

"Well, I guess it's much better being a casualty trying to hold on what you fought for, than being kicked about by the police for being a peaceable and constitutional citizen."

THE USE OF FORCE BY THE WORKERS.

By A. G. CRAFT.

The Rev. G. O. Sadler suggests a couple of queries which indubitably are general and do express that confusion of thought and of ethics which, apart from those other merely foolish antipathies attached to the word "Communism," beyond all else it is our business to meet. He asks: (1) Who are the Workers? and (2) Why use force? Comrade Whitehead, it seems to me, attempted an impossible task with the space at his disposal; nor, for that matter, is his answer satisfactory now, I suspect, either to himself, the inquirer, or your readers generally. A clearer, broader, more practical answer to these useful and inoffensive queries is possible. May I suggest one, viz.:

(1) "Workers" comprise all socially inspired, active, and positive citizens. Since parasitic waste is a condition of the present now moral and anti-social system, the categories mentioned by Mr. Sadler are all "workers" if or when they conform to the first above proviso. But the system is a system of irresponsibility. Governments, peoples, individuals, all alike shirk, and all alike appear to refuse, responsibility. Really only the last are responsible. The system, it follows, is a system opposed to nature, opposed to reality, whence, in turn, lies and corruption are of its very essence and are inescapable. It is a system, as ample evidence affirms, of moral, mental, and physical negation. Two-thirds of the race are degenerate, all are degraded. All this is unnatural self-negation and preventible. But we ourselves, not Governments, are responsible. On the other hand, any sane or stable and moral system of society must in practice be based upon the fundamental principle of responsibility—the equal individual responsibility of every sane adult citizen. All positive life is based, as all positive—that is, progressive, constructive—thought, health, freedom also are based upon this fundamental principle, and, *pari passu*, law of nature. Things—authority, systems, corporate bodies, Governments, institutions—are not responsible. Real citizens or free men owe no duty to any of these save in acts, the morality of which conform to the idea of personality and its sole responsibility. For instance, any so-called "duty" (or patriotism) which is not consciously based upon this principle of personal responsibility, must, if gen-

eral, in the end prove disastrous. It has! Under the new positive, co-operative and social system contemplated by Communists, "man is all men," each and all will be responsible to and for each and all. Pensions and savings will then be unnecessary, for where all of right share equally, waste will be eliminated, culture will become general, leisure ample, and the present grasping fear of poverty in one's old age will have ceased for ever. Clearly it is a negation of reason that men should work as hard and as long with modern utilities as without. Twelve hours a week should be ample.

(2) We Communists do not "advocate," nor, solely because we are positive men, do we fear "force." But we see the light; it is upon us; and we at least are ready to advance with it, at any cost to self, over all obstacles. We at least are not disposed to retreat solely because visionless and interested rich men, and their scribes, say there is no light. We know that Error and "Dis-Ease," upheld by force, must needs be destroyed by force. On the authority of the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (*Dispatch*, 19th September, 1920) we again learn that he and his rich employers ("we," he says) do intend to suborn all whom money will suborn to fight to preserve the present monstrous system of Credit, Privilege, and Degradation. Theirs is the challenge, and theirs are the forces of negation. Good! This generation is to witness the issue between a negative or destructive force and a positive or constructive force. Theirs is the negative (look around you!), ours the constructive force. At the same time we know that we cannot reform Bad; we know that Good cannot be build upon the foundations of Bad. This, therefore, this old system, we shall utterly destroy.

The supporters, therefore, it follows, of these unrealities—of these ghosts of what were but are not, of these negations—cannot at one and the same time support these, and either produce or permit any positive policy anywhere or any real constructive measures at all. The Labour Party, a growth of this same system of negation, is in the same boat. Civilisation—the thing—is dead. And we Communists, the sole positive force in each country, alone hold the key to the rebirth of the various national Labour organisations and the new civilisation.

LENIN AND THE BRITISH MOVEMENT.

By FRED TYLER.

I have before me a copy of the American "Weekly People," dated September 25th, 1920. It is the organ of the Socialist Labour Party of America, and publishes two interesting letters on the question of Parliamentary tactics and the coming Social Revolution.

The first, from Sylvia Pankhurst to Lenin, invites advice upon the British situation, and is dated July 16th, 1919.

The second, from Lenin to Sylvia Pankhurst, elaborates a Russian view of British affairs, and is dated August 28th, 1919.

