

The Lock-out: From Workshop Committees!

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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THE GERMAN SITUATION.

BETRAYAL OF THE RAILWAY STRIKERS.

A great strike of railway workers has just closed, and the Berlin municipal workers' strike has failed.

Only the Communist Workers' Party and the Revolutionary Workers' Union did their duty to the proletariat, by issuing a general public appeal for an immediate general strike to overthrow the Government and take over the means of production.

The Executives of the Trade Unions, the Right and Left Socialists, and the Communists all strove to suppress the revolutionary spirit of the toiling masses, whom want and privation are making desperate.

To Re-Build the Fatherland.

The Versailles Peace Treaty is, in this country, as everywhere else, made the basis for the Stinnes policy of economic enslavement. It is pretended that this is absolutely necessary for the rebuilding of the country's prosperity. The prosperity of the country is, of course, synonymous with the prosperity of Capitalism. The various groups of international capitalists are perfectly able to settle their differences between themselves, provided the toiling masses are kept in subjection to the master class and forced to live under still more cruel conditions than those prevailing before the war.

The Trade Union and Social Democratic Party leaders who, before the war, acted as the cat's-paws of the capitalist class, now serve in the same manner by telling the workers that the first necessity is a thorough re-building of the Fatherland. Not only the majority Socialists and their Trade Union following, but also the Independents and their Trade Union supporters preach bourgeois reconstruction, though they also do lip service to the class war and call for a "pure" Socialist Government. The K.P.D. (the Right-Wing-Parliamentary Communists) tells the workers that its aim and tactics are revolutionary, but its action (which is dictated by Moscow) is directed towards the re-introduction of Capitalism in Russia and to establishing intimate and friendly relations between the Soviet Government and the great capitalists of all countries, including Germany.

Moved by this policy, it is quite obvious that the Third International Communists must refrain from using unconstitutional means of realising the Proletarian Revolution, and, on the contrary, must confine themselves to opportunist reformist objects and tactics, in the economic, as well as in the political field.

The Third International Communists still confine themselves to the idiotic policy of "boring from within" the Trade Unions, although it has entirely failed them. The last two strikes show the bankruptcy of this policy.

The "Red" and "Yellow" Unions.

The railway strike was declared by the National Union of Railway Workers (Reichsgewerkschaft der Eisenbahner). This organisation, on its own admission, has been practically a "Yellow" Union hitherto. It is largely manned by the aristocracy of Labour in the railway world. Nevertheless, as the leaders of the so-called "Red" Union, the Railway Workers' Union (the Eisenbahner-verbund) could not be induced to consent to a general strike of railway workers; the so-called "Yellow" Union of the higher-placed railway workers took the initiative in striking.



"MY NEXT MOVE: LONGER HOURS AND LOWER WAGES."

Most of the engine drivers and firemen belong to the "Yellow" Union, the so-called "Reds" were thrown out with them. The leaders of the "Red" Union therefore saved their faces by supporting the strike, whilst protesting that it was groundless, and complaining they had not been informed when it would begin.

Striking Declared Illegal.

"Comrade" Ebert and his Chancellor, Wirth, at once issued a proclamation that railway workers are State officials, and that striking by them is a breach of the Republican constitution. The railwaymen were ordered to return to their work, on pain of dismissal and severe punishments.

The Social Democratic Police President, is still a member of the so-called "Red" Metal Workers' Union. He proceeded to arrest certain

leaders of the striking Reichsgewerkschaft and to confiscate their funds, as well as those of some of the Municipal Workers' organisations, who were also on strike.

Such repressive measures did not induce the "Yellow" Union to resume work. The strike had now become a rank and file movement.

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THE WAGE SYSTEM.

II.

Unequal Wages.

Let us examine more closely this system for the remuneration of labour, as set forth by the English, French, German and Italian Collectivists.

It comes very much to this: Every one works, be it in the fields, in factories, in schools, in hospitals or what not. The working-day is regulated by the State, to which belong the soil, factories, means of communication and all the rest.

Each worker, having done a day's work, receives a labour note, stamped, let us say, with these words: "Eight hours of labour." With this note he can procure any sort of goods in the shops of the State, or the various corporations. The note is divisible in such a way that one hour's worth of meat, ten minutes' worth of matches, or half-an-hour's worth of tobacco can be purchased. Instead of saying, "two penny-worth of soap," after the Collectivists' Revolution, they will say, "Five minutes' worth of soap."

Most Collectivists, faithful to the distinction established by the middle-class economists (and Marx also) between qualified (skilled) and simple (unskilled) labour, tell us that qualified or professional toil should be paid a certain number of times more than simple toil. Thus, one hour of the doctor's work should be considered as equivalent to two or three hours of the work of the nurse, or three hours of that of the navvy. "Professional or qualified labour will be a multiple of simple labour," says the Collectivist Greenland, because this sort of labour demands a longer and shorter apprenticeship.

Equal Wages.

Other Collectivists, the French Marxists, for example, do not make this distinction. They proclaim "equality of wages." The doctor, the schoolmaster and the professor will be paid (in labour notes) at the same rate as the navvy. Eight hours spent in walking the hospitals will be worth the same as eight hours spent in navvy's work, or in the mine or the factory.

Unpleasant Work.

Some make a further concession; they admit that disagreeable or unhealthy labour, such as work in the sewers, should be paid at a higher

rate than work which is agreeable. One hour of service in the sewers may count, they say, for two hours of the labour of the professor.

Trade Societies.

Let us add that certain Collectivists advocate the wholesale remuneration of trade societies. Thus, one society may say: "Here are a hundred tons of steel. To produce them, one hundred workers of our society have taken ten days; as our day consists of eight hours, that makes eight thousand hours of labour for one hundred tons of steel: eighty hours a ton." Upon which the State will pay them eight thousand labour notes of one hour each, and these eight thousand notes will be distributed among the fellow workers in the foundry, as seems best to themselves.

Or again, if one hundred miners have spent twenty days in hewing eight thousand tons of coal, the coal will be worth two hours a ton, and the sixteen thousand labour notes, for one hour each, received by the miners' Union will be divided amongst them as they think fair.

If there be disputes: if the miners protest and say that a ton of steel ought to cost six hours instead of eight; or if the professor rate his day twice as high as the nurse; then the State must step in and regulate their differences.

Modified Private Property.

Such, in a few words, is the organisation which the Collectivists desire to see arising from the Social Revolution. As we have seen, their principles are: collective property in the instruments of labour, and remuneration of each worker according to the time spent in productive toil, taking into account the productivity of his work. As for their political system, it would be Parliamentary rule, ameliorated by the change of men in power, the imperative mandate, and the referendum—i.e., the general vote of Yes or No upon questions submitted to the popular decision.

Now we must at once say that this system seems to us absolutely incapable of realisation.

The Collectivists begin by proclaiming a revolutionary principle—the abolition of private property—and, as soon as proclaimed, they deny it by maintaining an organisation of production and consumption springing from private property.

They proclaim a revolutionary principle and ignore the consequences it must necessarily bring

about. They forget that the very fact of abolishing individual property in the instruments of production (land, factories, means of communication, capital) must cause society to set out in a new direction; that it must change production from top to bottom; change not only its methods, but its ends; that all the everyday relations between individuals must be modified as soon as land, machinery and the rest are considered as common possessions.

They say: "NO private property"; and immediately they hasten to maintain private property in its everyday forms. "For productive purposes you are a Commune," they say; "the fields, the tools, the machinery, all that has been made up to this day—manufactures, railways, wharves, mines—belong to all of you in common. Not the slightest distinction will be made concerning the share of each one in this collective property."

Weighing Out Shares.

