

Workers' Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

VOL. VII. No. 44. [Registered at the G.P.O.]
as a Newspaper

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1921.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

SHOULD COMMUNISTS PARTICIPATE IN REACTIONARY TRADE UNIONS?

By N. LENIN.

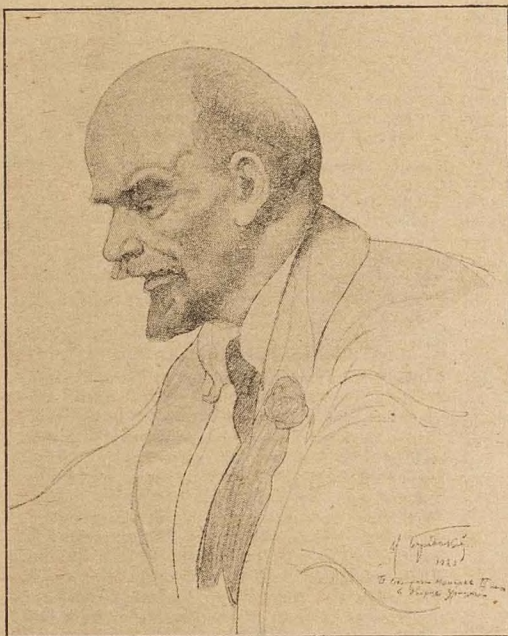
The German "Lefts" (Communistische Arbeiter Partei), after having considered this question, have definitely rejected the proposition of participation in reactionary Trade Union activities. They consider that mere denunciation and declamation against the reactionary, counter-revolutionary unions is sufficient. The barrenness and futility of such participation by "revolutionary" Communists in yellow, social patriotic, reactionary and counter-revolutionary Trade Unions of Legien and Co., is emphasised by the "Left" Communist leader Horn-er more than by others.

Notwithstanding the certainty of the German "Lefts" that such tactics are revolutionary, they are, in reality, fundamentally erroneous and consist of but hollow phrases. In order to clarify this issue, I will take examples from our own experiences.

The general plan of this article aims to adapt that part of our Russian experience which can be profitably applied to Western Europe and which is unavoidably in keeping with the history and contemporary tactics of Bolshevism.

The inter-relations of leaders, parties, class, and mass, and the relations of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Communist Party to the Trade Unions is represented in Russia, at the present time, concretely in the following form. The Proletarian Dictatorship is realised through the Communist Party (Bolsheviki), which counts in its ranks 611,000 members according to the latest reports of the ninth convention of the Party, held in April, 1921. Before and after the November Revolution the membership fluctuated, and was much smaller even during 1918 and 1919. We fear the abnormal increase of the Party, for political and intellectual adventurers—who usually deserve to be shot—naturally attempt to insinuate themselves into the Party by cajolery and chicanery. The last time that we threw the doors of the Party wide open to the workingmen and peasants was in the winter of 1918, when Yudenitch was a few miles from Petrograd and Denikin reached Orel—350 versts from Moscow—that is when the Soviet Republic was menaced on all sides and in deadly danger. In these dark days, the careerists and other unreliable elements, did not join the Party because, instead of receiving responsible and remunerative positions, they would expect to be sent to the gallows and tortured by counter-revolutionists.

The Communist Party meets annually in convention and is represented by one delegate for each 1,000 members. It is headed by a Central Committee elected at the Convention and consisting of nineteen members, while the current work is conducted by a still smaller group at Moscow—the Colle-



A Dry-Point Sketch of Comrade Lenin made during the Congress at Moscow.

gium—called the Organisation and Political Bureaux, consisting of five members each, who are in turn elected by the plenary session of the C.E.C. No important political or organisation question is decided by any State institution of the Soviet Republic without the sanction of the C.E.C. of the Communist Party.

The Party in its work is directly supported by the Trade Unions which now count in their ranks, according to reports from their convention in April, 1920, over four million members, and which are nominally independent of the Party. (Ed. note. The Russian Trade Unions, according to latest reports in *Izvestia*, now number over five million members.) As a matter of fact, all the executive bodies of the vast majority of the Trade Unions, and of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, are composed of Communist Party members who carry out all the instructions of the Party.

By this means, the Party maintains close contact with the working-class and the masses, and out of nominally non-Communist and flexible machinery is developed a broad and mighty proletarian apparatus through which, under the leadership and direction of the Communist Party, is realised the Dictatorship of the working-class.

Without maintaining this close contact with the Trade Unions, without their active support, without their self-sacrifice and work, not only in the industries and economic reconstruction, but upon the military field it would be impossible to realise the

Proletarian Dictatorship or to govern the country, not only for two and one-half years, but for two and one-half months.

It is obvious that in order to bring about this close contact with the Trade Unions and the masses, very arduous and intricate work of propaganda and agitation is necessary. Frequent and timely conferences with leading officials are necessary, not only in connection with directing the masses, but also to keep in touch with every influential and active man in all the Trade Unions. It also means a decisive conflict with the Mensheviki, who even now though small in number exercise a certain influence. Their adherents are taught to use various methods of counter-revolutionary trickery—beginning with the ideological defence of bourgeois democracy; the preaching of "independence" of the Trade Unions, i.e. making the unions independent of proletarian State power; culminating in sabotage and the destruction of proletarian discipline, etc.

We do not consider that juncture with the masses through Trade Unions in itself sufficient. Conferences of working men and

peasants who have no political affiliation were created during the progress of the Revolution which the Communists seek to support, broaden, and develop into institutions through which we can keep in touch and understand the masses, answer their inquiries and develop from out of their ranks men fitted for government posts, etc.

The People's Commissariat of State Control was recently reorganised by decree into the Workers' and Peasants' Bureaux of inspection to which the conferences of non-partisan workers and peasants were invited to send delegates to participate in the elections of members to the State control commission, created for the purpose of controlling the different departments.

