



Workers' Dreadnought

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER.

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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PRICE TWOPENCE.

THREE YEARS OF SOVIET PUBLIC ECONOMY.

By J. LARIN.

(Continued from last issue.)

By the autumn of 1918 Soviet Russia had a comparatively small army; but, in the last three months of 1918, in the first three of 1919 and in the following three months of the same year there were mobilised on an average eight hundred thousand men every three months in European Soviet Russia (exclusive of the Ukraine, Caucasus, and the Don). In the last three months of 1919, when we began to be victorious over the counter-revolution headed by Denikin, the mobilisations were reduced to five hundred thousand men; and, in the first three months of 1920, when our victories over the Eastern counter-revolution headed by Koltchak made themselves felt, the mobilisation dropped to three hundred and fifty thousand. These figures prove better than could any diplomatic note that Soviet Russia was sincerely adverse to war with Poland. The attacks by Poland on Russia began on the 26th April. Previously, Soviet Russia had been for the space of six months availing herself of the victories over Koltchak and Denikin, to reduce, month by month, mobilisations, so as to relieve the heavy unproductive burden imposed upon the population by the necessity of beating off on all sides the attacks of the counter-revolution and of the Entente standing behind it.

The Mobilisation.

On the whole, the number of people mobilised in Great Russia (including therein the Urals and the Volga) reached 40 per cent. of all men between the ages of 20 and 39.

Therefore, the places of many workers had to be filled by women, by elderly people and generally by untrained people; in consequence, the quality of work was reduced. The main cause, however, of the fall in the quality and quantity of labour was the famine created by the Entente and their Russian hirelings. At the end of the first year of the Revolution, the imperialist capitalism of the European countries, with the help of the Czecho-Slovaks and several Cossack generals, cut off the Russian industrial and forest centres with its seventy millions of people from the corn-producing territories; and, if in 1918, European Russia had had such a poor harvest as the present one of 1920, it would have entailed the death of many millions of people, and all State organisation would have perished. The mere fact that in spite of the lean harvest of 1920 the State rations are being issued to the workers of Moscow more accurately and more lavishly than was done in 1918 when the harvest was bounteous, bears testimony to growth of organisation in Soviet Russia.

War Time Food.

Still the feeding of the worker, even taking into account the food he gets on the "free markets" (that is by purchasing from the peasants or from speculators, such purchases representing half of the food consumed by the worker) is considerably worse as compared with that of peace time. During the nine years preceding the revolution, 1908-1916, the average daily standard for an adult working man in Russia was 3,280

calories (reducing the food according to its nourishment into calories). However, at the beginning of 1919, according to investigations, the average was not more than 2,680 calories. At the beginning of 1920, similar investigations showed a somewhat bigger figure, viz. 2,980 calories, representing an improvement for the year of 10 per cent., but still 25 per cent. below that of peace time. We can take 2,880 as the average for the past two years (the date as to the quality and quantity of labour, the length of the working day and output referring equally to these two years). Deducting 2,000 calories, which are necessary for every adult person to maintain life without doing any work, we find that, previous to the revolution, 1,880 calories were needed to enable the worker to work, whereas not more than 880 calories, that is, about 46 per cent., have been available during the past two years. It is interesting to know that the average annual output of each worker presents the same picture. His work expressed in hours being only 70 per cent. of that of peace time, and the output of every hour being only two-thirds of the former output, it is plain that the annual output will be just 45 per cent. of the former annual output. Consequently, allowing for the deterioration and non-repair of machinery, there should have been an even greater shrinkage, but this is evidently offset by the present productivity of labour, the latter now obviously being even higher than it was under the more favourable conditions of peace time. In other words, the Soviet organ, the Government of the workers, in spite of all defects of detail, is in a better position to deal with the historical position than was capitalism with the position which existed in Russia at that time. Having overthrown the master-class, the workers stand a greater strain and try their best to produce more for their own needs than they were doing under capitalism. Therefore leaving out all other considerations concerning the country as a whole, for the regeneration of agriculture and of industry, the Soviet organ is more advantageous than the re-establishment of the power of the capitalist and the landlords.

The Output.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume that Soviet Russia has already reached an output which represents 45 per cent. of the normal. We must take into consideration the decrease in territory. The Gromen mission previously mentioned has

calculated the shrinkage of production which would have set in even apart from the decline in the productivity of labour, etc. The annual pre-war production expressed in gold roubles represented four and a half milliard roubles of agricultural products and two milliards of manufactured goods. In consequence of the reduction in size of Russia, taking into account the former productivity of labour, etc., the agricultural output should have been 3.8 milliard roubles, and that of manufactured goods one milliard. Now the actual Soviet output for the year, according to the calculations made by Gromen's committee, has amounted to about 420 million roubles, whilst agriculture amounted to two and a half milliards (the figures are in gold roubles). Thus, although the annual average output of the industrial worker amounts to 45 per cent. of the normal, Soviet Russia could not muster in 1919-20 more than 20 per cent. of the normal annual output of manufactured goods. This is the lowest limit of the shrinkage in the production reached in 1919-20 on account of Russia being torn into isolated parts by the military attacks of the imperialist bayonet and the counter-revolutionary mutineers.

Growth of Territory.

The re-union in the latter half of 1920 of the main outlying provinces with the centre has radically altered the situation. On the 1st January, 1920, there were in European Russia 360,000 poods of cotton. Now, on the 15th October, 1920, there are 8,060,000 poods, besides that under way from Turkestan, whilst in Turkestan itself there are even larger supplies. From the middle of 1919 to the middle of 1920, European Russia consumed no more than 30 million poods of oil, all that there was to consume. Now we have in European Russia stocks amounting to 150 million poods of oil, brought during the summer from the Caucasus for the coming year, and there are great supplies left in the Caucasus.

Metals in Reactionary Hands.

The Donetz Basin, the chief Russian metallurgical centre, has been, for almost two years, in the hands of the reactionary Cossack and Czarist generals, and Russia has had therefore to live upon the exhausted stocks of old cast iron and scrap iron. Now, in the second half of 1920, we have been able to restore to order and reopen the coal mines which were closed during almost the whole time they were isolated from us. We have raised the output 15 to 20 per cent., the furnaces are beginning to blaze in the South after the long intervals, and the smelteries are reopened, whilst in the North, in the Moscow region, the textile works, idle so long, are again in operation. In short, there is every indication that the coming year, 1921, will see a great increase in production, considerably above the 20 per cent. of the normal, with which we had to be satisfied until now. Of course, the result of this increase will be felt much later in the field of consumption, when such results will have had time to enter the channels of consumption, personal as well as industrial.

COMMUNIST PARTY

(Bow & Tower Branches).

A DANCE

In aid of the "DREADNOUGHT" FUND will be held at

CROWN HALL (40, Bowdoin's Road, Mile End),

SA:URDAY, DECEMBER 18th, 1920.

Doors open at 6 p.m. Dancing from 6.30-12.

Tickets, 1s. 6d. each can be obtained from the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4; and from the Branch Secretaries.

OUR NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

By P. F. MEACHEM.

At the present time we are living under a system which has its main characteristics the division of society into two classes: the one, owning the land and its contents; and the other, nothing but the power to labour. The land being essential to the well-being of all, the latter class has no choice but to sell its labour-power to the former class. Since the owning-class is a non-producing class, its interests lay in preventing the producers from consuming all the wealth produced. This is effected through the commodity nature of the workers' labour-power. By keeping more workers than there are jobs, the capitalists rob the workers of two-thirds of the wealth produced. Under the busiest periods, work can be found for only 98 per cent. of the workers. So that under the present system there are some of the working-class always denied the only chance they have of getting an existence, namely, that of selling their labour-power to a master; not only men, but women also. I have mentioned this because it is an introduction to what is going to follow.

In the *Workers' Dreadnought* of November 25th, 1920, I dealt with the National Propaganda, one of the capitalist organisations, which are busily engaged in trying to hide from the workers the real cause of their poverty, namely, the private ownership of the land and its contents.

The B.E.U.