"But from to-morrow you are minutely to discuss the part that each one of you is to take in making the new machines, digging the new mines. From to-morrow you are to endeavour to weigh exactly the portion which will accrue to each one from the new produce. You are to count your minutes of work; you are to be on the watch, lest one moment of your neighbour's toil may purchase more than yours."

"You are to calculate your hours and your minutes of labour, and since the hour measures nothing—since in one factory a workman can watch four looms at once, whilst in another he only watches two, you are to weigh the muscular force, the energy of the brain, the energy of nerve expended. You are scrupulously to count up the years of apprenticeship, that you may value precisely the share of each one amongst you in the production of the future. And all this, after you have declared that you leave entirely out of your reckoning the share he has taken in the past."

It is evident to us that a society cannot organise itself upon two absolutely opposing principles, two principles which contradict each other at every step. The nation or the Commune which should give to itself such an organisation would be forced, either to return to private property, or else to transform itself immediately into a Communist society.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY.

A long Thesis recently appeared in the Moscow *Pravda*, on the subject of the United Front, now being advocated by the Third International.

It is a striking example of the tortuous and unclear methods which have unfortunately become typical of the Third International, and are justified by it on the score that such methods were employed by the Russian Bolshevik Party in the days of its weakness.

The Thesis declares that the working masses of the world were, half a year ago, moving to the Right, but are now moving to the Left. The masses, it is said, have grown to trust the Communists and have lost faith in Reformism; but, nevertheless, the masses "are being moved by an unprecedented attraction for Unity." Therefore the Communists are to throw in their lot with the Second and Amsterdam Internationals; for, though the masses despise those Internationals, and trust the Communists, the masses will stick to those they despise.

That is curious reasoning: is it not? It is better to admit frankly that the masses do not yet desire Communism.

The Thesis insists that it is just to please the masses that the Communists are to link up with the old Reformist leaders. Whilst uniting with the Reformists, the Communists must continue to abuse them.

Meanwhile, says the Thesis, the Reformists will continue to betray the masses. Nevertheless the Communists must unite with the betrayers.

The French Communists have the majority of the politically organised workers in their Party. Nevertheless they are to unite with the Reformists, says the Thesis, but they are not to form an electioneering bloc with the Reformists, though the British Communists, because they are few in numbers, must do so, if the Reformists will allow them, of course.

The Communists are to support Labour Reformist Governments and to join them, if they get the chance. The Swedish Communists are to support Branting, the Social Democrat, who, the Thesis says, "is also Prime Minister for the Swedish Bourgeoisie."

The Thesis says that the German Right Wing Communists are justified in supporting the Reformist Governments of Thuringia and Saxony. At the same time the Thesis repeats: "The more power the Mensheviks possess, the greater will be their betrayal of the working class."

The Communist Parties, the Thesis says, must impose upon themselves united action with the Reformist betrayers, but retain their liberty to condemn in words, "even during action."

All this repetitious verbiage is merely camouflage to cover the retreat into the camp of Reformism. Deeds are immeasurably more important than words. On the platform of every party are to be found people who make advanced speeches, but who, when it comes to action, are always reactionary. The test of "deeds, not words," is the only safe one to apply to those who come forward in the guise of social saviours.

Again and again the manifesto calls for unity with the Anarcho-Syndicalists. Under this title they include all who believe in Communism and the proletarian revolution, who are prepared to go further than the Third International Executive and its Right-Wing-Parliamentary adherents. This instruction will only be obeyed by the national Right-Wing-Communist Parties, in so far as they can use the advanced elements whilst maintaining their own domination over them; but that is precisely what Moscow intends. Otherwise the proposal to unite with the Anarchists would be altogether out of keeping with the persecution of Anarchists in Russia. It would also be inconsistent with the expulsion of Left Wing Communists by Right Wing Communist Parties in this country and others, notably in Germany, where there is a campaign of expulsion against those who fought in the Ruhr uprising in March, 1920.

The Unity Front Thesis is a deplorable document. We should prefer a frank statement, which would be in accordance with the facts, that the Russian Soviet Government and those under its influence have abandoned the struggle for the International Proletarian Revolution and are devoting their attention to the capitalist development of Soviet Russia.

CAPITAL.

By KARL MARX.

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Whilst the Russian Soviet Government was the target of capitalist abuse, Communists all over the world long refrained from criticism. In this country the Soviet Government and the leaders of the Communist Party have been widely eulogised. Now that the chorus of praise is swelled by the bourgeois politician, now that the Soviet Government has introduced a "new economic policy" of reversion to old Capitalism, now that Tchitcherine, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Government is praising the policy of Lloyd George; and Lenin and his colleagues are going to negotiate with the Capitalist Powers at Genoa, we think it time that the case should be considered, of those Russian workers who declare that the proletarian revolution is being betrayed.

The following article by a Russian comrade has been translated from "Le Libéraire." The comrade, who was long resident in France, but expelled during the war, is well known to "Le Libéraire." The writer has watched events as a resident of Russia, not as a visitor. Though the article perhaps contains some exaggerations, it deserves attention.

I.

The revolution of October was not the outcome of the traditional principles of Marx, for Russia bore little resemblance to a country where, according to Marx, the concentration of the means of production and the socialisation of the instruments of labour had attained such a degree that they can no longer be contained in a capitalist framework, which gives way.

In Russia the framework gave way unexpectedly; it broke down in a country little developed economically and technically; in a country where the means of production were only feebly concentrated, with little organised transport, with a weak middle class, with a numerous peasantry, preponderating in its economic influence; in a country where it seemed there could be no question of antagonism between the growth of the powers of production and a capitalist system which had reached its culminating point. In the external and internal conditions in which Russia found herself in 1917, there was a series of exceptional circumstances which provoked the general collapse of her productive system.

"Russia," wrote Lenin, with justice, "could very easily begin the Social Revolution, given her very exceptional situation in 1917."

The conditions favourable to the Social Revolution were:—

- (1) The possibilities of combining the watchwords of the Social Revolution with the cessation of the Imperialist war, which caused an extraordinary tension and weariness among the masses;
- (2) the possibility of remaining—at least, for a time, after having got out of the war—outside the sphere of influence of European Imperialist groups, which were continuing the war and mutually exhausting themselves thereby;
- (3) the possibility, during this short lapse of time, of beginning the work of internal organisation;
- (4) the exceptionally favourable position of Russia from the point of view of her vast extent and her feeble means of transport, which makes the aggression of European Imperialism difficult;
- (5) the same condition, favourable in the case of a civil war;
- (6) finally, the possibility of immediately satisfying the principal demands of the revolutionary peasantry, in spite of the profound divergence between the democratic watchwords of the peasants and the Socialist programme of the party which seized power.

Moreover, revolutionary Russia had passed through the great experience of 1905, when the revolution was crushed by the autocracy, precisely because it attempted to be a political revolution only, and consequently its watchwords could neither rouse the peasants, nor the majority of the proletariat.

The Imperialist world-war showed the bankruptcy of the democratic system, and prepared the vast popular movement which, in its essence, could be nothing else than the Social Revolution.

It seized the land from the great landowners. In the same way it seized the factories, the workshops, the mines, and the means of production. It drove out, or even exterminated, the most noxious, most hated, most dangerous representatives of authority. In short, by a powerful revolutionary effort, it freed itself for all forms of political and economic growth.

The Social Revolution was already beginning in the depths of Russia when the Revolution of October 1917, broke out in the capital. The Communist Party, which from the outset wanted dictatorship and was preparing it, cleverly adapted itself to the conditions. It threw overboard the democratic watchwords of the Social Revolution, in order to get the movement of the masses into its hands.