It must be understood that the work of the Party is carried on through the Soviets, which unite all working masses, regardless of distinctions in trades or industries. The county conventions of Soviets are democratic institutions such as even the best bourgeois parliamentary democracies have never conceived—and through these Soviets, which are kept under the Vigilance of the Party, and by assigning class-conscious workers to all village posts, achieves for the proletariat the leading role in their relation to the peasantry and realises the dictatorship of the city proletariat through the constant conflict for the suppression of the rich, exploiting, speculating bourgeois peasantry.

All this is the general mechanism of the Proletarian State Power as examined by the leaders from the point of view of the practical realisation of the dictatorship. We trust that the reader will understand that the Russian Bolsheviki were familiar with this mechanism and watched it develop.

SCHEMES FOR STARVING SLAVES.

By C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK.

It may be fashionable to be unemployed, but it is damned uncomfortable (I'm not referring, ye ken, to the discomforts of Park Lane idlers, or the Rotten Set who equestrate on Rotten Row!). It's becoming quite in the fashion, too, to write learnedly about the unemployed problem. People are sitting up and taking notice of us, and the air is schemeful. One wonders, though, how many of those fashionable writers in the respectable "rags" have personally experienced real "down-and-outedness," with floppy feet, frigid spines, and cavernous bellies!

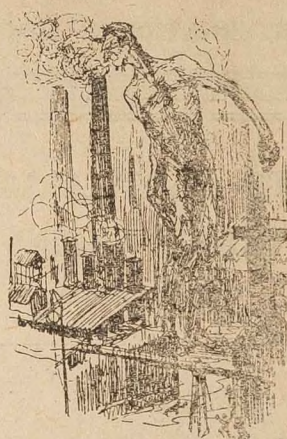
The writers offer suggestions galore, ranging from viewpoints conventionally classified as Conservative, Liberal and Labour; but they have, all of them, a common ring; and Communists can only classify them under one *Conservative* heading, because all their proposals are for the conservation of capitalistic constitutionalism (big words these, eh?—they imply big barriers against our liberty, Henry, boy). Articles by starving "plebs," with their suggestions, are conspicuous by their absence, because, for one reason, the hungry are mind-weary with worry.

The daring "Daily Herald."

What are we advised to do? Well, first upon the daring list is the *Herald's* proposal: "Get thee to the Guardians," which would have meant "Christmas in the Workhouse." Sure, that would have made the owners that buzz as the bee when disturbed, buzz more expressively, and send forth honey dories. Already, vast attempts at alleviation are in progress. West Ham Guardians grant £20,000 a week in outdoor relief; Bethnal Green, for one Christmassy day alone, distributed food worth £4,400, with toys for the kiddies included, amongst 1,400 people—just a small each. At the Guildhall on Thursday last, 1,200 kiddies ate a mid-day meal, free and for nothing, after which they were given food for thought in the shape of copies of the Gospel, from the Scripture Gift Mission, paid for by wealthy idlers, who pretend to follow Christ, with money filched from the workers. (No wonder they tell us: "Jesus wept!")

The Builders' Union.

And what is our God-Almighty Trade Union movement doing? Good God! Nothing! Ah! wait. The Builders' Union are considering a dilution scheme advanced by the Government, whilst the National Building Employers' Federation has already discussed, and expressed disagreement with the idea, though, it seems, they are only childishly sore because the scheme would be a dole for Trade Unionism, and they are never given a dole (boo hoo!) when building guilds are formed, because the latter take on the function of employers. However, if they retain the "responsibilities" of employers—meaning of course, actually boss and bamboozle, pulverise the brains, and profiteer over the products of labour—"they will not object to them." And the Scheme? It is the outcome of a Governmental Committee. Last August this Committee was formed, to go into the question of devising plans to meet the possible increase of unemployment. The results of their mighty thinking was first announced in the Gas House, on October 19th. Since then, negotiations have been going on between the Building Trade Union and this Committee, for the purpose of having large bodies of ex-Service men taken into the Unions, in order, ostensibly, to "ginger up" the building of houses; and also many road-making schemes were afoot. You know the details, I take it, therefore, we'll not mutually bore one another with them. The authorities want to bribe the Builders' Union into absorbing 50,000 men; the scheme also providing for a medium of training in the art of putting mortar between bricks. It's not my purpose as a Communist to tell Union officialdom what to do. No doubt they'll find some method, comforting both to themselves and the Government, which will get them a good name in the capitalist press, which will help to consolidate a tottering system! So far, there's nothing definite been done. There are committees meeting, and their deliberations are long and gaseous. If we are



"Oh, Hell!" says the Devil, looking down into a capitalist factory.—From *Rational Living*.

to presume the 50,000 ex-heroes are all able-bodied (and they need to be, for building work and road-making), what is to become of the rest—the C 3's, the nery, the limb-twisted, and the ear-shattered, etc., etc.? And being on "short commons" for months isn't going to keep the able-bodied out of the tendency towards C 3!

Go to the Holy Land.

Well, let us not be captious in our criticism! There's only one million devoid of exploiters (making over three million directly involved in God's good plan for proletarian poverty!), and out of that lot, we will agree that we have accounted for 50,000. Now, here's something further. Do you want to go to the Holy City? Well, here's your chance. Jerusalem wants a thousand workers. It's right, because I read it on the last day of the hoary old year in the *Daily Herald*. And then Georgie, the Good Samaritan has (or had up to last Wednesday week, according to *The Times*), a beautiful scheme whereby ex-heroes could be bundled off to the Colonies. It's no use saying the Colonies have their own acute unemployed problem (take Canada; one town, Toronto, which has a population of 500,000, has 27,000 unemployed, and is giving thousands of free meals daily to pacify the troubled waters). The unemployed problem is an international problem; it is ever-present as a natural effect of the Capitalist System; it is more acute in the aftermath of war; we have therefore, the Great War to thank, and its capitalist creators, for the train of bloodless poverty everywhere, and horrible disease rampant in Europe, and—(Oh! let us be contrite in soul, and love our enemies; for the more we love them, the more easily can they diddle us!).

The hellish aftermath, fellow-workers, with our bairns starving, our love companions growing prematurely old in our colossal misery (the old folks are pensioned: ah! don't tell me that!); yet the War Bugs are planning more blood-feasts. Have you read the Army and Navy Estimates that the Great Powers have lately issued?