An editorial note states that the letter of Sylvia Pankhurst is "a cry from the wilderness, a S.O.S. signal of distress"; the lengthy answer of Lenin "advice to anti-parliamentarians to cease to advance into too deep waters until able to swim." One can suffer the followers of De-Leon, but a word or two is necessary to clear the air.

Lenin, after reading the outline of revolutionary and progressive movements in Britain contained in the first letter, dismisses the powerful industrial "direct action" elements in this country as sections conspicuous "for naught except insufficiency of revolutionary experience," thereby demonstrating his lack of information of the Labour Movement in Britain, and its development and struggle.

Both letters and the satirical twists of the "Weekly People" are too long for report in full, but, reduced to brevity, this is what they mean:

Sylvia Pankhurst, desirous of aiding in the forging of a real effective weapon in this country, recognises that both the S.L.P. and B.S.P., while apparently out for a social revolution and "Soviets instead of Parliament," really believe in the Parliamentary method.

Recognising, therefore, that the existence of pro- and anti-parliamentary elements in Britain hinder unity, a letter is written to Lenin requesting advice.

Each working-class element, from Trade Unionists to anti-Parliamentarians, is given a fair place, and Lenin, in reply, twists the industrialists as little children in revolution, and laying emphasis on the necessity of frequent demonstration of the futility of Parliamentary propaganda and the need for clear advocacy of the distinct difference between the middle-class ideal of democratic Parliamentary government, and the ideal of working-class "direct control of all industries" outside of Parliaments, obtained by revolutionary mass organisation, amuses the reader with a proposal of Parliamentary action.

After anticipation of rupture in Britain on the ballot-box issue, Lenin further suggests that two parties, a Communist Party with a Parliamentary tactic, and a Communist Party opposed to such action, might, with considerable profit, be established in Britain, for, as he states in his letter, "the simultaneous existence of two parties in Britain will be an immense advance on the present situation, and this duality will not be likely to last longer than a brief period of transition, before the accomplishment of complete unity and the early victory of Communism."

This advocacy of two Communist parties in 1919 existing up to the day of the revolution, merging when the building of the new order wipes away bourgeois Parliamentary representation, and makes direct industrial government through all forms of social and technical committees the new basis, sounds a strange utterance, compared with the decrees of the recent Third International Congress, to the effect that all countries must have a single united Communist Party, accepting the line of policy laid down by that Congress, as a condition of affiliation to the Third International.

That, briefly, is the situation here, after the Communist Party of Great Britain were, without hesitation, kicked from the door of the Labour Party as lepers, the genuine Communist elements of Scotland brought into being the Communist Labour Party, which, while anti-Parliamentarian, accepts the Parliamentary tactic, because of the ruling of the World Congress.

Simultaneously all countries are being informed by their respective delegates from the World Congress that all Communists must submit to the discipline of the Third International World Congress and endorse the plan of tactics agreed upon by Congress.

Thus, because Parliamentary action for the propagandist purpose of exposing the futility of Parliament, has been endorsed by the World Congress, this tactic must be contained in the programme of all Communist parties seeking admission to the Third International. That is the position at the moment, and I believe that British Communists can, with advantage, ignore the dictates of Moscow, and refuse to have anything to do with Parliament.

Let the earnest few in Britain who put consistency and frankness before political trickery, remain an anti-Parliamentary body, believing in Soviets, instead of Parliaments, not both institutions in wearisome contradiction.

Let the original advice of Lenin be adhered to: let us have two Communist parties. Let us have an anti-Parliamentary group.

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Mile End Waste

on

Sunday next, at 2.30 p.m.

to

Holloway Prison

to

Cheer Sylvia Pankhurst

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COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Three pence.

Entry Fee: One Shilling.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W. 14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

BRANCH NOTES.**Stepney.**

This branch has now reorganised itself, and Comrades Green and Ginsburg are joint secretaries. Comrade Ginsburg reports that the Social arranged for the International Socialist Club for the 6th November promises to be a great success, and will result in considerable aid for the "Dreadnought."

Soho.