During the actual development of the Revolution, it gave certain principles and methods of Anarchist-Communism, i.e., anti-Parliamentarism, direct action, the expropriation of the middle classes, the seizure of all means of production, the system of the workers' and peasants' councils, etc., etc. Moreover, the Communist Party did not flinch before the most extensive demagoguery, making use of the popular watchwords of the movement: "Down with the War," "All Power to the Workers," "All the Land to the Peasants," etc., etc.

This mode of action and this demagoguery had a great influence in hastening the revolutionary process.

Though to "begin" the revolution was easy, its development and establishment took place in very difficult circumstances.

Difficulties were created by the necessity of sustaining a simultaneous struggle on several fronts against the Imperialist agents and adventurers. Only since the liquidation of Wrangel, with the decisive aid of Makhno's partisans, has there been an end to external intervention in the affairs of the country.

The internal situation has been no less complicated. The disorganisation of transport, economic ruin, unemployment, famine, the relatively feeble organisation of the proletariat; the antagonism of the peasants' economic ideals, the psychology of the petty proprietor, hostile to the Soviet regime; the sabotage, partly voluntary and partly forced; of the Soviet institutions on the part of the technical intellectuals; the ignorance of the chiefs of the Communist Party, and their lack of practical sense.

The most influential groups of the proletariat, in the industrial centre, although small in numbers, and little developed from the point of view of culture, admitted the possibility of applying purely Communist methods. The peasants, powerful through their numbers and their preponderating influence in a country economically ruined, looked with distrust, and even hatred, on every attempt of State Communism to control and take over their economic activity. Finally, there was a group of petty-bourgeois, numerous and influential enough in the sense of their hold on public opinion. In these groups entered anomalous elements; the remains of the upper middle class, the specialists, the petty employers, the technicians. We must also add the State officials, who have now adapted themselves to the Bolshevik power, the occupants of high posts, corrupted by authority, and, finally, those who, being unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions, were literally dying of hunger. This group provided approximately 70 per cent. of all the Soviet officials. Naturally each group looked at and considered the Revolution from its own standpoint; and, according to its interests, reacted to the activity of the Revolutionary Government.

All these antagonisms served, necessarily, as a source of the counter-revolution; not of an uprising or conspiracy, but of a monstrous spasm of the country, which brought about simultaneously two world cataclysms—the war and the Social Revolution.

Thus, the Communist Party, which appropriated to itself the rôle of dictator, was up against a task of unprecedented difficulty. It did not,

however, recoil before these difficulties, and in that, consists its great and historical merit. In spite of antagonisms, in spite, perhaps, of the lack of its objective conditions for a social revolution, it was too late to drive out the unexpected guest and to wait for a more favourable time.

Only the blind and the reactionary could imagine that the revolution could have happened otherwise. The revolution was not, and could not have been the mechanical product of a human will. It was an organic process, determined by the needs of the people.

The old economic regime was no longer possible, for its internal economic logic was in complete contradiction to the interests of free collectivity. It allowed no place for the initiative of Labour. The only sound and right way of saving the revolution from outside enemies, of disembarassing it from the antagonisms which rent it, of deepening and widening it, would have been a direct appeal to the creative initiative of the labouring masses.

These masses, who for centuries carried on their shoulders untold burdens, could alone, in their unexampled revolutionary impulse, find a sure way to create a new society.

Educated, during years of underground life, in a peculiar social philosophy, where an ardent faith in the social revolution is united with no less fanatical faith in State centralisation, the Bolsheviks have elaborated a whole theory of the necessity—in order to prepare and conduct the revolution—of organising a peculiar general staff (of the type of a conspiracy), composed almost exclusively of the theorists of the movement, armed with dictatorial powers. This staff, in advance of its own forces, elaborates what it calls the aspirations of the proletarian class. Thus, the characteristic of Bolshevik psychology is distrust of the masses, who, according to the convictions of the Bolsheviks, left alone, might not have been able to arrive as far as Trade Unionism. Thus the appeal to the creative genius of the masses was not made. The masses, the Bolsheviks declare, are ignorant and corrupted by centuries of slavery; they are of a motley composition, and, side by side with the revolutionary advance-guard, are found many indifferent and cunning profiteers.

"Proletarian coercion," writes Bukharin, the Communist theorist, "from the fusillade to compulsory labour, is, paradoxical as it may seem, the way to elaborate a Communist humanity, out of the human material of a capitalist epoch."

It is this doctrine, approved by the Communist Party, which has become the basis of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Already, at the outset of the revolution, in 1918, when Lenin elaborated for the country the detailed economic programme, the rôles of the Communist Party and of the people in the revolution were rigidly defined: on the one side the material, the herded people; on the other, the Communist Party, which organises, administers and directs all. In the whole country there can be only one indisputable source of truth—it is the State. But the Communist State in its essence is the Dictatorship of its Central Committee. Every citizen is, before all else, the servant of the State; its functionary who, voluntarily or not, carries out the will of his master. All FREE INITIATIVE OF THE INDIVIDUAL OR OF THE GROUP IS CATEGORICALLY ANNIHILATED IN THE STATE.

The Soviets become sections of the ruling party. Sovietist institutions: lifeless departments, offices transmitting the will of the centre to all its multiple departments.

All the products of life must be stamped by the governing party; all the rest is considered useless, harmful, and dangerous; and this barack system, energetically supported by the bayonet, subjugates the whole social life without stopping before the monstrous squandering of human energies.

By declaring: "The State, it is I!" the Bolshevik dictatorship has taken upon itself all the historic and moral responsibility of the revolution. In killing the collective initiative, it could only count henceforward on its own initiative.

By what means does the Bolshevik dictatorship think to consolidate the Social Revolution? (continued on page 7).

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THE LOCK-OUT.

If the demands of the shipbuilding and engineering employers are to be resisted by the workers, the workers must organise in their workshops independently of the Union leaders. They must organise to take whatever means may be necessary for the prosecution of their struggle, without regard to the ban of old-time officials, who are lovers of industrial peace between employers and employed.

If the shipbuilding and engineering workers intend to resist the employers in this fight, they must see to it that they are not left to fight alone, as the railwaymen were left by them in 1919 and the miners in 1921.

Let there not be another *Black Friday*, if the engineering and shipbuilding workers decide to resist the employers in this fight.

If the workers do not resist the present proposals of the employers, they will presently be faced with still harsher proposals. At least one of the traitors in the Labour organisations is indicating with approval the employers' next move in the fight to depress working class conditions in the interests of big business.

W. A. Appleton is still secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions. It has become a by-word that he has leagued himself with the employers. It is said he is no longer regarded with any confidence in the Labour world: yet he retains his official position. In his current quarterly report he voices the opinions of the employers, saying:—

"The cost of production and transport must be brought to a point which will meet the world's poverty."

The working class movement pays for the issuing of such reports, remember.

Appleton insinuates in his report that "circumstances" and "strict justice" do not permit the adoption of the eight-hour day and the rejection of the shift system, by which a worker can be employed without restriction or greater cost to the employer at night, or during any hours the employer may select.

Appleton advocates payment of labour by results, as a part of the programme for reducing costs.

He further plays the game of the employers by declaring that a community which gives the unemployed twice as much per week as the craftsman can earn in competitive industry, is inviting industrial and moral destruction. "Hear! Hear!" cry the employers and their trade journals, hailing Mr. Appleton as an intelligent and broad-minded Labour leader; but if the unemployed were really getting more than the craftsman in employment, the proposal to give the unemployed full Trade Union wages for relief work would not be regarded as a wild cat cry: it would be an accomplished fact.