On December 21st, Vickers, Limited, published their Company Report. This showed a balance sheet of £42,500,000 for the period between 1916 to 1919. This octopus firm or combine, is interested in the manufacture of various things, but a very great part of their concern is that of armaments. The report, lamented losses consequent upon labour disturbances, such as strikes, etc., nevertheless, the President of the Company, Mr. Douglas Vickers, M.P., said: "We have, however, good hopes for next year . . . partly because of the order for armour plates placed with us by the Japanese Government."

Japan is Arming.

The latest national estimates from Japan, are as follows:—

£39,450,000 is to be expended on the Army and £74,700,000 on the Navy, an increase on the

two, above previous estimates, of £26,250,000, which the *Daily Chronicle* points out as a fact about the Peril from the East. Yet, here we see our good Christian politicians out to make money from that Peril!

The same representative of capitalist blight stated that "the Government have intimated that we should maintain the plant for eventual use."

"The 'plant' is for the construction of articles of destruction, of course; and you will have read that Sir William Beardmore, a director of this virtuous Vickers Company, has been included in what is termed the New Year's Honours List, has been made a Baron, in fact; so they are well represented with 'Pillars of Society!'"

The capitalist hope that the problem may be a blessing in disguise to them, and instead of trending towards revolution, will lead to greater profits, as a result of forcing down wages.

Sweating by Fashionable Kensington.

Kensington Borough Council is going in for road-repairing; and proposes to give the work to some of the workless, and in consideration of the fact that the men to be employed would be inexperienced, the rate to be paid will be 1/6 per hour, which is less than the *Trade Union rate*. Another Council, at Foleshill, Coventry, have been paying 1/- an hour for work nominally charged at 2/1; they have been found out and are penitent. Farm workers in Essex are being given the "order of the boot," on the plea that they are getting "too high" a wage. They get, or rather got, 46/6 per week. That's much too high, of course! (Did you have dinner on New Year's eve at the Hotel Piccadilly, Henry? Very cheap, what? Only two guineas per head!).

Now, the Council of Inaction, having been silent for so long (one thought they were as bears, hibernating through the winter!), is saying: "Look at me, admire me, I am the Great I Am. I will solve your unemployed problem!"

On Wednesday last, the National Council met in conference with the Labour Party, to discuss the problem. What momentous decisions did the arrive at? They decided to consult representatives of the unemployed in greater London "to consider" what steps, etc., etc. This suggestion is again to be considered by the London Council. They propose the arranging of further demonstrations and "joint action." The Council are always good on the action; the action of sleepfulness. Beyond committee meetings, resolutions and demonstrations, nothing really effective can be done. Their components do not hate the System enough to work against it straightforwardly.

The only brilliant suggestions coming from recent Labour Party deliberations are simply dolish, maintenance urges, which no capitalist Government need fear.

Our Proposals.

After all this criticism, what would, or should, a Communist propose?

The Italian Shop Steward Movement has put a stop to further dismissals, by threatening to take over the factories; and they are capable of carrying out their threats. They do not stop at threats. That is the only revolutionary proposal we can offer. The workers who are working must recognise solidarity of class-interest in directly acting with those now workless, against the system their slavishness and starvation are jointly a natural effect of. The unemployed can do nothing vital to change their rotten conditions of our rotten system to one where all have the right to live healthily, as well as the right to work; unless they make common understanding of their fullest class-needs with those still being exploited. Trade Unions cannot help; Labour Parties, Parliaments, and so-called Councils of Action are but useless barriers fronting vital movement if we turn our attention in their direction. We may have our unemployed councils and our workshop councils, but it is better that we should all be organised on a class basis in workers'

councils, with boss-owned and boss-starved in common bond, planning, carefully organising, and carefully acting when the time comes. The time is not yet, but only because we are ignorant of the causes, and also our impregnable nightiness. We must be ready to follow Italy; we must prevent further dismissals from the factories; we must maintain our comrades who are starving in the streets, by refusing to pay house-rent and rates; for instance, well organised, such resistance would be most fruitful. We would only have to say: "We give our rent to a fund to feed people who are starving," to elicit public sympathy.

When we have got to such a position that we do recognise mutually our class responsibility towards one another, we shall be strong enough in understanding, and vitally organised enough to seize the factories, workshops, etc.; and, guarding well our seizures, run industry socially for the social welfare. But, make no mistake about it, the time is not ripe, and we are weak, because we are ignorant.

"BORING FROM WITHIN."

AN AMERICAN CRITICISM.

Reading through the Workers' Press, one is struck by the rejuvenating discussions now taking place, originated by articles written by Comrade Lenin. It is a sign of healthiness and vitality. Whilst it is beyond discussion that the working class must be united in action, it is equally plain and important that before action, discussions, exchange of views, and friendly criticisms should take place, both for educational and tactical purposes.

On the question of Trade Unionism, Lenin's view is that it is the duty of Communists to remain in the old and generally conservative Unions, "boring from within."

In the industrial field, this question is parallel to that of the "political" one, in England, of joining the Labour Party.

The time is not far distant when, with the growth of a united Party, this question will be the predominant one.

Lenin pleads for and shows the necessity for the close co-operation between the Party and the Unions.

The Workers' International Industrial Union, in America, claims to be the real exponent of the views of the Third International.

Three years after its inception, in 1908, the I.W.W. repudiated political action, and the W.I.I.U. was formed to carry on the work of the original founder of that movement, favouring political action.

On this point, the W.I.I.U. declares:—

"Between the two classes, a struggle must go on until the toilers come together on the political field under the banner of a distinct revolutionary political party, governed by the workers' class interests."

Nevertheless, the W.I.I.U. take an opposite point of view, on the question of Trade Unions, to that of Lenin's.

The *Industrial Union News* says:—

"In the work in America, to transform and reorganise the Trade Unions into a Socialist Industrial Union movement, the W.I.I.U. is the base of operations, the central point around which the forces of the new movement gather."