This week I am going to deal with the British Empire Union. At the Advertising Exhibition, recently held at the White City, they were giving away, in pamphlet form, some of the lies their paid speakers give out at street corners to working-class audiences. One pamphlet, "The Old War and the New," has come into my hands, and it contains some of the foulest lies ever written. Looking through it, I find quite a long list of dukes, earls, viscounts, lords, ladies, out-of-work generals, colonels, and the names of some of the "sane, reliable, Trade Union M.P.'s," in the role of vice-presidents, together with the name of Sir Edward Carson as president. Also, at the end of the pamphlet, is a list of some of the five thousand greatest business houses in the British Empire who are members of the British Empire Union. Here are a few of the names: Allen and Hanburys, Ltd.; Anglo-American Oil Co., Fullers Ltd., Harrods Ltd., etc., all of whose interests are supposed to be identical with their employees whom they are exploiting.

On page 5 I came across this gem: "The invasion of this country by enemy aliens will be a far graver menace in the future than it was before the war. The influx of such aliens in the past has tended to lower the standard of life in this country—morally, industrially and physically. Industrial unrest, sedition, vice of all kinds (especially the White Slave traffic), and disease, are all fostered by the alien element here." This is typical of the false statements this pamphlet contains. So now we know the cause of the physical, moral and intellectual poverty of the workers of this country. It is not due to the private ownership of the land and its contents, adulterated food, shoddy clothing and bad housing; the sweated and unhealthy conditions in the mine, mill, railways, and factories. Oh, dear, no. Not a word about this!

First of all, as to sedition. The British Empire Union should, if it is already not, be a great authority on sedition, for it has as president an individual who is well-practiced in that art. Sir Edward Carson, with other Cabinet Ministers, has given us a real live exhibition in the art of preaching sedition, as witness the way they went about preaching when a late government was passing an Home Rule for Ireland Act.

Of course you can always preach sedition, provided that you are a member of the ruling class or a cabinet minister. Should you be so unwise as to preach sedition, and at the same time not be a cabinet minister or a member of the ruling class, you will quickly find yourself (like Comrades Sylvia Pankhurst, Steele and others) brought up in what the capitalists are pleased to term a Court of Justice (the justice being most conspicuous by its absence), and there sentenced to a term of torture called imprisonment. See what you escape by being a cabinet minister or a member of the ruling class.

Next, as to the physical, moral and intellectual degeneration. In order to obtain some idea of these conditions, we will examine the progress made in wealth production and invention during the last one hundred years.

Increase of Wealth.

In 1812 the national wealth of this country, in shipping, railways, merchandise, houses and furniture was estimated at £450,000,000. In 1888 the total for these items had increased to £2,969,000; and in 1904 this total had increased to £3,790,000.

In his well-known work, "Riches and Poverty," Sir L. Chiozza Money estimates the total national wealth of the United Kingdom at £11,413,000, possessed by 1,250,000 rich families and 3,750,000 middle-class families out of a population of 43,000,000. Here is the cause of the poverty of the workers—the unequal distribution of the primary needs of life.

In the British Dominions Year Book for 1919, Lord Leverhulme bears out the statement as to the unequal distribution of wealth. Listen to this, you O.B.E. speakers. "When we remember that nine-tenths of the wealth of the United Kingdom, and probably of many other countries, belongs to one-tenth of the people, and that one-tenth of the wealth only is the portion of nine-tenths of the people, we get an idea of the scope there is for adjustment of conditions and opportunities."

Dear me! I should think so, too! Think of the thousands of inventions made during the last century, facilitating increased production and reducing the time employed in producing the various needs of life. Who has reaped the benefit? Those who own the means whereby the workers live? Yes! Side by side with the increase of the means of wealth production and distribution, the lot of the wealth producers is becoming worse in proportion to the increase. Yet the B.E.U. says it is the aliens who are the people who in the past have tended to lower the physical standard of the workers. Yes, it is the aliens; but not the aliens they mean—the German, French, Russian, and the workers of the remaining countries. The alien is the capitalist.

Decreasing Physical Standard.

Bearing in mind the facts relating to the increase of wealth, we will examine for a short time the physical conditions of the workers.

In a work, "The Wastage of Child Life," by J. Johnston, M.D. (Edin.), published in 1908, in Chapter I, on "National Degeneration," I find the following facts relating to recruits who have presented themselves for the army. Bearing in mind that the largest part of the army is drawn from the ranks of the working-class, the figures supplied give us some idea of the hysterical condition of the workers. "Evidence for degeneracy was sought in the Memoranda issued by the War Office regarding recruiting for the Army. These show that there has been a gradual reduction in the standard of height for recruits. In 1845 this

was 5ft. 6in., in 1872 it was reduced to 5ft. 5in., in 1883 to 5ft. 2in., while in 1897 and 1901 specials were enlisted as low as 5ft. It is therefore evident that the soldiers who fought in the Boer War were physically inferior to those in the Crimea, and still more inferior to those who fought at Waterloo."

"In 1899, out of 11,000 applicants who presented themselves at the Manchester Recruiting Station, only 1,072 were found fit for the Regular Army."

In the "Daily Chronicle" of February 28th, 1920, there is an article on the National Service Medical Board's Report. This is an extract: "Out of 2,500,000 men examined between October 31st, 1917, and November, 1918, only thirty-eight per cent. could be regarded up to the full normal standard of health and strength for their age, and more than ten per cent. were judged totally and permanently unfit for any form of military service." In other words, only one man in three was found to be normally healthy, and one man in ten was a physical wreck. These facts, continues the statement, provide the most saddening evidence in support of the statement that we are a 'C3' nation. Of the men examined, 871,769 were found to be full normal standard, 546,276 suffered from partial disabilities, 756,859 had marked physical disabilities, and 250,280 were totally and permanently unfit.

The number of youths found to be totally and permanently unfit for any form of military service was twice as large as it should be in a normally healthy community. What this means in later life is found in analysis from Manchester and Salford districts. In Salford, for instance, out of 1,887 cases, only eight were free from any disability, and many of the men being described as "old at forty." Men at forty years of age were suffering from senile decay.

A few quotations from the issue of a report from the Chief Inspector of Factories upon the medical permission of children who wanted certificates of physical fitness to start work.

"The majority of children in Lancashire desired to enter the cotton factories. Of the 31,060 children under 14 years of age who presented themselves for medical certificates, 20,771 were in Lancashire. Of the rejects, 765 out of a total of 1,027, were Lancashire children. Yorkshire had about one-fourth of her neighbour's figures, and Cheshire one-tenth."

"Of the children whose ages ranged from 13 to 14, and who desired medical permission to work full time, Lancashire accounted for 26,212 out of 70,087, and Yorkshire 18,946. Lancashire had 945 rejected out of 2,089."

Defective School Children.

According to Sir George Newman, C.M.O., of the Ministry of Health, we know that after ten years of medical inspection in the public elementary schools of England and Wales that no fewer than a million children of school age are so physically or mentally retarded, defective or diseased, as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides.

Sir George Newman says: "It would be difficult to over-estimate the volume of national efficiency, of unfitness and suffering, of unnecessary expenditure, of industrial unrest and unemployment to which the country consents because of its relative failure to rear and educate a healthy, virile, and well-equipped race of children."

Who is responsible.

The facts just given make the most damning condemnation of the present system of society. Think over it. The means of

wealth production and distribution have increased far in excess of the population. Year by year there is more of everything for building up a physical and intellectual and healthy race, yet year by year, as the facts just given show, the people are degenerating physically. Who is it but the owners of the land and its contents, that are withholding from the workers the means of life.

Yet the B.E.U. says it is the foreigners who are responsible for this. Yes; it is the foreigner, but not the foreigner they mean. It is not the German, French, Italian and the other workers of foreign lands, as the B.E.U. suggests. All the workers of every land have a common interest, i.e. to get rid of the cosmopolitan gang of capitalists that are making this world a hell to live in. Yes! It is the aliens who are responsible for this; the British, French, and the capitalists of every land, who, irrespective of the religion, colour, race, or the political opinions of the workers of the world, exploit the workers of every land. The capitalist is the only alien the Communists know.

Another red herring gone West!

What a beautiful morality is the capitalist one. Never give a shilling unless you get a shilling or more in return. Never do a person a good turn unless you get a money payment in return. It does not matter if a man, woman, or child is in want of food, clothing or shelter; let them go short unless you can get a profit out of their necessity. How elevating! How sublime! Yet it is the alien who is degrading our standard of morality! Yes! The capitalists!