The employers' journal, *Siren and Shipping*, draws an appalling picture of the stagnation in the ship-yards. Not a single vessel was launched from the Tyne in January, no such blank month has been known since 1883. Ten thousand workers were idle in Barrow-in-Furness, and the number would increase, as the only ship Messrs. Vickers were at work on was almost completed. At Greenock, Kincaids had given notice to close a part of their engineering works. At Belfast, Harland and Wolff had decided to reduce the outworking allowances in the shipyards to the pre-war rate. No new orders were being booked: every launch was leaving an empty

berth. At Port Glasgow, Colonel Lithgow was employing men on ship-breaking at wages lower than the unemployment dole.

Yet, where shipbuilding work is going on, there is no evidence of penury on the part of the capitalist. No economies are being practiced. The *Conte Rosso*, a new Atlantic passenger steamer, which has just been built by Beardmore's of Dalmuir, on the Clyde, seems to be more gorgeous in its furnishing and decorations than any liner which has preceded it. "Nothing in the way of cost has been spared," it is said, and the sister ship of the *Conte Rosso*, the *Conte Verdi*, is to be even more magnificent.

The rich are undoubtedly preparing for greater riches, for greater luxury and grandeur. They intend to achieve a more monstrous splendour by wringing more work from the toilers, and allowing the labourer to consume less of what his labour produces.

In all this depression, which brings the workers to the point of starvation, the employers are merely making a corner in employment, in order to secure an abundance of starvation-cheap labour and bigger profits. The ship-owners are losing no money meanwhile. The Court Line, for the year 1921, paid a dividend of 20 per cent. Sir Walter Runciman, in forming the new Moor Line Company the other day, reminded the hopeful shareholders that when the old Moor Line was wound up a little while ago, they got £150 for every £10 share they held, after drawing a handsome dividend year by year.

To make up for the loss of the markets now supplied by German indemnity coal, British coal owners are determined to capture markets from America. The Department of Commerce at Washington has issued a statement complaining that British coal, especially South Wales coal, is being sold at less than cost price. Because of this, British coal exports have increased, whilst American have decreased, and Britain is making shipments to the West Indies, a market that was held exclusively by America for 20 years. South Wales coal is proceeding in growing quantities to Honolulu and the Pacific Coast. American coal owners are preparing to reduce the miners' wages by 31 per cent. in order that they may compete with the starving miners of South Wales, who are collapsing in the pits for lack of food, and whose wives and children are pleading with the Guardians for Poor Law Relief. How grimly hideous is this world-wide exploitation.

When will the workers break down the barriers which shut them out from a life worth living?

Across the stage of the grim tragedy come the foolish glass coaches of Royal Weddings.

THE IRISH REVOLUTION.

IRISH OFFICIAL LABOUR PARTY VOTES FOR PEACE.

Labour in Ireland had broadly two policies open to it: either to settle down in amity with Irish Capitalism, as though the world can never change, or to maintain the revolutionary ferment which has been generated by the struggle with British Imperialism. Obviously the revolutionary course was the right one. Obviously the proper course for Labour was to prevent the country from simmering down into a contented Capitalism, to use the revolutionary ferment to carry the people onwards towards the Communist Republic.

High hopes that universal well-being would result from Ireland's hard-won independence of Britain have been planted in the hearts of the masses by every shade of Sinn Fein agitator. Labour might have based its demands on such hopes and pledges, insisting that Ireland should establish the Workers' Republic for which Connolly and his comrades gave their lives.

"We want the Republic of Easter Week," is a cry that could not fail to arouse enthusiasm in Ireland, since the Easter martyrs and their Republican declaration were the founders of the great Sinn Fein movement which has astonished the world.

Whilst working to maintain the state of ferment, Irish Labour might have backed De Valera in an unconditional repudiation of a place

in the British Empire, and in his vague Document II, with its mild talk of co-operation as a step towards a further advance as the situation developed.

Better still, Labour might have built its own independent revolutionary movement working directly for a Soviet Republic.

In any case Labour should have prepared the Irish Soviets and kept flying the Red Flag of Communism.

The Irish Labour Party has chosen the path of peace. Its Executive report, which has just been adopted by a special Congress, states that though Irish aspirations "still remain" unsatisfied, "the people of three-fourths of Ireland" are placed "in a position to govern themselves, in respect of ninety-nine hundredths of their individual day to day affairs, from the cradle to the grave." The report further states:

"Labour joined with the rest of the community in placing authority in the hands of the men and women who composed the Dail: it was content to entrust the Revolutionary Government with the struggle for political freedom. . . . We believe that the members of the Dail, both minority and majority, according to their best judgment, have fulfilled their trust faithfully. Those whom we trusted and who were best able to weigh the forces on either side, arrived at a certain conclusion. They decided that the terms of peace were the best that could be obtained in the circumstances."

In those words the Irish Labour Party has declared for the Downing Street Treaty and against De Valera and those more extreme than he, who demand complete independence of Britain.

Nevertheless, by 128 votes to 12, the Congress demanded that a Plebiscite be taken for or against the Treaty, before the elections are held for the Free State Parliament.

The Red Republic Abandoned.

The fight for Connolly's Workers' Republic as an immediate objective, was also definitely abandoned, firstly by the Executive, secondly by the Congress in adopting the Executive Report. The Report says:

"In the course of the struggle to obtain ultimate social, political, and economic freedom, Labour must demand and work for many ameliorative reforms."

Then follows the usual series: work for the unemployed, reduction of the cost of living, government food stores, compulsory tillage of a minimum proportion of land, moratorium for rent and land purchase annuities, housing reforms, railway nationalisation, education reform, medical supervision of school children, school meals, a national banking system, pensions for destitute mothers on account of children under 16 years.

By 112 votes to 28, it was decided to run Labour candidates, and by 104 votes to 49, the Executive's election policy was also approved.

In Ireland, as everywhere else, the party which strives to emancipate the workers from Capitalism is compelled to break away from the main body of the Labour movement, which its members have helped to create.

Communists everywhere must go out empty to build a new party on a new foundation. The old Labour Parties were built for palliative reforms. For new ideals a new movement must be created.

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THE AXE TO THE ROOT

By JAMES CONNOLLY.

New Edition, 8d.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

OUR POLICY AND THE COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

We take no part in the L.C.C. elections. We promote no candidatures for the London County Councils.

We say to the workers: you will never achieve your emancipation through such bodies. Parliament will not bring about Communism; only the workers themselves can do that. The L.C.C., the Borough Councils and the Boards of Guardians are bodies subsidiary to Parliament: they are purely administrative, with little power except to work the machinery set up by Parliament within the limits prescribed by Government Departments. The L.C.C. and the other local bodies are part of the Parliamentary machine, and share its essential characteristics.

The Third International is changing its tactics, therefore we cannot say precisely what its policy may be upon this question at this moment. Until recently, however, it said that Communists should take part in elections for propaganda purposes only, and that, if elected, they must not look to achieve reforms through the machinery of the capitalist Government, but must merely practice obstruction. Such a position the disciples of the Third International find untenable. They promise reforms in order to catch votes. Moreover, should they win any seats, they do not enjoy the prospect of going into Parliament and on to local bodies merely to make scenes and get thrown out; they want to achieve something there.

Hence, whilst Mr. Harry Gosling of the Labour Party promises that the Labour Party, if elected to the L.C.C., will, without any manner of doubt, provide the houses for the workers; the Communist Party, through its organ, the *Communist*, also makes promises to the voters. The promises which appear on the front page of the *Communist* however, are really not so vote-catchy as those of Mr. Gosling and the Labour Party. They seem designed rather to induce the members of the Communist Party, to work for Communist candidates, than to appeal to the great masses of overburdened workers.