"Without this organised force, it is impossible to conceive how that work could be carried on effectively. No individuals in the A.F. of L. would have the resources necessary for the gathering of the facts, printing and circulating of literature, and freedom of work. Lenin would have us abandon our base of operations, abandon our battering ram, and go into the enemy's camp to be thrown out, with no bridges behind us."

It is an error to believe that the American Federation of Labour and the other Trade Unions of like character represent the mass of the American workers. The great mass of the American workers are totally unorganised. In a nation of 105,000,000 people, the A.F. of L., at the close of 1919, had 4,056,412 members, of which total, 360,000 are Canadians and should be deducted. Granted that the A.F. of L. has four million and a half at the close of 1920.

That is a small fraction of the American working class. The American working class constitutes more than 65 per cent. of the whole population.

The 1910 census lists 38 million persons in gainful occupation in the United States. For 1920, we should add 14.9 per cent. increase in population. This would give us about 42 millions in gainful occupations in 1919. Subtracting about seven million capitalists, farm owners and professional men, we would have about 35 million wage workers in the United States in 1919. The five million members in the reactionary Trade Unions are thus only one-seventh of the mass of proletarians in the United States.

The A.F. of L. was fostered by Andrew Carnegie and the United Mine Workers of America was controlled through the fakirs by the capitalist leader and politician, Marc Hanna. Having received the recognition of the Union, the Labour lieutenant does not care, but rather discourages the membership from attending the Union meetings. He lets the capitalist collect his salary funds, as for instance, the "check off system" in the United Mine Workers, where the mine owners act as the financial secretaries of the Union, making unnecessary even, the issuance of Union membership cards.

A number of Unions have withdrawn from the A.F. of L., in order to escape the intolerable reaction and machine control exercised by the Trade Unions.

The United Automobile, Aircraft, and Vehicle Workers, the United Shoe Workers of America, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, The Amalgamated Textile Workers, The Amalgamated Metal Workers, The Shoe Workers' Protective Union of Haverhill, The United Carpenters, The Foodstuff Workers' Federation of New York and vicinity, The One Big Union in Canada, and now last, the United Association of Railway Employees of America, born out of the switchmen's strike, all have come out the A.F. of L. Together, these Unions represent over half a million members. This movement is only now getting momentum. They bear witness to the revolt against the A.F. of L., and to the impossibility to achieve in the A.F. of L. even the small modicum of radicalism and industrial organisation desired by these Unions. These Unions grew out of the struggle to expel the corrupt leaders.

The old leaders were in most cases found to be so well backed up by the Gompers machine, that the membership had to get out of the A.F. of L. and organise on the outside. That is the outstanding fact of the experience of the last twenty-five years in the American Labour movement.

WHAT "THE TIMES" SAYS.

Under the heading of "The Revolutionary Movement," Dr. A. Shadwell has a series of rather well-informed, although, in the main, strongly biased articles in *The Times*.

Speaking of the Communist Movement and of its leaders, he says:—

"Publicity rather than secrecy is the mark of this movement as a whole. Its leaders are essentially propagandists, profoundly convinced of their own righteousness and of the strength of the arguments which they ceaselessly press upon the clients they hope to make. Their papers daily thank God (so to speak) that they are not as other men, extortioners, unjust, capitalists, or 'lackeys' of capitalism. This consciousness of superior virtue is too artlessly revealed not to be genuine; it is one of the most interesting traits in their mental make-up."

"I have met and had long talks with some of the most notorious leaders of the Left, and have been greatly impressed by their sincerity and frankness. Every one gave them a high personal character, and I do not for a moment doubt that it is deserved. There is no question that they believe intensely in their self-imposed mission."

"The Communist Party, representing the Third International, is Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's organisation, which publishes the *Workers' Dreadnought*, one of the best-known and most inflammatory revolutionary papers."

GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS.

BY L. A. MOTLER.

The capitalist is the real enemy of the workers; of that no doubt. But the "hoorjey" intelligentsia backs him up most ably. We have had both H. G. Wells and Mrs. Snowden breaking their cultured hearts over their cultured fellow-intellectuals in Soviet Russia. But if the Russian intelligentsia is getting it in the neck, they are only getting what they deserve. And even so, they are not getting all that they deserve, but only a portion of it. They have to thank their stars that the Moscow Soviet isn't all head and no heart. A less patient people would have made short shrift of these gentlemen of culture.

And what applies to Russia, applies to Britain as well as to any other portion of the globe where frowzy professors do their brain-puzzling for the benefit of an enlightened capitalism. It applies to any civilised country where the intellectual elite perform their daily round of brain-shuffling of the young proletariat. It applies also—and most especially—to the Gentlemen of the Press, the vilest body of intelligentsia in the whole realm of "hoorjey" culture.

When any capitalist bank or business concern goes smash and leaves the worker almost as badly off as if he had had his house and furniture burnt by martial law; when any war-scandal of profiteering and public swindling comes to light—then you read some pious expressions of indignation from these editors who are so careful of public weal that they lend their columns to advertisements of swindling "sales" and bogus "bargains." But when a brave and good woman, like our comrade, Sylvia Pankhurst, fails in an appeal against a brutal sentence, then it is that these cheap imitations of aristocratic culture show how vile they are under their yellow chrome waistcoats.

These paragons of good breeding are so finely bred that the breeding peels off with a mere scratch of the pen. The etiquette of these trousers-and-spats wearers consist mostly in being rude to their "inferiors," as a rule; but it is in the columns of the papers they so gracefully edit that they show of what vile dung they are made. The facing-both-ways and all-sides-at-once sheets of the *Cocoa Press* are worse than the really reactionary rags who make no bones about the contempt they have for the workers. These enlightened Liberal-Radical-Labour hymn-singers and ink-slingers are the worst hypocrites on the planet, and they show it by their petty sneering at a Communist who proclaimed her adherence to an ideal which means the deliverance of the workers from this system which breeds these Prostitutes of Boulevard Street.