Then fancy expecting to develop the intellect of the mass of the people under such rotten conditions already mentioned. Yes! we want education, in order to develop the intellect. Yet to-day there is an economy stunt being worked up in "The Times," which is calling upon the Government to economise with regard to Education, which costs £1 5s. per head of the population of the British Isles. Yet, on the other hand, the Navy, Army, and Air Forces (destructive institutions) are costing £5 6s. 8d. per head, and not a word for economy here. A big Navy programme is being advocated. The cost of a modern battleship is estimated at £9,000,000. Some economy this, especially from the B.E.U., which is shrieking over a lower standard of intelligence. I have mentioned this because in "The Times" there appeared an appeal for £250,000 for the B.E.U. funds. The B.E.U. stands for maintaining the old Two-Power Standard of the British Navy. Enough said!

Next, as to the *White Slave Traffic*. I mentioned in the beginning of this article that there are always a number of men and women denied the only chance they have of obtaining a living under the present system, i.e. that of selling their labour-power to a master. Is it therefore surprising that driven by hunger, women sell themselves up on the streets. Yet the B.E.U. would have us believe that it is the alien who is responsible for this. Yes. It is the aliens, the capitalists, in whose interests this surplus army of labour (the unemployed) is kept. When, on page 11, the B.E.U. repeat the deliberate lie that women and girls have been made common property in Russia, under the Bolsheviks, they should also bear in mind the women who are driven to a life of prostitution by being denied the opportunity to obtain a decent living under capitalism. Are not these being made common property in free (?) England?

Industrial Unrest.

Then lastly as to Industrial unrest. Who is responsible for this but the members of the Federation of British Industries who support the National Propaganda agitation for increased production.

Many members of the Committee of National Propaganda are members of the British Empire Union. We have had this propaganda; and when the workers have increased production and filled the factories with various goods, they have been turned out of the factories to starve until the owners can find markets to dispose of the commodities.

Not content with their factories filled up with goods, and the workers who have produced starving because they cannot sell their labour-power to obtain this money payment, called wages, so as to buy these goods, the capitalists are charging famine prices in the midst of plenty, and then they are complaining of industrial unrest. The worker who is content with this state of affairs, and is gulled by the propaganda of this kind, deserves all he gets.

The B.E.U. also believes in Protection. In its foreign policy (d) it says that no dumped foreign goods should be permitted in the British Isles. No foreign competitor and those holding the home supplies of various commodities can charge famine prices for their goods. This means bigger profits, all for the workers' benefit, they try to kid us. The B.E.U. knows no class, no party, no creed. Its members labour not for any personal advantage. I ask any unbiassed reader, after reading the names of its vice-presidents and executive committee, and the name of the five thousand greatest business firms in the British Empire, who are members of the B.E.U.: and, that in connection with the vice-presidents and the executive committee of the B.E.U., the B.E.U. represents, in the shape of companies on whose Boards these persons sit, the large sum of over £140,000,000 paid-up capital—after reading these facts, can anyone truthfully say that the B.E.U. knows no class, no party, no creed? There is but one answer. No! The B.E.U. is a capitalist organisation, out for the capitalists' benefit; therefore the workers should view with suspicion all statements made in their Press and by their speakers.

The B.E.U. stands for starvation, unemployment, and all its attendant evils. Cowards that they are—when they come out to street corners with closed platforms, making false statements, and then denying their opponents their platform to refute their lies—they have not the common decency to openly oppose the attempts of the workers to obtain better conditions. This is the freedom of speech they believe in.

Evidently the intellectual and moral degeneracy has even affected the B.E.U., judging by the tone of the pamphlet.

There is no way out of the maze of capitalism except by abolishing the system of private ownership.

BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA.

A REVIEW by FRED TYLER.

The British public, we are told, are waiting for real substantial information about Russia.

Army and naval officers, Press representatives, Red Cross workers, and men and women of all shades of opinion, have been amongst the Soviets, have mingled with the mass of Russian people, and, upon return to their native homes, have a united voice testified that in Russia a determined movement of the workers, led by a Socialist party, aiming at the abolition of land monopoly, and subjection of the workers to private profit making, is taking place.

However, despite the voice of those who have seen for themselves, and have reported faithfully just what their eyes saw, and their ears heard, yet we must still disbelieve. G. E. Raine and Edouard Suboff, LL.D., have spoken; Mrs. Steridan, Dr. Rickman, Professor Goode, and H. G. Wells are liars; the two new exponents, Raine and Luboff, shining angels of the truth.

They have written a book (a not uncommon thing to-day)—a book, with a matter of nearly 200 pages, with a ugly yellow

cover, and in dull orange the words of the title stand forth in an awful background of black: "Bolshevik Russia."

The price of a Socialist publication of similar size would be 2s. 3d.; the price of this book, strange to say, only a shilling.

Every bookstall at every railway station implores the public to buy one, and no doubt before Christmas, we may obtain a copy, "job line, 6d."

In my own case, I yielded to an invitation to read "all sides," and read "Bolshevik Russia" in a train, to the horror of a nice old lady, and the icy contempt of a smart young fellow, smoking a Woodbine and reading "John Bull."

We are informed in the introductory remarks that "the Englishman has a traditional disinclination for concerning himself with foreign countries" (we trust men of colour will take note). "Hitherto he has known little of world history, and cared less. For him, his own has been the only country that counts" (hence the ex-Service men seem to be ungrateful towards the sentiments of English public opinion).

Again "Armenian massacres and Congo atrocities left us unmoved as a nation," in the words of Raine. "Those victims were barbarians, and we neither understood them nor wanted to. We felt sure that if they were not being outraged themselves, they were outraging someone else, and probably it was all in a day's work."

Thus we see the mind of Raine, the crafty cunning of a paid "agitator," who writes for a price, lies, contortion of facts, aiming at teaching a false idea of Soviet Russia.

The hireling of the trembling middle-class, who perceive in the rumbling of the Russian Revolution the end of their power.

This book, a hopeless mix-up of things, the product of a very scantily informed mind, all drawn together in an array "of seeming truths," is the argument of Capitalism against Socialism, and, while a weak stupid production, it is more clever than the articles of Winston Churchill. Snatches are taken from Lenin's speeches and the Soviet decrees, and Raine is eager to prove that in Russia Marxian Socialism is the basis of the new order, and all chaos and failure existent results from the actual limitation and fallacies of the economic theories of "the German, Karl Marx." This understood, we grasp his contention, and understand fully his aim, but pity his intellect and condemn his cunning.

The whole of the chapters are set out in methods of expression, that inform the non-Socialist reader that the joint authors desire to praise to aspirations of the revolutionaries, but condemn their methods as impractical folly.

The use of force by the Soviets against the opposition Press and parties is evidenced as unnecessary violence. Raine forgot, and his quest for money helped him, that the violence of the Soviets was used to meet the violence of their enemies.

We learn from our unmasked instructors that Russia must trade with the world or end in chaos, and we therefore conclude that Russian chaos would result from capitalist intrigue against Russia, the determined isolation of the workers' republic of Russia by world-wide commercialism, hence the blockade, protracted trade discussions, and the impossible terms.

To claim that the strangle of a country by naval and military forces on the fringe of Russia, the blockade of her coasts, the refusal of imperialist governments to allow tools, machines, locomotives, and steel rails to enter Russia by the normal method of trade, to claim that the hardship and difficulties, sometimes bordering upon disorganisation in Russia, to-day proves the fallacy of Marx, means that those who believe in Raine are either liars or lunatics. Of the two, I believe that Raine and Luboff belong to the former class.

(Continued on page 6.)

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The Left Wing of the I.L.P.

DEAR COMRADES—

As one of the signatories of the Left Wing, I.L.P. Programme, might I draw your attention to three facts that have apparently escaped you.

Firstly, we have no time for "lukewarm elements" or "doubters," any more than we have for those who chatter the mystic Muscovite jargon to the exclusion of every attempt to translate Sovietism into British phraseology and British practice.

Secondly, we write "the use of Parliamentary institutions for propaganda and also for the formal endorsement of the measures put forward by the workers' organisations for the destruction of Capitalism and the demolition of the Capitalist State."