Thus the headline of the front page election manifesto, in very large letters, reads: "Vote Inkpin Out!", and the last words, also brought out in large type, are "Release Inkpin!" The manifesto declares that the Government would release Inkpin from prison if he were elected to the London County Council and the Middlesex County Council, for both of which he has been nominated.

That may be so, though we are not quite sure of it, and of course we should be glad to see the release from prison of all comrades (including Guy Aldred and John MacLean, whose sentences are still longer than that of Inkpin).

The question we ask ourselves, however, is not whether contesting this or that election will secure the release of this or that comrade, but whether the policy of contesting elections is a good policy from the standpoint of the movement as a whole and the achievement of Communism. We believe it is not a good policy.

We believe that every Communist member on a local administrative body, helping to administer and patch up the capitalist system is an influence against Communism. We believe that every manifesto declaring that Communism will get this or that reform through membership of a local governing body, is helping to bolster up belief in the present system.

The working class movement in this country is passing through a series of phases. First we had the stage in which propagandists, and especially those who were more comfortably well-to-do than the ordinary proletarian, said to the poor and unemployed: "Go to the Guardians." Only the weaker and more broken proletarians were then willing to follow the advice. The sturdier and more independent workers were too proud to "go to the Guardians," and preferred to starve or to borrow from friends rather than accept that alternative. As a matter of fact, even those people who declaimed on platforms against the present system were sincerely desirous of proving that they could accommodate themselves successfully to it. They felt ashamed of failure in the struggle for existence under Capitalism.

Now we have come to a stage when the sense of humiliation in "going to the Guardians" has been largely eliminated. Those who are not yet broken and despairing, now go marching up to the Guardians' offices, not quietly receiving the Poor Law doles as something to be concealed; but taking them openly, and loudly protesting that they are too small. Labour Guardians no longer complain that the unemployed are too submissive! On the contrary, they find them too exacting. This stage of development expresses the demand of the workers that the capitalist administration shall do more for them.

In the next stage the workers will endeavour to thrust aside the Guardians and do something for themselves. They will perhaps begin by trying to force Capitalism to for them what they desire; but such attempts will not last long: once the workers take to acting for themselves, and feel that they have the power to enforce, they will create their own system. They will pull down Capitalism and put Communism in its place.

All those who persuade the workers to spend time in assisting them to "capture" the local governing bodies, promising to introduce this or that reform if elected, do but gull the workers into postponing the day when they will set up their own Soviets.

The Right-Wing Communists offer one set of promises if elected, the Labour Party another. The Right-Wing Communists urge that if Inkpin were elected to one of the Councils, he would be released; but they have eight other candidates for whom they ask the workers to vote, promising that these candidates will use the County Councils to get for the people certain reforms.

The Right-Wing Communists promise, if elected to the Councils, to "use" the police to shut down "meetings of the paid hooligans of the capitalist class, and to prevent the importation of blacklegs."

Apparently we are to wait in patience for such action till, instead of having merely nine candidates, with doubtful chances, for two County Councils, the Communist Party has secured a majority of seats, not of candidates, on all the County Councils. Even then we must remember that the L.C.C. does not control the Metropolitan police!

The Right-Wing Communists declare that they will "play hell up" with the capitalists' "pretty little side organisation for stifling the workers." We observe that they are waiting to do the business by proxy. They are waiting till they become the masters of Mister Bobby in blue, when, from the snug retreat of the committee room, they will dispatch him to "play hell up" on their behalf.

The next item on the Right-Wing Reformist programme is sanitation. It is promised, not that sanitation shall be good all round, but that the working class districts shall get proper care, and the wealthy districts be neglected; a reversal of the present practice.

The Right-Wingers promised to ration houses. They will apparently try to do this sometime, through their nine representatives, if they are elected, and when they have been multiplied into a majority on all the Councils.

As to Education: the Right-Wing promises that its members will do what they can, on their own account, and through the Labour Party, to get the Class War taught in the schools. Obviously, however, the Labour Party will not assist in that direction, because it does not approve of teaching the Class War, either to children or to adults. Mr. Clynes, Mr. Henderson, and the others who control the Labour Party, are for ever declaring there must be peace and good-will between employers and employed. No capitalist Government would permit the County Councils to dismiss the present school text books and substitute class war teaching. Better results will be obtained by Communist propaganda amongst the teachers.

It is clear from the manifesto, which appears in this week's *Communist*, that the Right-Wing Communists have gone back to the old B.S.P. position, that Communism can be obtained by Act of Parliament, if only the workers can be induced to give their votes to the B.S.P., which has now blossomed forth as the Communist Party of Great Britain.

We have no such belief; we are convinced that the workers must obtain Communism for themselves. They must cease to work the capitalist system, either on public bodies or in the factories. They must work the industries as Communist undertakings only, and become both active and passive resisters to Capitalism.

Therefore our policy in the L.C.C. elections is to go to the workers, with speech and with literature, saying:—

"These elections are useless to you."

"The County Councils will not emancipate you."

"The County Councils are wholly dependent on Government sanction. The Government is a Capitalist Government; it will only act according to the sanction of the capitalists whom it serves."

"What the workers must do is to break away from Capitalism; cease to be wage-slaves; produce for use and not for profit."

"Workers, seize the industries!"

"Set up your Soviets!"

THE BEER BOYCOTT.

The decision of the National Transport Workers' Federation, not to transport beer if the brewers persist in cutting down wages, will be a good example of solidarity in action—if carried out solidly!

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

WILL THE BOLSHEVIKS MAINTAIN POWER? By N. Lenin. Labour Publishing Company. 1s. 6d.

Reprinted from an article by Lenin, written on October 1st, 1917, on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution. Gives an interesting revelation of his outlook at that time, and the conditions then prevailing. A useful document.

LEFT WING TRADE UNIONISM IN FRANCE. By Pierre Monatte, Theo Argence, and August Herclet. Labour Publishing Company. 1s. 6d.

The adjective, "Left Wing," does not seem to us quite applicable to this book. The first part, written by Pierre Monatte, when at the Front in 1917, is a plea for study and thought and increased activity: all that it has to say might well have been compressed into a couple of pages. The second part of the book, by Argence and Herclet, is a plea for workers' control of industry. The authors do not approve workshop committees set up with the employers' approval, but workers' committees forced on the employers by the general strike and occupation of the factories. These committees would organise production; they would have some control—how much it is not quite clear—over employment and discharge. They would also have some say in fixing prices. "The product could leave the factory, recognised as of good quality, marked with its maximum sale-price, and leaving no opening for speculation." The employer is to be made to see that there is more to gain than to lose by the arrangement. Of course, this does not go far enough for us: we do not want to spend time and energy in building up new machinery to palliate Capitalism.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

E. O'Brien, 2/6; M. O'Brien, 2/6; S. Pankhurst (sale of shawl), £4; Office Collecting Box, 2/7; A. St. John, 2/6; Thomas Foxall, 5/-; S. Dunn, 2/6; S. Davie St. Edinburgh, 10/-; Mrs. Edwards, 2/-; Browning Road "At Home," 15/11½. Brought Forward, £83 17s. 1½d. Total, £90 5s. 2d.

CAPITAL TO-DAY.

By HERMAN CAHN. 10s.

Briefly states the Marxian Theory of Value, and explains contradictory functions of money, handicaps of money system, inadequacy of gold basis, theory of money tokens, money of account, social insolvency, cycle of industrial capital, etc. A valuable study.

SCANDALOUS EXTRAVAGANCE OF LAST TUESDAY.