These comfortable editors, sitting in their well-padded armchairs, are as much workers—in one sense—as the rest of us. They are there to earn their pay-envelopes. But the quality of their minds is such that they are not content with merely editing news for public consumption. They turn and twist and torture the truth till it assumes the shape of class propaganda of the most lying kind. They add headings and sub-headings of vile insinuations and coarse humour which are entirely unbecoming. It is not within the round of their ordinary duties, but their conception of culture and breeding and general morality is such that the mere printing of news items isn't good enough for them. They must needs dress up their news as a prostitute dresses herself up—in an alluring and suggestive fashion with a colour scheme of the famous yellow that the prostitutes of Rome had to wear.

And this is the whole British Press of these days of grace and culture, of breeding and refinement, of art and general aesthetic finishness. These grey sweets smeared with ink reek of the foul dung which stains their pages, the vilest filth that can be squeezed from the minds of this intelligentsia who pretend to lead the thought of the world and only succeed in disgusting it with the sight of its culture.

The Russian intelligentsia are in for it. This is well. The rest of the intelligentsia will follow in the other countries of the world. And if they get more than they expect, they will have themselves to thank for that. Their greasy rags are simply asking for it.

An attempt has been made to make Austria safe for reaction by the Council of Allied Ambassadors, who have sent a Note to the Vienna Government intended to weaken the Austrian army while augmenting the police and gendarmes.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

has some

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.
Acting Editor: JACK O'SULLIVAN.

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor:

Business Communications to the Manager:
Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.

SUBSCRIPTION:
THREE MONTHS (13 weeks) ... Post Free 2/9
SIX MONTHS (26 weeks) ... " " 5/5
ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ... " " 10/10

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

Vol. VII., No. 44. Saturday, Jan. 22, 1921.

"THE DREADNOUGHT" AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Over the signature of Comrade Pankhurst a statement appeared last week, strongly advocating the formation of a united Communist Party in this country, also pointing out that, when the Parties unite, the conditions under which the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT was placed at the disposal of the Party as its organ, would have ceased to operate.

The present Secretary of the Party having informed us that an Executive meeting held on January 16th, had decided, amongst other things, that the WORKER'S DREADNOUGHT shall no longer be the official organ of the Party, from this issue onwards the paper will become an independent organ, giving an independent support to the Party from the Left Wing standpoint, and it will be run by the comrades who are now responsible for it, until Comrade Pankhurst's release from prison.

The columns of the paper will always be open to Branch Notes, other news items concerning the Party, and for discussion of the Left Wing policy, in order to assist the Left Wing element to keep together and form a compact Left Wing element within the Party, which, as Comrade Pankhurst stated last week, is in agreement with the advice given to her by Lenin, when she discussed the question with him in Moscow.

This formal change in no way affects the policy or the financial position of the paper, because the Party has never made itself responsible for any part of the burden of maintaining it.

On the other hand, we hope, with the assistance of our comrades, to make the paper a useful medium of information, by giving more space to international news, to news of the workers' movement at home, and to educational articles.

AN APPEAL TO COMMUNIST COMRADES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

By WILLIAM LESLIE.

The following, concerning the Theses and Statutes of the Second Congress of the Third International, quoted from No. 9 of the Russian Press Review, page 10, should be of some use to our saintly comrades who are so orthodox in outlook that under no conditions are they to soil their hands with a text-book which contains a chapter with a Parliamentary programme, thus:—

"Comrades, make it plain to every worker, that it is not a matter of one, two, five, or twenty-one conditions, but that there is only one real condition, namely: that those parties which desire to affiliate to the Communist International, must be real Communist revolutionary proletarian parties, in which there is no room for reformists, social pacifists and waverers."

Some of those real Communists are to wait until after the Conference, others are not to touch this devilish programme, which they say is to

deviate them from the pathway to salvation and emancipation. This is a weakness in two ways, namely: You are to allow the Conference to be packed with "political careerists"; secondly, you are sabotaging the chances of a speedy revolution.

Every student conversant with the history of the Bolsheviks from 1903 up to the time of the November Revolution, 1917, knows that they made helpful compromises with the "Mensheviks," which ended in the complete defeat of the opportunists and career-hunting elements. The Mensheviks used lip service phraseology, only in order to rise above the masses in their ignorance, and at the same time, sold them to the bourgeoisie by offering a quack remedy in the way of certain ointments which they said would heal the social sores inherent in society.

At the right moment, headed by our late Comrade Voldorasky, the Bolsheviks left for ever all the brands of Socialists which composed the Mensheviks, in their much-loved Constituent Assembly, to set up the real proletarian power, i.e., a Soviet of delegates, composed of sailors from the battleships, soldiers from the regiments, workers from the factories, and peasants from the land.

We cannot tell what form the organised insurrection will take in the bourgeois state, but we know it will not happen as it did in Russia, nor will a group of Communists, if elected to Parliament, have much effect upon the issue. But there is one thing we cannot neglect, *Unity*; and it is our duty to go to that Conference with a clear head, conscious of what is at stake, and to tell those who have a special love of asking the official heads of the Labour Party and the subordinates of the same for affiliation, that we are not to beg for such from traitors; our duty is to go amongst the rank and file of these organisations, exposing the rottenness of Trade Unionism and Trade Union leaders, and put clearly and explicitly the programme: "All Power to the Soviets." In every branch of the Union, an active group of Communists should be formed for the purpose of capturing the rank and file of the branch, by trying to impress on the members, the futility of regulating their commodity status in society and placing before them the proletarian law and order; i.e., the Soviet System. It is better than saying: "As they now stand, yet we retain every kind of sympathy and admiration for our Russian comrades." "They" are our Manchester comrades' sentiments, protracted after a long discussion at their Joint Conference on December 26th.

Sympathy and admiration is not enough, comrades, nor wasting the flying moments discussing "Parliamentary Tactics," whilst you see in Ireland the wholesale murder of our fellow-slaves, who got a Sinn Féin Parliament by constitutional methods. The result is destruction. Throw aside your silly talk, and tell the workers bluntly to come out to the Class Fight, and by so doing, we can free our Irish comrades at the same time. It is this sympathy and admiration which is the cause of the murder both of our Russian and Irish comrades. Get a real hose on the fire created by the lukewarmness of the Labour Party and Menshevik "Bolsheviks," and the awful Parliamentary business; for they will be drowned in the deluge.