The words I have italicised must surely have eluded your attention or else your understanding. We have no more intention than have you of using Parliamentary institutions to build up and to conduct Communism. We advocate the use of Parliamentary institutions for destructive purposes, and we recognise as much as do you, how limited is their utility. Unfortunately, the workers do not, and therefore, we are prepared to show them by practical examples and illustrations, even if we must needs inviolate our emotional satisfaction in the process, how useless it is to credit the professions of bourgeois democracy.

Moreover, we are realists, and we propose to use the shield of legality until our organisation is adequate to dispense with formalities or until abandoning their own constitution and proving for us the assertions which we cannot otherwise drive home to the masses.

Thirdly, the Left Wing of the I.L.P. accept the discipline and the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Third International and for that reason, remains in a hostile environment, doing incessant propaganda inside the organisation whose leaders it is required to expose, to discredit and, if possible, to eject.

Do not worry, little flock, we are as much Bolshevik as the Third International. We are disciplined and we fight our enemies at close quarters—inside their own lines.

Yours fraternally,

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

In reply to Comrade Walton Newbold, we must still maintain that the passages dealing with Parliamentarism in the I.L.P. Left Wing Manifesto are not fully in accord with the Theses adopted at the Second Congress of the Third International.

The Left Wing Manifesto says that the workers' political action is:—

"to cause the governing classes continually to throw out sops and make concessions . . . The I.L.P. includes within the scope of political action, the use of Parliamentary institutions for propaganda and the formal endorsement of the measures put forward by the workers' organisations for the destruction of Capitalism and the Capitalist State."

Again, under *method*, the Manifesto states:—

"The only useful purpose in participating in Parliamentary action is solely with a view to promoting revolutionary propaganda and

the destruction of Capitalism and the Class State. Also:—

"The best means of effecting a Social Revolution is for the workers to prepare themselves to take over the industrial machine."

These passages, taken literally, seem to open the door, on the one hand to Parliamentary Reformism, and on the other, to industrialism, which fails to realise that revolution is civil war, and that the class which sets out to obtain the power of government, cannot stop at seizing the factories, but must also obtain control of the machinery of Government and the armed forces of the State. In short, to say:—

"the best means of effecting the Social Revolution is for the organised workers to prepare themselves to take over the industrial machine,"

should be altered to:—

the only way of effecting the Social Revolution is for the workers to take over the power of Government and the machinery of production, distribution and exchange.

But let us compare the passages in the Left Wing Manifesto, which we have cited above, with those from the theses on Parliamentarism, adopted by the Second Congress of the Third International:—

"The only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets."

"Parliamentarism is a definite form of State order. Therefore it can in no way be a form of Communist society."

"Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat . . . a parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it."

"The bourgeois Parliaments . . . cannot be won over to the proletariat, any more than can the bourgeois order in general.

Therefore, Comrade Newbold, Parliament cannot be used for the "formal endorsement of the measures put forward by the workers' organisations for the destruction of Capitalism and the demolition of the Capitalist State."

Parliament will not lend itself to this purpose; it is not your heart we are mistrusting, Comrade Newbold, but your head!

"Parliament cannot be won over by the proletariat," rightly says the thesis, but if it could be won over and made to endorse measures "for the destruction of Capitalism and the demolition of the Capitalist State," surely the time would have arrived to abolish Parliament and to replace it by the Soviets. But hear the thesis:—

"The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it and all the Parliamentary institutions with it."

"Civil war is war."

"The Communist Party enters such institution (Parliament), not for the purpose of organisation work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the Parliament itself from within."

It is not the Capitalist State that the thesis instructs the Communist Members of Parliament to destroy, but *Parliamentarism*. The destruction of Capitalism cannot be accomplished by formal endorsement in Parliament.

"This work within the Parliaments, which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the Parliamentary tribune, the denunciation of enemies, the ideological uniting of the masses, etc."

We find nothing here of securing sops and concessions to the workers' organisations, or of formal endorsements of measures put forward by them.

"The elective campaign must be carried on, not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilisation of the masses around the mottoes of the proletarian revolution."

Would Comrade Newbold's last election address pass this test? Since he claims to be disciplined, we advise him to send it to Moscow for endorsement before using it again.

"The regular proposal of demonstrative law-projects, not for them to be passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purpose of propaganda, agitation and organisation, must be carried on under the direction of the Party and its Central Committee."

There is no talk of contemplation of formal endorsement here.

Has the Communist Party of Great Britain put this clause into practice? There is still time for Col. Malone to introduce a few Bills.

If Comrade Newbold's phrase about the workers' failure to recognise the limitations of Parliamentary institutions were intended to suggest that the clause about using Parliament for the formal endorsement of measures to destroy Capitalism was put in deference to ordinary working-class prejudices, that would be a disastrous blunder. In regard to this, let us cite Lenin's thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International, also adopted by the Congress:—

"To admit the idea of a voluntary submission of the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited—by a peaceful reformist passage to Socialism—is not only to give proof of an extreme petty bourgeois dull-headedness, but is a direct deceiving of the workmen, a disguising of capitalist wage-slavery; a concealment of the truth."

We regret that the I.L.P. Left Wing has boycotted the term "Soviet" in its Manifesto, which has now become thoroughly Anglicised and is generally understood. The word Parliament has an alien origin also, it should be remembered. When we hear of "attempts to translate Sovietism into British phraseology and British practice, we scent Scheidemann—Longuet—Macdonaldism. Beware of it Comrade Newbold, the disease is as catching as the measles! At the same time we trust that you and the other Left Wing I.L.P. comrades will take our criticism in good part. We welcome your existence, but we warn you that you have a wily set of fellows to deal with, and it behoves you to be clear and courageous in your own thought and propaganda.

RICHARD KEIR.

REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION.

ISLWYN NICHOLAS.

Gen. Sec. of the International Proletarian School.

During the last few weeks the Yellow Press has been conducting a heavy attack against the young revolutionary movement in this country. As a youngster, I realise the small amount of interest taken by adult comrades in the great task of educating our young comrades so that they may be enabled to understand the ideals which are so dear to us. Like the adult movement, the young movement centres round two main points—reform and revolution. The Socialist Sunday Schools stand for reform, and the International Proletarian School Movement stands for revolution. Therefore, you now see why the I.P.S.M. is attacked by the capitalist gutter-press. How many adult comrades know what the I.P.S.M. is, and what it stands for? The purpose of this article is to answer this urgent and important question. Many years ago several comrades left the Socialist Sunday School Union disgusted with the reformist nature of its teachings. T. Anderson and a few other comrades inaugurated that militant organisation known as the I.P.S.M. This organisation has for its object the following: To teach the children of the working class the absolute necessity for the complete abolition of the present political state, and the inauguration of a Socialist Industrial Republic through the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was named the Proletarian School Movement because the name marks the distinction from the Utopian. It is the Left wing of the Young Socialist movement. It is affiliated to the Communist Young People's International and to the Red or Third International, which goes to prove how militant the movement is.

Let us dwell a few moments on the teachings of the Proletarian School Movement. Its teachings are based on the Ten Proletarian Maxims, which are definitely Marxian and are, therefore, scientific. We realise today that many adult comrades are afraid of dealing with the question of religion; they are afraid to tell the children the true story of the past, and so they compromise. We believe it must be faced without fear and trepidation! We must not make peo-