Some of the people who grew excited about Charlie Chaplin and Mary Pickford were also excited about last Tuesday's Royal Wedding, the costly dresses, the costlier wedding presents, and the decorations which were also extravagantly expensive. The ostentatious admirers who mobbed the cinema stars had at least the excuse that they admired the talents of the "sars" and had been diverted by their performances. Those who grew foolish over the Royal Wedding were merely responding to the Press campaign to boost the wedding, and descending to a snobbish worship of wealth and privilege.

Tuesday's extravagant display was especially scandalous, because it was carried on at a time when two million workers are out of employment and whilst the employing classes are engaged in a grim struggle to cheapen the cost of production by forcing down the wages of the producers to the very lowest subsistence level.

When reminded of this cruel incongruity, the foolish admirers of the latest show weakly falter, "it makes more work." The stupid old fallacy that the extravagant luxury of the rich confers benefits upon the working class, still persists. Still it is believed that the idler, who wastes and consumes what is produced by labour of hundreds of men and women, and who contributes nothing whatsoever for the use of human kind, is a benefactor of the people; whilst the industrious toilers, who each produce a hundred-fold more than they consume, are merely the competitors of other workers, and are dependent for the means of subsistence upon the rich.

Men would have called it waste, had the labour which has been expended upon the presents and pomp of the Royal Wedding been put into the manufacture of food and clothing for free distribution to the hungry and ill-clad.

When we sweep away the present iniquitous system and produce for the free use of all people, we shall devote more labour to the production of what is necessary and useful, and less to the manufacture of taudry and fugitive things.

GERMAN SITUATION.—Continued from page 1.

The Government Emergency Service attempted to replace the strikers. It includes engineering students, high officials, even Ministerial Councillors, amongst whom are Social Democrats and Independents (the J. H. Thomases of German Labour); but several railway accidents resulted from the efforts of these "patriots." Several persons were killed; others were seriously injured; rolling stock was destroyed.

Meanwhile the "Red" Trade Union leaders were publicly protesting against the "injustice" of the strike. The Social Democratic Press was making every effort to smash it. Hand in hand with the Railway and Defence Minister, they brought pressure to bear on the more timid elements amongst the railway officials, with the result that the strike movement hopelessly collapsed, for fear of punishments and dismissals.

Nevertheless, the so-called "Yellow" Trade Union refused to relinquish the strike without a pledge from Chancellor Wirth to reinstate all strikers, to abstain from punishment, and to open negotiations on wages.

No sooner was work resumed, however, than the Chancellor's pledge was broken. Hundreds of brave fighters are now being dismissed and prosecuted, whilst the treacherous leaders of the "Red" Trade Unions and "Socialist" Parties take no action.

The Municipal Workers' Strike.

The lesson of the Municipal Workers' strike is equally sad.

The gas, tram, water, electricity, and other workers of the Berlin Municipality struck work a few days after the railwaymen, because the "Red" City Council refused to extend its agreement with the workers till the end of the year, and declared it would terminate in June. The workers anticipated the termination would mean reduced wages and increased hours. The Trade Union leaders, who are satellites of the "Socialist" Councillors, denounced the strike as unjust and undisciplined, abusing the rank

and file for ignoring the advice of their "trusted" and "reliable" leaders. The rest of the working class was called upon to oppose the strikers, who, it was said, were unjustly bringing "great misery" upon the working class population.

The more revolutionary workers, and especially the tramway workers, held out to the end, but the strike was broken.

"Red" Councillors Victimise Strikers.

The Berlin City Council passed a resolution promising the re-instatement of strikers, but when work began, the "Red" Aldermen and Councillors broke their word, and hundreds of the bravest and most determined workers were dismissed.

The usual "inquest" has been held on the disputes, and the Government Coalition parties, Democrats, Centre Party, and Social Democrats, defended the Government's action to the utmost.

The Independents condemned the strike as "unjustified," but criticised the action of the Government and Police President Richter for attacking the "liberties" of "free citizens."

The Parliamentary-Right-Wing Communists (K.P.D.) had worked for the abandonment of the strike, and opposed the K.A.P.D. and A.A.U. in their efforts to secure a general strike. Nevertheless, the Parliamentary Communists now posed as the Government's chief accusers. They charged it with "outraging the rights of Labour by unconstitutional measures."

POISON!

This is the title of a pamphlet issued by the Unionist central office. It urges people to join the Conservative and Unionist organisations to prevent the coming of Communism. It quotes J. R. Clynes, M.P., and Lieut-Colonel Malone, M.P. in support of its denunciations of Bolshevism.

It quotes Morrison Davidson in a statement that King Edward was "literally owned by money-lenders," and was afraid "to give a dinner without inviting the most representative men of this desirable class," also:—

"To-day all England is ringing with the cry of distress of the unemployed who have been parading London streets. Still the English Monarchy draws its five million dollars a year and keeps up its system of robbery.

"England to-day is divided into three classes—beggars, robbers, and workers. The chief of these robbers is the King. . . . The present royal family has already cost the nation more than 200 million dollars in hard cash, to say nothing of the direct cost to the Crown spent in corrupting the Church, the Navy, the Army, and diplomatic circles.

"The most remarkable part of the whole absurd situation is the fact that no member of the Royal family is fit to render the State any service whatever. What, for instance, could the King do, were he required to earn his own living—as, in fact, he should be?

"Speaking of the Royal Family, personally, there is scarcely a family in England with a worse record."

The Unionist central office publishes this pamphlet and circulates it broadcast on the eve of a Royal wedding to show what wicked people are Socialists, but if you and I were to circulate that just now, fellow worker, there might be trouble!

The Unionist Association may succeed in doing a kind of propaganda it never intended.

The following interesting passages from the *Daily Express* are cited to expose Ben Tillett:—

BEN TILLET IN THE MORNING.

"During the late Transport Workers' Strike, Ben Tillett, the Socialist strike leader, wrote an article in a Labour newspaper (*Daily Herald*), describing the plight of the strikers' wives and children, and blackguarding the Employers. He said:

"A box of pieces of dry bread is held aloft. The children's and women's hands are thrust out eagerly, almost like claws. There are quivers

and anxious movements of fingers, eagerness shoots out of eyes.

"Egad! ye bloated parasites, ye lords, ye wantons, ye inepts! can you see the work of your crazy hands and brains?

"The Strike Committee . . . are merely asking for bread, herrings, scraps—now; they are demanding for the future all the best in the land. Compare scraps, herrings, bones, and bread with the dinner menu of the well-to-do."

Yes!—Compare the dinner of the striker's wife and child with the dinner of

BEN TILLET.

In the gilded room of Frascati's in Oxford Street, on the same night, there was a merry party of diners.

They laughed long and heartily, so much so that they attracted attention.

Amongst these diners, feasting upon the very best, refreshing himself with champagne and liqueurs, and afterwards smoking a large cigar, was—

BEN TILLET.

As everyone knows, Ben Tillett was one of the most ardent supporters of the great capitalist war, and during the war the Conservatives and Unionists declared him to be the right kind of Labour leader.

IRISH FARM LABOURERS SEIZE LAND.

Balneetry farm workers struck against a wage reduction from 42/- a week to 25/- a week. After many weeks they walked to the farm, seized 15 acres each, and staked out their claims with Red Flags.

They declared that their employer:—

"Holds his property in trust for the State, and has no right to keep his land idle while men are willing to work it."

The strikers gave up the land on receiving an offer of 35/- a week for their work, which was negotiated by a conference.

The Irish workers are discovering that occupation of the land and factories, and carrying on production, is a better policy than merely going home to starve. Their demands are nevertheless very pettifogging. Having seized control they surrender it when requested to do so by the headquarters of their organisation, for the most paltry recompense. The statement of the Balneetry labours, that their employer holds the land for the State, is quite inaccurate. In the eye of the present law, the land is his.