The Theses and Statutes of the Second Congress of the Third International was the work of a Congress of delegates gathered hastily together; some were representative and others were not; but there is nothing to hinder us all being there, to unite into one Party where we can mould a real National Programme to amend these Theses and Statutes at the coming Third Congress of the Third International. Where will you be if the masses arise before it meets and take control of the situation? Will you be discussing the Parliamentary tactic? No! you will be unprepared, and perhaps they will smash us for not having a programme of "Bread, Peace and Land!" That was the slogan which brought the Russian masses to the Red Standard, and not academic, hair-splitting arguments on mere words.

VOCAL AND SCREEN NEWSPAPER.

The vocal newspaper, this new vehicle for conveying news to the illiterate section of the Russian population, has now become quite common.

On the 15th of November, in the principal workshops of the Alexandrovsk railway in Moscow, soon after the work was done, the reading took place of the vocal newspaper called *The Railway Whistle*. Close on 500 working men of various trades were present in the dining room, where the reading took place. The further end of the room was furnished with a screen, at the sides of which stood two readers.

The first section of the paper was taken up by the reading of the leading article, which was followed by Trotsky's article on the Single Economic Plan.

The most lively and interesting section was that dealing with life of the works, which was accompanied by a portrayal of the heroes and deserters of labour. What interested most, was the presentation of scenes from the life in the workshops. A number of processes, for which up-to-date machinery is installed in some workshops, were shown on the screen, and proved to be of most absorbing interest.

AN IMPORTANT SOVIET DECREE.

The Council of People's Commissaries has recently passed a bill concerning the working of overtime. It was decreed that all cases where it is worked should be immediately investigated, and it should be abolished wherever there is no urgent need for it. In the future, the Commissariat for Labour is forbidden to introduce work entailing overtime without the sanction of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

A LETTER FROM SHEFFIELD.

Dear Comrade.—Things have been moving at a rapid pace in Sheffield during the last few weeks. Some of the members of our Branch have been responsible for the formation of a committee to deal with unemployment. With the co-operation of members of the Communist Party of Great Britain, we succeeded in organising a demonstration of unemployed on Wednesday, December 22nd, 1920, from which a deputation was elected to interview the Lord Mayor and City Council. The police seemed to treat the matter with profound respect, and even went so far as to erect a platform for the use of the speakers. The deputation consisted of twelve members: six members of the unemployed, the other six being made up of members of both Communist parties. The deputation remained with the Lord Mayor and Council for over two hours, during which time the crowd was held by speakers of the Communist parties, who availed themselves of the opportunity to do some real good propaganda work. As a result of pressure brought to bear on him, by the deputation, the Lord Mayor called a conference of all the leading institutions (charitable, educational, industrial, and Poor Law) to meet him at the Town Hall the following day, to see what steps could be taken to alleviate the distress of the unemployed. This meeting was held behind closed doors, no Press representatives being allowed in. A statement was issued at the close of the meeting, to the effect that they had come to the conclusion that the distress was not so urgent as to require any immediate action being taken. This conclusion had been arrived at on the ground that there were very few appeals to the Guardians for relief! This in spite of the fact that the unemployed registers showed that between seven thousand and eight thousand were out of work.

The unemployed deputation has been formed into a permanent committee to deal with unemployment in the future, and we would deem it a favour if secretaries of similar committees would give us advice on this matter.—R. JACKSON, Hon. Secretary, Sheffield Unemployed Committee, c/o A. Carford, 183, West Street, Sheffield.

IX Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

The Immediate Problems of Economic Construction.

(Continued from last week.)

VII.—Provincial Economic Organisations.

With regard to the extensive regions which are situated far from the centre and where peculiar economic conditions prevail, the Congress finds it necessary to establish in the most immediate future competent and strong economic provincial organs which are to be represented by the State centres.

These provincial bureaux, composed of experienced men adhering to the general State policy, should be endowed with full authority for the control of local economic life, for the purpose of uniting both the Provincial Councils of Economy and the Regional administrations, to carry out on the basis of a plan approved by the centre all the necessary alterations, transfer of raw material and labour power, etc., as circumstances may require.

In accordance with these tasks the staffs of the provincial bureaux should also comprise authorised delegates connected with the economic central administrations.

In view of the fact that provincial economic bureaux act in accordance with the powers with which they are authorised by the Soviet Government, the regulations of the 7th Congress of the Party apply also to the relations between the above provincial bureaux and the Government (Provincial) Executive Committees.

The definition of the extent and frontier of those provinces where provincial agencies of the Centre are to be established, is to be based on economic considerations. The provincial agency is to be represented also by the Labour Army in connection with questions of the utilisation of labour power at its disposal.

In view of the fact that in certain localities the Labour Army Councils to a great extent fulfil the functions of provincial economic organs, it is decided that in the future they should also deal with the same questions. If that will become necessary, they may carry out all the necessary changes with regard to the administrative apparatus without resorting to the formation of other parallel provincial organs.

VIII.—The Elaboration of a System of Socialist Centralisation.

A special commission is to be established at the Supreme Council of Public Economy and its local sections for the study of the question of co-ordination and the interrelationship between the various economic organs, central and local; the simplest methods of obtaining the requisite quantity of raw material or amount of labour power for various enterprises; how to secure additional labour power and so forth, without applying in every individual case to the centre and without infringing the general State plans. Soviet Public Economy will change from the present form of centralisation, the kind which still bears traces of capitalist trusts, to an actual Socialist centralisation, which embraces under a single plan every sphere of public production in every part of the country. The following are the conditions: that improvement based on actual experience is constantly introduced, that the shortest possible distances are chosen for the transport of raw material and manufactured products, and that the best methods are utilised for the application of the labour power of the economic organisation for the needs of the province, town and every district.

IX.—The Organisation of Industrial Administration.

The chief problem in the organisation of industry is to create a competent, firm and

energetic directorship, whether the question is one of an individual enterprise or of an entire sphere of production.