ple believe that their religion is ours. The story of Christ dying on the cross for miserable sinners is so ridiculous that one wonders at the hold this myth which has been handed down to us through the ages has on the minds of the workers. Workers, superstition is immoral and superstition and religion are twins, and have been used throughout history to keep us in subjection. All is but a part of the evolution of man upwards. The Christian God is but the God of earlier ages made up to suit the present economic order of society. We must banish superstition from the minds of the youngsters if ever we intend them to be fighters for the Revolution. Take the subject of history. What is history? It is not the record of mythical kings or foxes who were promoters of hellish wars. It is not the record of political and intellectual changes and revolutions. To be something more than chronology events must be interpreted, their cause and effect must be understood. Let it be remembered that nothing can be clearly understood without a study of its history. To understand the message of Marx and Engels to the International Proletariat, "Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win." When one understands the history of our class, then and only then can he explain and make clear that call for the Solidarity of Labour. Thus you see how important the teaching of history really is. Such is what we teach in our schools, but that is not all, the songs of the revolution are taught them, recitations, interesting stories from natural science and economics. We have published several booklets containing stories based on the class struggle, the "Materialistic Conception of History," "The Law of Surplus Value," etc.; in fact, we have done the great task of putting scientific Socialism in story form. Why this trouble and for what object? Our motive is Education for Revolution. Our object is to show the children of our class how we have been let down, by so-called Socialist parties, so-called Labour leaders (fakirs), or cheapjack "Judases." We will remind them of Peterloo, Michelstown, Llanelly and Tonypandy. We will tell them the foul murders committed by the capitalist swine who live on our blood and who glorify in our sufferings! We will not let the names of rebels fade in our minds, but will pass them on to the younger generation—the hope of the age! What we teach the children is not the sentimental "come to Jesus" sort of Socialism, but the Socialism for which our fellow workers in Russia to-day are defending. We do not tell them that they will have a happy time when every man, woman, and child becomes an angel or when we die we'll have pie in the sky—such as the stuff taught by the S.S.S. Union. We seek to make the children think about their position in Capitalist society, and to show them the way to build up a sane system of society, in which all will have the right to live if they are willing to do some socially useful work, those and those alone will receive the benefits of the new society. Yes, this is Revolution, and it means life, not existence; liberty, not slavery; science, not childish superstition. To bring this about needs courage, and courage means fight, the stomach and the power to fight. When the Revolution comes, some may have to die and some to live. We, of the young generation, are prepared for any suffering or even death in maintaining the Revolution. If our objects are worthy of support, then, for Christ's sake, give us support—we need it badly, morally and financially. I appeal to every real Communist to support us (also Communist parties), in this country. In conclusion, let me ask you, "Is it not waste of energy to preach and teach Socialism to the workers and at the same time leave your children in the hands of persons to teach them capitalist or class education? Start a school in your district

or get your branch to do so. In the meantime buy our fighting magazine and become a member at large. The annual subscription for adults is 1s. 6d, and for children, free. Your support is needed, for our movement is your movement, and if we go under you alone will be responsible and must answer to the International. Help us to carry on Education for Revolution. Headquarters:

REVOLUTIONARY HEROES.

By N. DUKARIN.

TYBOR SAMUELLI.

This name should be and will become familiar to every proletarian.

When the Soviet Republic had been overthrown in Hungary, one of the leaders, a young man of inestimable worth, found his death on the frontier. We do not know the precise circumstances in which this valuable life was sacrificed. According to the official statement Comrade Samuelli shot himself through the head, when arrested by the gendarmes of Renner and the Second International, by those who had shortly before been the gendarmes of Charles of Hapsburg. The story may be true. Samuelli was a man of strong, proud, and independent temperament, and may well have felt that after the overthrow of the Soviet power, it did not become him to fall alive into the hands of his enemies. He may well have preferred death to imprisonment. But there is another possibility. Perhaps Renner's gendarmes are of stouter mettle than Noske's. It may be that Zeis and Bauer are stronger men than Scheidemann and Bart. If the German executioners could assassinate Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht "when they were attempting to run away," is there any reason to suppose that the Austrian executioners were not competent to settle accounts with Tybor Samuelli?

The proletariat of Hungary should be proud of this figure. The savage hatred, the inextinguishable rancour, which the Hungarian bourgeoisie cherished towards Samuelli is easy to understand. He was distinguished by an inflexible will, by exceptional cool-headedness, and by indefatigable energy. In addition, he was a brilliant writer.

Like Bela Kun, he graduated as a revolutionist in Russia, and it was in Russia that the underground made Samuelli's acquaintance. Before the war, he was on the staff of *Néprava*, the central organ of the Hungarian Social Democracy. In the course of the war, in which he took part as a commissioned officer, he was taken prisoner. He was sent to Siberia and to Manchuria, where he had to live under abominable conditions. Often, when seriously ill, he was compelled to work in the marshes or the mines, standing knee-deep in water. He attempted to escape, but was arrested on the Swedish frontier. At length he was restored to freedom by the Revolution.

Thereupon Samuelli spread his pinions like a young eagle. Seldom do we meet men who display such whole-souled devotion to the cause which is now shaping a new era in history. One of his characteristics, the hall-mark of a genuine revolutionist, was that he never disdained any task, the most difficult, the most unpleasant, and the least in the limelight. With equal fervour, he would devote himself to propaganda, would write newspaper articles, would take up arms to help in the suppression of counter-revolutionary revolts, would edit pamphlets, work on committees, speak at meetings, or draw up schemes of work for the Comrades. At any moment he was ready to pull the trigger of his rifle, which was never far from his hand. A man of great physical courage, he was always on the *qui vive*.

Obituary notices are seldom free from exaggeration, but it would be difficult to exaggerate where Samuelli is concerned. As I write, I seem to see his beloved figure, wearied by overwork, yet none the less vibrant with energy; I see the tired look in his thoughtful eyes, and the gentle irony of his smile. He slept no more than four or five hours out of the twenty-four, devoting the remainder of his time to the Revolution.

Circumstances have brought me in contact with men of all kinds, and among them I have known revolutionists in nearly every land. Rarely, however, have I met anyone with so charming a personality as Samuelli; seldom have I known anyone who was so good a comrade. All his life he was a model of Communist chivalry.

He died young. Had he lived longer, beyond question his richly endowed nature would have undergone even fuller development. But never shall we forget what this man, during his short life, did for the proletariat. In the transitional period between two epochs, his figure takes its place among our martyrs, as a symbol of militant Communism.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Quarter Day).—The second quarter for the Party ends on Saturday, Dec. 18. Branches are asked to appoint auditors and see that Branch dues to headquarters are fully paid up by that date. Individual comrades are also asked to see they have clear membership cards. All comrades are asked to make a special effort so that we may enter our third quarter free of all debt. All contributions and donations to Comrade T. Watkins, National Treasurer, 5, Pentre Hill, Cilfrew, Neath, South Wales.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS.

Party Treasurer.—Comrade Tom Watkins, 5, Pentre Hill, Cilfrew, Neath, South Wales.

Secretary of the International Proletarian School Movement.—Comrade T. Islwyn Nicholas, Shamrock House, Alexandria Rd., Aberystwyth, Wales.

CHANGE OF BRANCH SECRETARY.

Porth.—Trevor Lewis, 28, Church Terrace, Ynysyhir, Rhondda Valley, S. Wales.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Willesden Comrade, 5/6; F. Houghton, 5/-; Porth Comrades, 11/-; J. Hill, 2/6.

Communist Defence and Maintenance Fund.

H.J.H., 10/-; A. Rebel, 2/6; Mrs. Kennedy, 3/6; E.S. and B.B., 5/-; Porth Comrades, 4/-; S. Shields Comrades, 2/6; A. Smith, 3/-; Mr. Isaacs, 2/-; Stepney Comrades, 6/9.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Miss F. Haughton.....	0	5	0
Per Mr. Kimberley	0	5	9
Mrs. Cooper	0	9	10

Brought forward 1 0 7

Total 92 14 9

Don't forget to send a Christmas present to the **DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND** to help us start the New Year with a balance in hand.

GRAMOPHONES FOR SALE, splendid Xmas presents; first class quality; new; good Records.

Buy direct from the Maker, who is giving you the opportunity of purchasing at first hand and at the lowest possible prices.

Sixpence allowed on any old or broken record, upon purchasing a new one. One new record given for six old ones.

Bring a copy of the *Dreadnought* as a coupon for extra reduction.

"RACHOPHONE"

122, ROMAN ROAD, BOW, E.

Bolshevism, we are told in this remarkable and strictly truthful book, was born in London in 1908. Lenin (Bolshevik) and Martoff (Menshevik) were both present at a conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in London in 1908 (possibly in the deep cellar of Sweeney Todd).

Thus in our midst the plot against property began. Later in 1916 and 1917 we learn that the Bolsheviks advocated the fraternisation of the Russian and German-Austrian armies on the Eastern front, to bring about the fall of the German-Austrian capitalist classes. In the next breath we are informed that the Bolsheviks were the agents of Germany, leading Russia to ruin.

And so on, through chapters of loose thought, savoured with wilful lies.