It seems a pity that the workers should have staked out their separate claims to the land to work it separately, instead of working it together for the common use.

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SOVIET RUSSIA AS I SAW IT

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

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What Readers say:—

"I re-read it and again enjoyed it. It is a very fine piece of work, simply written and quite devoid of pose."—WM. J. PAUL.

"Best report yet published."—CHARLIE BEECH.
"I like it immensely, and I think it will rapidly become noted as one of the best travel books on Soviet Russia."—HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST, Holland.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION—contd. from page 3.

What road has it chosen, not only to subordinate the masses mechanically; but also to educate them, animate them, to give to them, martyred by the war, by economic ruin, and by police regulation, a new vivifying spirit and a faith in Socialist construction? What has it contributed to their revolutionary enthusiasm, which was so great at the start? Two things; which are the beginning and end of the Bolshevik dictatorship: firstly, the theory of the Communist State; secondly, the Terror.

In the speech expounding the programme, the discussions at the Congress, in his pamphlet, "Infantile Sickness," Lenin creates gradually a particular doctrine of the Communist State, which has become a kind of mentor of the Communist Party, destined to guide its steps in the territory of practical politics.

It is a doctrine of zig-zag politics, of Tacking, of Breathing Spaces, of Recoil, of Ententes, of Steps to the Rear, of Deviations, of Denials; in brief, a complete theory of compromise.

Disdaining the smiles of the "lackeys of the bourgeoisie" Lenin, in his speeches to the workers, invites them to tack, to wait, to retreat, to build slowly, etc., etc.

The watchword is not enthusiastic Communism, but "reasonable" Communism, borrowing from the yet unconquered middle classes, scraps of Socialism and the middle class virtues; these, above all, are what a people in its re-birth must acquire.

In this pamphlet, written according to the rules of Machiavelli, Lenin, despising current morality, compares the tactics of his party with that of a military commander, without caring to point out the abyss which separates their aims. All means are good if they lead to victory. There is compromise and compromise.

"The whole history of Bolshevism, before and after the evolution of October," he informs the German Communists, "is full of compromise with the other parties, the middle class parties included."

Lenin cites abundantly all the compromises of his party, commencing with the entente with the middle class in 1905, up to the acceptance, at the moment of the October Revolution, "of the whole agrarian programmes of the Social Revolutionaries." Ententes and compromises so justly blamed by the Bolsheviks, when extolled by other factions of the State Socialists, have become the beacons which illuminate the path of their revolutionary creations. This policy has necessarily plunged the Communist Party into an abyss of adaptation, of hypocrisy and of lack of principle.

The peace of Brest-Litovsk; the agrarian policy; the theoretical and practical hesitations between the Coalition administration and sole administration; the recent appeals to the foreign capitalists over the heads of the Russian and foreign proletariat; finally, the actual, slow, incoherent, but sure restoration of the suppressed middle classes; the ambiguous policy in which the left hand consciously ignores that which is done by the right hand. For instance, the Bolsheviks declare in all quarters that it is necessary to combat the petty-bourgeoisie, and at the same time, in articles and decrees, they gloss over and commend the economic and psychological conditions necessary to the restoration of the said bourgeoisie. This system will remain as a monument of the incoherent, ambitious, opportunist policy of the Bolshevik dictatorship, which thinks of nothing but how to maintain itself in power.

Although the Bolsheviks proclaim the great success of their new policy, in reality this new policy has inflicted incurable wounds on the Revolution. The Terror, an inevitable consequence of the Bolshevik hegemony, is also another of their methods of government. Engels had already stated, long ago, that the proletariat needs the State, not for liberty, but to crush its adversaries, and when it will be possible to speak of liberty, there will be no more State.

The Bolsheviks have taken to themselves this aphorism, not only for the "intermediate" period, but they have erected it into a universal system. The Terror has been and still remains, the ultimate ratio, the final argument of a government trembling for its existence.

ESPERANTO.

The following is an extract from the trial, "Bardell v. Pickwick," taken from Charles Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*, translated by William Morrison.

Oficisto. Silentiĝu! Silentiĝu!

BARDELL KONTRAŬ PICKWICK.

Buzfuz. Mi agas por la plendantino, via moŝto.

Juĝisto. Kiu estas kun vi, frato Buzfuz?

(Sro. Skimpkin levigas kaj kline salutas.)

Snubbin. Mi aperas por la defendanto, via moŝto.

Juĝisto. Ĉu estas iu kun vi, frato Snubbin?

Snubbin. Sro. Phunky, via moŝto.

Juĝisto skribante: Serĝento Buzfuz kaj Sro. Skimpkin por la plendantino; por la defendanto Serĝento Snubbin kaj Sro. Monkej.

Phunky. Petante la pardonon de via moŝto—Phunky.

Juĝisto. Ho! tre bone! Mi neniam antaŭe havis la plezuron aŭdi la nomon de la Sinjoro.

(Sro. Phunky klinigas kaj ridetas, kaj la juĝisto same faras. Poste Sro. Phunky konfuzigas). Nu antaŭen!

Oficisto. Silentiĝu!

Buzfuz. Neniam dum la daŭro de mia profesia sperto, neniam de la unua momento kiam mi turnis min al la studado kaj praktikado de la leĝoscienco, mi alproksimiĝis al proceso kun sentoj de tiel profunda kortuŝeco, mi diras,—kiun mi neniam estus povinta elporti se mi ne estus estinta subtenata per konvinkigo tiel forta, ke ĝi fariĝis pozit'va certeco, ke la vero kaj la justeco, aŭ, alivorte, la proceso, de mia multe difektita kaj plej subpremita klientino, devas superi ĉe la altapima kaj inteligenta dekdudo da viroj, kiun mi nun vidas en tiu ejo antaŭ mi.

Tiu ĉi estas proceso por malplenumo de edziĝ-promeso pri kiu la monpuno estas metita je mil-kvin-cent funtoj sterlingaj. Nun, kiaj estas la faktoj kaj cirkonstancoj de la okazo? Tiujn faktojn kaj cirkonstancojn vi aŭdos detale de mi, sinjoroj, kaj ili estos pruvitaj de la nekulpigebla virino, kiun mi enmetos en tiun ejon antaŭ vi. (Li frapegas sur la tablon kaj poste daŭrigas per dolĉa voĉo.)

La plendantino, sinjoroj, la plendantino, estas vidvino; jes, sinjoroj, vidvino! La mortinta Sro. Bardell, ĝuinte dum multe da jaroj la estimon kaj konfidadon de sia regnestro, kiel unu el la gardantoj de liaj reĝaj rentoj, glitis preskaŭ nesentebale el la mondo por serĉi aliloke tiun reponon kaj pacon, kiujn impostejoj neniam povas havigi. Kelkatempe antaŭ sia morto li estis stampinta sian figuron sur knabeton. Kun tiu ĉi knabeto—la sola restaĵo de sia foririnta akcizisto—Sino. Bardell eliĝis el la mondo kaj amindumis la kvietecon kaj trankvilecon de Goswell stato; kaj tie ĉi ĝi enmetis en la fenestron de sia antaŭflanka ĉambro skribitan kartegon surhavantan tiun ĉi surskribon—"Meblitaj Ĉambroj por Fraŭlo, demandu interne."

Jurinto. Ĉu estis dato, sur ĝi, sinjoro?

Buzfuz. Ne estis dato, sinjoroj, sed mi estas komisiita diri ke ĝi estis metita en la fenestron de la plendantino ĝuste antaŭ tri jaroj.

Mi petegas la atenton de la ĵurintaro pri la vortajo de tiu ĉi dokumento "Meblitaj Ĉambroj por Fraŭlo."