Branch meetings are excellently attended and provide interesting discussions. On Wednesday, the 27th, two members of the United Communist Party of America attended and gave a most interesting account of the extraordinary repression against all Radicals and Communists in that land of vaunted freedom. Such intolerance, bigotry, and tyranny exist there as to mark the United States as the least civilised of all lands. Not even in darkest Africa could such economic extremes, such slavery, and such misery exist. No wonder our comrades left. One of them had also been in Japan, and gave us some curious first-hand information about that astonishing country, which cannot find room for its citizens. In Japan, to start a newspaper at all, you must first have a license from the Government, so there are no Communist newspapers in Japan. Soho branch is a real live branch where all Communist visitors will be welcomed.

New Branch: Altrincham.

Our Manchester comrades are very busy, and this week successfully started a new branch of the Party at Altrincham. The Secretary is Comrade Jack Whinfield, 62, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Manchester, who will be glad to get in touch with any unattached Communists in the Altrincham district.

Fifty Pounds Wanted.

In order to clear the deficit on the first quarter's working and renew necessary stocks, the Communist Party requires a sum of Fifty Pounds.

The Party Membership has more than trebled since the Party's inception in June, and we are getting some real power into the revolutionary machine we are building.

We are called the Communist Party. Our work is vital for the destruction of Capitalism. See to it, Comrades, that the sinews of war are provided.

All donations should be remitted to the Treasurer,

T. J. WATKINS: Hon. Treasurer.

14, Glyn Gwyn, Tre Thomas, Mon.

Manchester.

Comrade Elder reports that the Manchester branch, in addition to getting a new branch started in the last week, has been busy on the house-to-house canvass, which still goes well. The Branch disposed of 78 "Dreadnoughts" last week. The Manchester branch is very keen on efficient organisation, and Comrade Elder writes me that they intend to get another branch started, and then another, and yet another if they get half a chance, until all the suburbs of Manchester within a reasonable radius of their headquarters are covered. This is the proper way to build up a party. Other groups please note and do likewise. All unattached comrades in Manchester and district are urged to get into touch with the Manchester Secretary, Comrade Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire. The Manchester branch will then give them every assistance in getting local groups formed.

Hammersmith.

At our open-air meeting on the 28th October, at the Grove, our Treasurer, Tom Watkins, took the platform, and put the South Wales position and methods in a manner we rarely hear in London. He explained the canny methods of the bosses in working chiefly thin seams of coal while their profits were guaranteed, thus keeping down output, and also dealt with the "classes" that are such an important part of the South Wales Miners' Federation activities. Now that cold weather is setting in, the Hammersmith branch hopes to run a good series of indoor addresses. Comrade Ness Edwards starts the ball rolling with an address on the Miners' Question on November 1st. All local Hammersmith comrades so far unattached are asked to communicate with the local Secretary, Comrade H. Blake, 82, Rockley Road, Shepherd's Bush.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.**Whitechapel.**

Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.

Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.

Saturdays, Hanover Park, Rye Lane, at 7.30.
Sundays, Peckham Rye, at 11 a.m.

Soho.

The Broadway, Golden Square. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

Hammersmith.

The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Willesden.

Manor Park Road, next Friday, October 29th. Comrades R. Bishop and F. Willson.

Bow.

St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m.

Birmingham.

Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

Stepney.

Mile End Waste (opposite Stepney Green). Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Local Communist speakers. Every Friday at 8.15 p.m. Osborne Street, Whitechapel. The City of London branch has now been affiliated with this branch.

Barking.

Near Barking Station, every Saturday at 6 p.m.

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.**Soho International.**

58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

Bow.

400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

Poplar.

79, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Camberwell.

16, Peckham Road, Mondays, at 7.45 p.m.

Hull.

Argyle House, Anlaby Road. Every Wednesday night at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.

Labour Rooms, 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush. Every Monday at 8 p.m. All Party members and inquirers welcome.

Barking.

All indoor meetings are held at Glenhurst, Ripple Road.

HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.

Sundays, at 11.30 a.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Rd., Paddington.

Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrould's Corner, Edgware Road.

Thursdays, at 7.30 p.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Road.

Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

H. Roach 1s 3d, Four friends (per "O") £1. Tre Thomas and Machen Comrades 30s, Camberwell Comrades £3 1s 4d, Hammersmith collection 6s 2d, Exeter Comrades 3s, Swansea Comrades 11s 3d.

HELP INCREASE THE CIRCULATION.

When you have finished with this copy of the "Workers' Dreadnought," please pass it on to a friend who is not in the habit of buying a copy. It is only by individual effort in this direction that we can hope to increase our circulation, and thereby make the paper the efficient propaganda medium it is desired to be.

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