And after dealing with finance, and the Russian debt to Britain, in a clever, cunning way, seeking to imply that non-payment of the debt was detrimental to the British workers, also with the forced labour stunt, we come to the final point—the menace of world Bolshevism.

We trust that all will listen to the sober wisdom of Raine and Luboff.

When out of work, homeless, starving, ragged, and hopeless, we must at all costs fight Bolshevism, because Bolshevism means that Raine, Luboff, Churchill, and all fit and healthy amongst the mass of the people must, in order to obtain food, clothing, and shelter, assist in making it. We, as anti-Bolsheviks, recognise that work—hard, useful work—is only fit for the "likes of us," and only for the "likes of us."

Otherwise should we think that all, despite rank, should toil, we are in danger of becoming "Bolshevik."

LENIN'S NEW BOOK.

A REVIEW BY E. E. SWIFT.

The education in Communism of anybody who has not read Lenin's new book, "Left Wing Communism," is deplorably deficient. There cannot be thirty out of Britain's 80,000,000 adults who know and understand the British situation more thoroughly than, or even as thoroughly as, Lenin.

Lenin claims: "That the experience of the Russian Revolutionary Movement, through its last century's 50 years' following of every shade of European and American revolutionary theory, and its subsequent 15 years' practice of every form of revolutionary activity, legal, illegal, peaceful, stormy, open, underground, embracing small circles, and large masses, parliamentary and terrorist, is of unequalled richness" (p. 12). "And that the causes of the people's confidence in the Bolsheviks were the Bolsheviks' class-war spirit and devotion, their fusion with the masses, and their sound strategy, based on leading the masses to learn by experience" (p. 11).

Lenin contends that propaganda is totally insufficient, and experience indispensable, to make the workers of each country realise that its Labour Party cannot avail (p. 66).

That "the closest connection between the Communist Party and the Trades Unions . . . the welding of leaders, class, masses into one indissoluble whole," is necessary (pp. 23, 25). That "with the vanguard alone victory is impossible. It would be not only foolish, but criminal, to throw the vanguard into the final struggle so long as the whole class has not taken up a position either of direct support to the vanguard, or of benevolent neutrality" (p. 72). A Communist Party of nineteen governs the Communist Party of 611,000 members, from annual conference to annual conference:—which C.P. rests upon the Trades Unions of 4,000,000 members (pp. 22, 23).

That "not to work within reactionary Trades Unions means to abandon the backward workers" to what De Leon called "the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class." That Communists must "brave all difficul-

ties, attacks, insults, cavils, and persecutions," "must resort to strategy, adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence, and subterfuge," in order to permeate the Trade Unions (pp. 37, 39). The eagerness of the Labour mis-leaders to drive out Communists should show that, so far from running out, Communists must not submit to be driven out. It was futile of the Fabians to try to permeate the exploiters' Liberal Party, but it is indispensable for the Communists to permeate the Trade Unions of the exploited.

That though Parliament is historically outworn, Parliament is not politically outworn while millions of the workers believe in it (p. 40); that we must not mistake our wishes for political realities; that we must not only *testify* that Soviets are necessary, but *convince* the workers of the truth (p. 38).

That the Communist tactic is to boycott Parliament when the situation points to impending mass strikes leading to political strikes, thence to revolutionary strikes, thence to a rising; but the Communist tactic is to put up parliamentary candidates when there is no such prospect (p. 21). That we should "utilise the vacillations of the petit bourgeoisie" (p. 56) "and every opening offered by the Irish, Colonial, and world-imperialist policy of the British Government."

That, "if we are to carry the masses with us . . . we must compel Henderson and Snowden to defeat Lloyd George and Churchill, for the former are afraid of victory" (p. 66). That we should offer to form a bloc with the Labour Party, "we to retain full freedom of agitation, propaganda, and political activity, for without such freedom a bloc would be treason" (p. 67).

He reasonably argues that the masses are not doctrinaires, and that Englishmen can understand such bloc-formation, as Russians could understand (p. 69), and whose formation he sketches on p. 53. He fully anticipated the refusal of the Labour Party to form a bloc. He wanted the offer made by the Communist Party, that the Labour Party, by its refusal, might show itself up. It is a pity that the Communist Party of Great Britain should monopolise the credit of this showing up of the Labour Party.

That as much as mis-leaders need to be mistrusted and sacked, so much real class war leaders need to be trusted and obeyed, if only because of the necessary rapidity of the shifting from legal to illegal measures, which makes consultation between generals and rank and file a suicidally slow proceeding. The parliamentary arena is a capital sifter-out of incapable and unwilling "leaders" (p. 48). "Shall we," Lenin asks the no-compromisers, "on the difficult ascent of an unexplored and heretofore inaccessible mountain, renounce beforehand the idea that we might have to go by zig-zags?" (p. 52). "You wish to create a new society, and yet you fear the difficulties of forming within a reactionary parliament (and reactionary Trades Unions) a sound group (and groups) composed of convinced, devoted, heroic Communists! Is not this childish?" (p. 47).

British Parliamentary Communists have never put forward Lenin's case for parliamentarism. Hence I infer that they are not the utterly class-war, devoted, clear-sighted party that Lenin desires. He also wishes that the Western Communists who give praise to Bolshevik theory, would give study, likewise, to Bolshevik activities and adaptations, and the reasons for them.

Undoubtedly Lenin is right as regards work within Trades Unions. But is he also right as regards compelling the Labour Party to take office? Were Marx alive, I do not believe he would now hold that Socialism is inevitable. He proved the inevitable collapse of capitalism. But he never proved its non-succession by another form of exploitative society. And he believed the whole working class would revolt. But, even as Jack London prophesied in "The Iron

Heel," the organised workers have deserted the unorganised workers, and are out only for better conditions for themselves under an exploitative society. It is by no means clear because the Czardom could not tide itself over into a new form of exploitation, that therefore the capitalists and Labour mis-leaders of the United States, Britain, and France cannot join up to tide staggering Capitalism over into a new form of exploitation, monopolising the world's raw materials and armaments, crushing Russia, producing, as surplus, not commodities for export, but Wonder Cities for the masters, while making permanent slavish content by supplying mere Garden Cities and security for the organised workers, and rabbit hutches and security for the unorganised workers.

That being so, shall we say to the workers at every election: "You recognise that the Liberals and Tories who live on you won't give you a good life. We tell you also that the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class are either incapable of securing better conditions even for the strongly organised workers, or at best are able to secure them for the strongly organised workers only, and not for the weakly organised and unorganised. But you do not believe this. Therefore we urge you to return the Labour Party to power and convince yourselves by seeing—for seeing is your only road to conviction—that either they are incapable of bettering even the strongly organised workers, or able to better the conditions of the strongly organised workers only. We call on you to avoid the futility of boycotting the ballot-box, and the futility of spoiling your ballot papers with true remarks about Capitalism, the State, the Labour Party, the Soviets, the Bolsheviks, the Red Army. We call on you to return the Labour Party, that you may learn to know them by their deeds when in power. Show that the organised cannot have a better life under exploitation, or can have it only by help of the unorganised. And then we shall call on every unorganised and weakly organised worker, and every non-dastard organised worker, to join up for the final fight for the victory of the whole of the workers!"

Yes, I think we must give this counsel, even though dangerous. For I am convinced that propaganda is totally inadequate, and experience indispensable to conviction, even as Lenin contends.

At elections we could give this strong, ironical support of the Labour Party without spending funds on sending a few Communists to Parliament. Four Communist members, say for Tonypandy, Coventry, Manchester and Glasgow, are the utmost I see any value for. Why? Because parliamentary procedure and the boycott by the capitalist Press of Communists—and there is not one Communist daily paper—make attempted propaganda from Parliament a nullity. The advertisement of their being unseated, and re-elected by convinced electors, and serving the movement outside Parliament after re-election, is all the good of them that I can see. I wish Lenin would specify the services he conceives they could render under Parliamentary procedure and the Press boycott.

Lenin is a Machiavellian; but he is untruly called an opportunist. An opportunist is one who waits near the harbour for his own interest or the interest of his class.

Lenin's book is a golden book in its revelation of how huge is our task of organising the workers for Communism.

LIFE UNDER BOLSHEVISM.