NOTE.—Bardell, Pickwick, was played at the Cambridge Esperanto Congress in 1907.

Several translations of extracts from the works of Dickens are obtainable from the British Esperanto Association, 17 Hart Street, London, W.C.1.

SPICE.

GRADATIONS OF THEFT.

Stealing \$1,000,000—genius.
Stealing \$500,000—sagacity.
Stealing \$100,000—shrewdness.
Stealing \$50,000—misfortune.
Stealing \$25,000—irregularity.
Stealing \$10,000—misappropriation.
Stealing \$5,000—speculation.
Stealing \$2,500—embezzlement.
Stealing \$1,000—swindling.
Stealing \$100—larceny.
Stealing \$10—thrift.
Stealing a ham—war on society.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

BY TOM ANDERSON.

A lecture was given last Sunday at one of the meetings by request, entitled "Joseph and his Brethren." This lecture had been given last summer at an open air meeting on Glasgow Green.

At that time, the St. Andrew's Hall had been taken for several weeks to show the great film picture, "Joseph and his Brethren."

The picture was a financial success. Two weeks ago it was again shown by the Y.M.C.A. in their Theatre in Sauchiehall Street, and the Christian respectables of Glasgow went to see it, and the children with them. For why? The reason is: It is dope. Pure and unadulterated dope; and it is shown because it is dope. For who? For you, my dear untutored worker. The story is a lie from start to finish: there is not a word of truth in it.

The story is given in the Holy Bible, Genesis, chapters 29 to 50, and if you desire to read one of the finest folk-lore stories of the past, read this one. Our lecturer said:

"I am going to speak on 'Joseph and his Brethren,' because the good folks of our city are showing you the picture just now, and I want you to go and see it; but I also desire you to get an idea of the story before you go.

"Jacob, as you know, was the father of Joseph, and he was a very able man; he did his brother out of his birthright. Jacob married his half-sister. I desire you to catch that point. His father and grandfather married their half-sisters also. For an explanation of this point, I refer you to Morgan's *Ancient Society*. It seems to have been a general custom.

"Jacob went into a far country—about the distance of from here to Greenock, 22 miles—he walked all the way on foot. He had a mission: he was looking for a wife; and, lo and behold! he met Rachel—Abridged—He goes to her father's house, and agrees to serve seven years for Rachel. Good! the seven years is up. Laban gives a feast. Everybody is there and Jacob gets drunk. He is put to bed, with Leah. When he awakens in the morning and finds Leah beside him instead of Rachel, he is angry. He tells Laban off for the dirty trick, but agrees to serve another seven years for Rachel.

"Leah bears Jacob six sons. Rachel is angry. Jacob sleeps a week with one and a week with the other, but still Rachel is barren. God is asked to help, and the needful is done. Rachel has a son, and she calls him Joseph. (Note, she calls his name Joseph: they all do the same. This is the general custom, see Morgan—Leah's slave maid bears Jacob two sons, Rachel's slave maid bears him two sons also. God then blesses Rachel again and she bears Jacob another son; and this all happens before Jacob is married or his term of service to Laban has expired. "That, then, comprises the 'Sons of Jacob' who are the brethren of Joseph.

"The day comes when Jacob returns to his own land with his wives and his children and his cattle, but he does not tell Laban he is going, he simply bolts.

"Rachel steals her father's gods. Laban overtakes Jacob in his flight and charges him with stealing his gods. Jacob denies it and a search is made, but they are not to be found; for Rachel had hidden them under her as she sat on her camel. The gods apparently, must have been very small."

The story is a very interesting one, and one should read it in full as it is given in Genesis.

Our lecturer made quite a number of points. Once he said, quite in earnest, "I doubt if the girls of today would care to share their husbands, as was done in the good old days long ago."

Jacob, it appears, was the stallion of the clan, his father and grandfather also being in much the same category.

Joseph, it seems, was a good boy, and when the lady asked him to kiss her, he refused.

At this point a woman in the audience shouted: "I don't believe it!"

Our lecturer smilingly asked:

"Do you think he was human, comrade?"

At this sally everyone laughed.

This is but the kernel of the story; read it for yourself, and then go and see the picture.

CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

The Rev. A. H. Dacombe complained to the Hackney Poor Law Guardians that when the Relieving Officer paid a Sunday surprise visit on a family who had applied for Poor Law Relief, he found a chicken on the table!

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The employers are openly boasting, fellow-workers, that you cannot resist their wages cuts and their proposals to increase hours.

Says *The Syren and Shipping*, a shipping employers' journal:

"Who are to go on strike?"

"The comparatively small number of men employed."

"Who are to find the strike benefit?"

"Union members who will then be all in the streets, the majority of them on unemployed benefit, and the minority on the strike funds."

"Robbing Peter to pay Paul will be a simple game in comparison."

"The fact is, there is not one Union connected with shipbuilding or engineering that can afford for one moment to consider seriously the question of a strike . . . their only chance of remaining solvent is to get men back to work and so off their funds. . . ."

The employers believe they have got us down and can do what they please with us, fellow-workers. They keep us idle and flaunt their riches in our faces, telling us that prices must fall lower yet; that we must work harder and longer for lower wages before they will consent to take us back off the streets and into their shops. They will cut and cut again at the wages, and presently they will bring down the unemployment dole. Of course they will: they feel certain you will stand it without protest.

If they were at all worried about your opinions, fellow-workers, they would not have insulted your need by the lavish extravagance of the Royal Wedding. They would not have advertised the extravagant dresses and wedding presents for weeks past in the Press. Municipalities would not have dared to spend money on those gifts if the vengeance of the workers had been a vivid thought in the minds of Municipal Councillors. Thousands of pounds would not have been squandered in decorating the Westminster streets last Tuesday if there had been any real concern for the anger of the unemployed.

The employers will lock you out if you do not accept their proposals. Your Union officials are primarily concerned for the solvency of Union funds. They are desirous of maintaining a state of peace and good-will between themselves and the employers. Your Union officials will endeavour to force the employers' terms upon you, whatever answer you may give in your ballot.

The employers are out to crush you down until you are become quite unable to resist any conditions they choose to dictate. Your Union officials will not protect you. They have neither the will to engage in the hard struggle necessary to hold your position, nor have they the power. You in the workshops are the power of Labour. The officials in your Union offices have no power except in you.

Unless you put up a fight on your own account, unless you organise unofficially in the workshops, you must either accept the employers' terms, or be locked out and beaten.

If you accept these terms of the employers, either now, without a struggle, or presently, after starvation in the Lock-Out, you will later on have to accept still lower terms. Sir Walter Runciman, the great shipping magnate, declares that we are "a long way from the bottom of this trade depression, because prices (that means your wages and conditions) must fall much lower yet, and business men refuse to place orders for construction in normal quantities until prices have reached bed-rock. The employers declare you can pull in your belts much further yet, fellow workers, and they mean to go on pressing you until you do."

You will be beaten every time, unless you change your tactics, fellow workers.

Your only chance is to build up an unofficial organisation, covering all workers in the shops in all the industries.

Your only chance is to see to it that the employers shall not attack the workers piecemeal, but shall find them all ready to fight together.

If there is a Lock-Out by employers, let the answer be a sympathetic general retaliation by all workers.

"What about the strike pay? The strike funds will not run to it."

Of course they will not, fellow worker. The only chance of the workers under present conditions is to seize the industries and carry on. Either you must win your fight in a few days, before the food in your cupboard and the money in your pocket are exhausted, or you must seize the wherewithal to carry on. The Irish workers are teaching us that, day by day.

But when we engage on such ambitious projects as these, fellow worker, we shall not want to give back the industries to their old owners, having merely averted a 26/- cut and protected our overtime customs.

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