For the purposes of attaining a less complex and more exact form of industrial administration as well as in the interests of the economic management of the organising powers of the country the Congress finds it necessary to introduce in industrial administration instead of the hitherto prevailing management by collegiates and boards a management by single persons; the Congress therefore decrees the establishment of a one-man management in workshops and guilds and in factory and works administrations as well as decreasing the collegiates and boards in all the average-sized and more important links of the administrative productive apparatus.

The extremely important question of the drafting into industrial management of ever-increasing circles of the working class should be solved by the application of a number of measures; the most important of which will be enumerated below, but none of which are to be carried out at the cost of the stability, competency, and the simplicity of the apparatus.

Taking into consideration the fact that no absolute type of administration of Soviet enterprises, of combines of enterprises and of entire spheres of production has yet been established, and also that the formation of the requisite cadres of administrators, directors, and so forth, is still in its initial stages—the Congress recognises it both as possible and admissible, for the purposes of ultimately arriving at one-man management, to employ the following system in industrial administration, viz.:—

(a) A Trade Unionist working man managing director, one possessing a firm will, the quality of persistence, and, in particular, the capacity of selecting and employing specialists, engineers, mechanics, etc., is to have the technical assistance of an engineer.

(b) A fully competent specialist engineer in the quality of actual managing director of the enterprise, who is to be assisted by a Trade Union worker commissary fully authorised and bound to participate in every detail of the concern.

(c) Two or three workers, members of Trade Unions, in the quality of assistants, to the managing director who must necessarily be a specialist; these assistants enjoy the right of control of every branch of factory administration, but are not entitled to suspend the orders of the managing director.

(d) Where there are small collegiates or boards working in close and harmonious contact, the several members of which form a complement to each other and who have proved by actual experience their efficient working capacity, are to be retained with the introduction of an extension of the rights and privileges of the president, who is to be responsible for the work of the entire board. Collegiates or boards of the medium and higher organs of economic administration, such as government (provincial) Councils of Public Economy, regional administrations, chief departments and sections should be limited to a minimum number of members with a president responsible for the work of the entire administration.

At all events an imperative condition in the improvement of economic organisation and the increase of production is the actual

establishment in every sphere of life of the repeatedly proclaimed principle of final and absolute responsibility of a given person for a definite branch, section or piece of work. The form of boards as practised in the process of discussions and framing of resolutions are unconditionally to give place to one-man responsibility and management in the process of execution. The degree of fitness of an organisation is to be judged by the measure to which functions, duties and responsibilities are strictly divided.

Note.—A careful control of all work of administration both with the aim of a constant selection of personnel and of a practical establishment of the best means of combining the activity of workers and specialists in administration is to be established by a special organ under the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

The organisation of leading industrial institutions, whether managed by a board or under single management, must be carried on in agreement with the organs of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, and the corresponding organs of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions.

Specialists who carry out the duties of directors or occupy analogous posts are to be appointed in the same way.

X.—Mass Workers to be attracted into Industrial Administration.

The Congress considers it indispensable to take energetic measures for the industrial organisation of the education of the whole masses of working circles and the constant attraction of fresh elements from the midst of the working class capable of carrying out organising work in production.

For this purpose:

(a) To perfect the propaganda for the increase of production under the assistance of the Trade Unions and of the Supreme Council of Public Economy, not limiting it to appeals for increased production of labour only, but raising questions of a concrete and technical nature in connection with various spheres of industry and individual enterprises; to insist that every individual worker of a factory have a perfect idea of the character and place occupied by this particular factory in the general system of public economy; to introduce a systematic periodical (monthly, for instance) discussion of the report of the administration of the amount of work performed for the preceding month and of the industrial plan for the forthcoming month by a general meeting of all the workers of the factory;

(b) To organise in connection with large individual enterprises or in connection with combines classes for the study of industrial administration, where the more able workmen should be given an opportunity to acquire a practical training in the necessary elements of administration without interfering with their own productive work;

(c) Workers who have acquired such training are to be appointed as assistant foremen or assistants to the managing director of the factory;

(d) Workers who have acquired the preliminary practical qualifications are to be appointed to independent posts in connection with industrial administration, first in enterprises of secondary size and later on in more important concerns.

(To be continued.)

CHANGING THE FEATURES OF LIFE. By J. LARIN.

The Soviet Government has passed a resolution on the report of the writer of these lines, charging the Commissariat for Finance to submit to the Council, within a month's time, and by agreement with the respective authorities, a draft of a decree concerning the abrogation of payment for all products supplied by the Food Commissariat to workers, employees and their families, including all produce supplied on food cards of the 1st and 2nd categories. The decree will also include the abrogation of all payment for living rooms rented by workers, employees, and their families in State and municipalised houses; and finally, the abolition of payment for all kinds of fuel distributed to workers, employees, and institutions by the Chief Fuel Department, as well as for gas, electricity, telephone, water and drainage, and so forth. At the same time, the Government has organised a special commission charged with the task of elaborating, within a month's time, a plan involving the complete abolition of money settlements, including settlements of banking accounts as well as settlements between industrial Soviet enterprises and Soviet institutions.

It is quite possible that this new great improvement in the organisation of the Soviet system may come into force yet before the anniversary of the October Revolution (7th November), but in any case not later than the 1st January. Simultaneously with this, there will come into force the Decree drafted by me and ratified by the Government concerning the abolition of payment for transport of goods by rail as well as the abolition of almost all passenger fares. (In case of workers and employees going to work, to school, or to their holidays, delegates proceeding to conferences, trade union excursions, etc.)

In the jubilee number of "Pravda," on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution last year, it was pointed out that the first year of Soviet rule was devoted chiefly to grappling with the factories and works, that the second year was occupied in establishing the machinery of economic administration, and that the work of the third year should be to prepare the ground for greater changes revolutionising the relations of every-day life. And here



As the 3rd International sees Serrati, the Editor of the "Avanti!"

(Serrati is a personal friend of Lenin, with whom he worked at the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences during the war; also of Zinoviev, whom he knew in exile when the present Chairman of the Third International had left the Communist Party, believing that the November Bolshevik Revolution, advocated by Lenin, could not be successfully carried out.)