Exhibition of Pictures from Soviet Russia.
HAMILTON HALL, Willesden Green.
Saturday, Dec. 18th, and Sunday, Dec. 19th, 2.10 p.m.

MR. G. SAUNDERS,
(United Vehicle Workers),

WILL OPEN THE EXHIBITION AT
3 p.m. Saturday.

Literature and copies of pictures on sale.
ADMISSION FREE : : COLLECTION.

BRANCH NOTES.

New Branch: Manchester Central.

Secretary E. A. Smith, 78, Slater Street, Oldham Road, Manchester. This group, by a unanimous vote, has decided to join our Party. It has existed for some time as an independent propaganda group, and already numbers 135 members. The branch proposes to take up the house-to-house campaign that has already proved such a valuable tactic to our Gorton and Manchester groups. Since its formation six months ago the group has carried on an intensive Communist propaganda and against parliamentary action. Will all comrades in the northern part of Manchester get in touch with the Secretary, to add power to the already strong push for Communism that is being made.

Gorton.

This Branch is very busy with the Communist Sunday School that has been started. In order that comrades may fully appreciate the method our Gorton comrades have used in setting up their school, we are reproducing the handbill our comrades have printed for mass distribution in their neighbourhood:—

INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

GORTON SECTION.

Fellow Workers.—The recent attacks by Mr. Martin Harvey upon Socialist Sunday Schools, encourage us to make it as widely known as possible that we are starting one at Gore Brook Hall, on Sunday, November 21st, at 2.30 p.m.

Our object is to try to make the children think about their position in Capitalist society, and to show them the way to build up a sane and more orderly system, in which all will be given a chance to do some socially useful work, and only those willing to do this work will receive the benefits which the new society can give.

The children who attend this Sunday School will not have their little heads stuffed with a lot of nonsense about what a fine time they will have when they are dead; they will be taught that it is better to make this world comfortable and happy, and let the next one look after itself. We will try to teach them the interesting parts of natural science, and Socialist songs and recitations, in fact, only such subjects that we know intelligent parents cannot disapprove.

Send your children along on the opening Sunday and we assure you they will want to come again. Give us a chance to undo some of the wrong that is done them at the day schools, which are controlled and run in the interest of our masters.

Adults are invited to attend our history and economics classes. History, Sunday at 8.30 p.m. Economics, Friday at 8 p.m.

Popular lectures on science, history, etc., every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

GORE BROOK HALL,

William Street, Knutsford Road, Gorton.

In addition to this Communist school work, the Branch has had lectures by Comrade Flood and Comrade McGee, the latter of the Manchester Labour College. His subject was: "Understanding—the Understanding." We hope our comrades enjoyed what was, probably for many of them, their first introduction to Joseph Dietzchen.

The Branch holds business meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m. Literature sales remain steady: four to five dozen "Dreadnoughts" weekly and about 15s. worth of other literature.

The Secretary of this live Branch is Comrade E. Redfern, Gore Brook Hall, Williams Street, Gorton, Manchester.

Hammersmith.

The Branch has discontinued its outdoor propaganda meetings for the winter. The results obtained by these meetings have not been too satisfactory. Whilst we held excellent meetings and had very appreciative audiences, for whom no oratory was too "red," the branch failed to attract a single

new party member through its outdoor propaganda. From the point of view of building up that organisation without which no revolution can ever hope to be carried through, such a result is very disappointing, and next season the Branch will more carefully consider the question of how far this diffuse propaganda serves useful purpose. Indoor meetings are held weekly at 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush, at 8 p.m., and the Branch Secretary, Comrade Minnie Birch, wants to build up a strong band of comrades through the winter to form a strong Communist nucleus for Hammersmith and Shepherds Bush. All enquirers welcome at meetings. All communications to Comrade Minnie Birch, 10, South Street, King Street, Hammersmith, W. 6.

Hull.

This Branch sends best wishes to all Comrades who are being persecuted by the Boss Class, and fully appreciates the stand they have taken in the great fight. Comrade Jackson, the Secretary, who takes a great interest in the American movement, says the wobblies over there are "sure raising hell re the parliamentary stunt." Good luck to them. All rebels know in their bones that no good ever has or ever can come from the parliamentary palaver. All enquiries re this live branch to Comrade F. Jackson, 62, Hawthorne Avenue, Hull.

Aldersham.

On hearing the delegates' report of the Cardiff Conference, this branch decided that they refuse to go to the January Conference bound in any way and prefer to wait for excommunication from Moscow rather than submit to parliamentary action at the dictates of a lot of job-hunters who are riding on the backs of the workers. They will accept the Thesis only as a basis for discussion. This branch of genuine rebels are now building up a good organisation. All enquiries to Comrade Jack Whinfield, 62, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.

Manchester.

This branch is also on the warpath, and have refused to allow their comrade, Frank Elder, to attend the convening committee for a united Conference held in Manchester for the 11th. They re-state their determination not to go to the January Conference bound in any way whatever. Their resolution on the matter is as follows: "We will accept the Theses as a basis for discussion, but will not accept them as a basis for joining up with the Unity Party." All communications for this Branch and for all Manchester divisional matters to Comrade Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.

South Shields.

The Secretary reports that four economic classes are established in the district for the miners, many of whom have a good grasp of the Communist position, but do not yet realise the necessity for forming a fighting class organisation apart from the industrial organisations.

The experiences of our comrades in Russia has shown conclusively that the Class War against the bourgeoisie must be waged on all fronts, and not merely on the industrial field, and that the class-conscious proletarians need to organise for class action among the co-operatives, for educating the young to Communism, and to spread the principles of Communism and Sovietism far outside the Trade Union lodge, and in many other fields.

No doubt when this is realised by our Durham Comrades, the South Shields Branch of our Party will grow to that strength and effectiveness that is necessary to effectively wage the class struggle. Sympathy with Soviet Russia is not enough. Join the Communist Party and become an active member of the Communist International. All local enquiries and applications for membership to Comrade J. Beadham, 18, Osborne Avenue, South Shields.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. NOTLE.

I went to the White City the other week. I would not have gone, but my Uncle Fitz—otherwise Fitzarthur—whisked me away in his Rolls Royce. It may be explained, Henry, that a Rolls Royce is a motor car; you will not perhaps have known one intimately unless it has biffed you in the behind when you are crossing a street in a fog you could almost strike matches on. Most people—and they are ignorant—call all motor cars just motor cars, but amongst the real elect, it is good form to say Rolls Royce—if you have one, or if your Uncle Fitz has one. This is to distinguish you from the common cheap-jack who rattles around in a Ford.

The White City isn't very white except in the whitewashy parts, and even these are about as clean as the yellow press. It was a Publicity Exhibition that was on. A publicist is a fellow who runs around telling people what really good stuff you have got. He is the fellow that puts up those posters about unbreakable gas-mantles, which fall to pieces as soon as you have followed the last item of the "Directions for Use."

My Uncle Fitz has some goods to sell, but it is not easy to sell them. The publicity expert heartily agreed with Uncle Fitz and offered to tell him all about it. He said that what Uncle Fitz wanted was a real publicity agent who knew how many lines of type go to the shilling and how many Henry Dubbs there were in Britain. It was quite simple. You had something to sell. Didn't matter what. Even if the public didn't want it. It was bound to sell. The agent said so, and he had it all over his circular that he was the best man in his line, and he ought to know, sure.

You just send out beautifully-printed circulars with a photo of yourself using the article which was being pushed. So simple, a child could use it on the cat when Ma wasn't looking. You just went on for four pages, to tell people that they weren't properly civilised or even alive, unless they had "Fitzarthur's Flossy Flops," which were a certain cure for indigestion and bunions. Then you put up some nice posters of healthy people who owed the colour on their cheeks to "Flossy Flops," and the printer's ink. Then people were sure to buy. It was, said the agent, a sort of Long-Distance Hypnotism.

Thousands of keen business men were using the new methods of Push & Co., the advertising—pardon, publicity experts. A business that didn't use publicity wasn't a business. It was a bust. You just invested your money in posters instead of improving "Flossy Flops" so that they would be less explosive to the indigestion. Then that which you cast upon the waters, came back to you after many days.

This convinced Uncle Fitz that the agent knew his religion, and that sealed it. There is really nothing like a few words from the Good Book, to seal a bargain. Unless it's a cigar. And much as I disliked the way the agent spoke of the public as a kind of purse with a hole in it, I admired his taste in cigars. When you have nothing else to put in your pocket, it's a good idea to put your pride in it. In this case I shoved it in my mouth and lit up.

Uncle came away with a feeling that he had as good as the price of a new Rolls Royce in his pocket. And I came away with an armful of free literature that—saving for its sentiments—was a thing of beauty and a joy for ever—until the next time.

Anyway, when I got home and turned them over and dug up a few pamphlets issued by our own cause, it seemed to me that the movement was going about it in the wrong way. Publicity agents spend the money first and send it out in the shape of two- and three-colour circulars on paper that almost melts in your heart. And as for the type, it is big enough to read without having to light an extra lamp or fiddling with the gas-mantle. And it pays, sure.

The movement prints on paper that no respectable barber would use in shaving, and then charges double for it.

What we want is not a Lenin, but an Uncle Fitzarthur. Maybe both. But Uncle Fitzarthur, anyway.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S NOTES.

The Trafalgar Square Demonstration.

In spite of the snow and fog, an enthusiastic party of diehards gathered at the Square on Sunday for the mass protest meeting arranged on behalf of our sentenced propagandists.

Comrade E. Thomas acted as chairman, and was followed by Comrades Victor Beauchamp, Harry Pollitt, Arthur Siffleet, E. W. Cant, and Melvina Walker. Comrades D. Maguire and R. Bishop, who were also in attendance, were unable to speak owing to closure being applied by the Sunset regulations. Comrade Pollitt gave some very telling extracts from speeches of ex-cabinet ministers and others, dealing specially with lamp-posts, in which he proved that our Comrade Malone had most excellent precedent for the language he used about lamp-posts and cabinet ministers. The examination of our Comrade Pollitt's speech should prove very entertaining reading for the men of M.I.5. at Scotland Yard.

Cash to the amount of £4 1s. 8d. was donated to the plinth for the benefit of the Defence and Maintenance Fund of our sentenced comrades. This was a splendid sum in view of the absences owing to the weather, and there is little doubt that had we had fine weather, at least £20 would have resulted.

The Defence Fund.

Those who stayed away on Sunday are asked to send along their donations for Comrades Steele and Harvey to Edgar T. Whitehead, 8, Sinclair Gardens, London, W. 14. Before our victimised comrades are through with this business and able to again support their dependants, a great deal of cash will be needed.

Bro. S. Williams, of Wandsworth, has set a splendid example by issuing an appeal sheet to his workmates: "Fellow Workmates,—I am making this appeal to you on my own initiative with the object of trying to help the dependants of Bro. J. Steele, a Communist speaker, who is a sincere exponent of Socialism, and is under sentence of four months hard labour for repeating the words of ex-Colonel Malone, M.P., uttered at the Albert Hall." This appeal resulted in an addition of 5s. 6d. to the funds. I feel confident that if all those who have heard and benefited by our comrades' fearless propaganda in Hyde Park and elsewhere during the last months would show the same spirit of class solidarity, Comrade Steele would at least have the satisfaction of knowing that whilst he is picking oakum for his share in the fight, his dependants will not go hungry.

Notice to Branches.

The following resolutions were carried at the Cardiff Conference. Branches are requested to note these decisions:—

1. "That the Party gives its active support to the International Proletarian School Movement by starting schools wherever a Communist branch exists."—Carried unanimously.

"In starting a Communist Sunday School, branches should get into touch with Comrade T. Islwyn Nicholas, Shamrock Road, Alexandria Road, Aberystwyth, the General Secretary of the I.P.S.M., British Section, who will give all advice and assistance possible relative to starting a school.

2. "That no unemployed comrade is liable for Party dues, and that the branch decides in each case whether a comrade comes within the terms of this exemption. No disqualification attaches to non-payment under such exemption. Each branch to be responsible to the centre for the payment of full dues of all branch members, whether unemployed or not."

3. "That any branch thirteen weeks in arrears with dues to centre, the Executive shall then discuss the matter as to whether the branch shall be struck off the Party roll."

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: Threepence.

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.

COMMUNIST UNITY ORGANISATION

Manifesto on Revolutionary Unity.

To all Communists.

Comrades,—We address this statement and appeal to you in the hope of clearing away for all time those differences of opinion which have served to keep us apart in the past, thereby preventing the consolidation of the revolutionary forces in this country.

It is not our purpose either to explain or justify those differences, but simply to record the fact that our task has been much simplified by the decisions of the recent Congress of the Third International. Those decisions prescribe for the world movement the basis upon which such efforts as ours should be founded, and constitute a clear and definite demand that a united Communist Party shall be established in Britain.

To this end, the following organisations have assented to the proposal for the formation of a united Party, and have elected representatives on the above committee: Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Labour Party, Communist Party (B. S.T.I.), National Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee (in a consultative capacity), and the Left Wing group of the I.L.P. (in an informative capacity).

This committee has set about its task and has held its preliminary conference. We appreciate that the heartiest co-operation is essential if the united Party is to contain all the features which mark a real, live, revolutionary organisation. To this end we seek much assistance, and urge that all groups and bodies not yet in touch with the proceedings should communicate at once with the secretary, when the fullest information will be supplied. In the meantime, we would counsel the closest observance of what is being done, thus ensuring that when the National Convention is called, about the end of January, the results will more than justify the hopes we place in that convention.—(Signed), Arthur Macmanus and Albert Inkpin, Communist Party of Great Britain; J. V. Leckie and John McLean, Communist Labour Party; Dick Beech and T. Watkins, Communist Party (B.S.T.I.)

All communications and enquiries respecting the Communist Unity Convention should be addressed to Albert Inkpin, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C. 2.

COMMUNIST UNITY.

In accordance with instructions issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International for the establishment of a united Communist Party in Britain that would include all elements adhering to the Communist International, a preliminary meeting for this purpose was held in Manchester on Saturday and Sunday last. Those present were Arthur Macmanus and Albert Inkpin, representing the Communist Party of Great Britain; J. V. Leckie and John McLean, representing the Communist Labour Party; and Dick Beech and T. Watkins, representing the Communist Party (B. S.T.I.). T. Kims and George Peet were present in a consultative capacity from the National Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee, and E. N. Brown and J. R. Wilson attended in an informative capacity from the Left Wing group of the I.L.P.

After a preliminary discussion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.

Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.

Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.

Saturdays, at Hanover Park, Rye Lane, at 7.30.

Sundays, Peckham Rye, at 11 a.m.

Willesden.

Manor Park Road, Fridays.

Birmingham.

Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday

at 7 p.m.

Barking.

Near Barking Station. Sundays, at 6.30 p.m. Communist speakers.

Mrs. MELVINA WALKER'S MEETINGS.

Osborne Street. Sunday, 19th, at 11.45.

Beckton Road, Canning Town. Monday, 20th, at 7.30.

Lewisham Market Place. Sunday, 21st, 7.30.

JANET GROVES.

St. Stephen Road, Bow. Friday, 24th, at 7 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 Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poplar.

20, 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.

Branch meetings held Fridays, at 8 p.m., at 154,

Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Barking.

Thursdays, at 8 p.m. At "Glenhurst," Ripple Road,

Barking, E.

Stepney.

Branch meetings held Thursdays, at 8 p.m., at the

I.S.C., 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1.

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.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

RUSSIAN CLASS (in Olive Beamish's Office), 93,

Bishopsgate, on Fridays, 7—8 p.m. For terms

apply Mrs. BOUVIER, 32, Mount Pleasant Road,

Lewisham.

"This meeting of directly appointed representatives of the Executive Committees of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Communist Labour Party, and the Communist Party (B.S.T.I.), affirms the adoption by their respective organisations of the Statutes, Theses, and Conditions of Affiliation of the Communist International. Accepting the instructions of the Central Executive Committee regarding the establishment of one Communist Party for Britain on the basis of the Theses of the Communist International, those present record the willingness of their Executives to take immediate steps to carry this instruction into effect for the merging of their respective organisations in a united Communist Party."

The National Convention for the establishment of the united Communist Party was fixed to take place in Leeds on Saturday and Sunday, January 29th and 30th, 1921. The Committee is now engaged in making the detailed arrangements for the Convention.

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