The cartoon is with reference to the present attitude of Comrade Serrati, who strives to prevent a split in the Italian Socialist Party, even at the cost of retaining in its ranks the moderate section.

we see gradually emerging before us one such radical change: the money reduced to the vanishing point and money itself being abolished.

The beginning was small. The question was first concretely raised early in 1919 at the town conference of the Moscow organisation of our party, which unanimously approved my report and recognised the necessity of dispensing immediately with all payments in connection with provision for children, supply of clothes, apartments and food to workers. It was evident, however, that at the time the psychological conditions for this innovation had not sufficiently ripened, and its realisation went on slowly. In April the decree was adopted concerning the gratuitous feeding of children, which, from the originally fixed age of fourteen, was gradually extended to the age of sixteen. After some time, the free distribution of clothing for workmen was instituted, and subsequent-

ly the free distribution of soap. At certain intervals followed the abolition of payment for postage of ordinary letters, etc. Of great importance was the institution of payment in kind as part of the workmen's and employees' wage, which became one of the bases of the distributing policy of the Government. Finally, all these measures are now being supplemented and complemented by the above-mentioned decree. Money will shortly only serve the workers and the urban population as means of purchasing on the "Sukharevka" (market) as long as it exists.

But the unification of the various parts of Russia (Siberia, Turkestan, Caucasus, and Ukraine) accomplished by last year's military campaign should serve to accelerate the elimination of the speculator. We are already getting cotton and fuel from the formerly isolated regions. We have had seven times more cotton in the centre by October 1st than we had in January, 1920. The Ivanovsky and other works are beginning to work; and within a year the peasant will find it more advantageous to hand his produce over to the State in exchange for textile goods, than to hide them for the speculator, who will pay him in paper.

It is difficult to give a comprehensive idea of the importance which the gradual disappearance of money will have for the whole course of social life, for the psychology of the average person. The man-in-the-street has been accustomed from time immemorial to the idea of money as the most habitual phenomenon of social relations, and perhaps even of nature itself.

And now the ancient pillars of the commercial system are coming down like a house of cards before the first organised efforts of the victorious proletariat. Looking at this first display of creative effort made in the first and most difficult period of the existence of the new order, we can imagine the progress which will be made in the future when, after the final wars, we shall be able to put to better effect the resources and man-power of one-tenth of the globe which is at our disposal. Our children will grow up and money to them will be a reminiscence, and our grandchildren will learn of it from the coloured pictures in their history books at school.

always starve, and wage-slaves in their ignorance will continue breeding more slave babies, and the highest reformism is futile.

For long, the French working-class has recognised the right, and utilised the methods of birth control, in their own interests, so that there is no wonder the French State should rise in alarm. The French Government, is, indeed, quite frantic about the matter, evidently fearing there won't be sufficient cannon fodder for the next war. So they are endeavoring to encourage baby-production among the masses, by granting a bounty for every child born, and by putting a tax on bachelors.

In a Communist society, consideration for the child will take first place. It will be seen that every child has a right to be well born, that is, in healthy conditions, under loving care, or not born at all. With the child, is related the development of the mother, that is, the woman, towards intelligence and freedom. When the capitalist cries "More Babies," the slave-woman must recognise the significance of the cry.

News has arrived from Moscow stating that the story of a "serious peasant rebellion" in which the insurgents were victorious against the Soviets, is pure fabrication.

COMRADE MALONE'S APPEAL FAILS.

Comrade Cecil John L'Estrange Malone, M.P. for East Leyton, appealed against a conviction and sentence of six months' imprisonment in the second division passed upon him by Mr. Chester Jones at Bow Street Police Court on November 19th. It was alleged that on November 7th last, at the Royal Albert Hall, he unlawfully made a speech which was calculated and likely to cause sedition and disaffection among the civilian population.

At the Police Court proceedings Mr. Travers Humphreys had given the definition of sedition by Lord Chief Justice Wilde in the case of the Queen v. Russell, 1848, when the Lord Chief Justice said: "Expressions intended and tending in the circumstances of the times to produce hatred and contempt of the institutions of the country and to induce unlawful resistance are seditious." Prosecuting Counsel put it to the Court that the language used by the defendant advocating the hanging and shooting of Ministers of the Crown went a long way beyond that definition of sedition.

The charge was brought under Regulation 42 of the Defence of the Realm Act.

Comrade Malone is accused of saying:—

"The Russian Revolution teaches us the humbug of the old Parliament. Democracy teaches the way that Parliament is doing you through the Press and the Parliamentary ballot-box. There is something which we see in Russia to-day—the sufferings of thousands of men, women, and children through capitalist intrigues in this country. Leave no stone unturned in your organising in preparing for the social revolution. The day is not far distant when I hope we shall not meet in this hall merely to pass resolutions on behalf of the Russian Revolution; I hope the day will come soon when we can meet here to pass blessings on the British Revolution, when we shall meet here, not as idle spectators, but as delegates to the first All-British Congress of Workers, Sailors, and Soldiers. When that day comes, woe to all those who get in our way."

The speech proceeded:—

"We are out to change the present Constitution, and if it is necessary to save bloodshed, to save atrocities, we shall have to use the lamp-posts or walls. What, my friends, are a few Churchills or Curzons against the wall compared to the bombing of harmless Egyptians in Egypt, compared to the reprisals in Ireland? What is the punishment of these world criminals compared to the misery which they are causing to thousands of men and women and little children in Soviet Russia? What would be the death of Churchill and Curzon?"

There, said Mr. Humphreys, there were cries among the ignorant people in the audience of "Hang them!" "Let them burn!" "Shoot them!" The speech continued:—

"What should we lose by the disappearance of a few of these archangels of Capitalism compared with the imperialist war. We have to listen to the soul savagings of the Capitalist Press. The movement in this country is advancing rapidly. A few mystery men caught by Sir Basil Thompson does not impede the movement in this country. Prison walls cannot deter the working-class democracy. Make up your mind whether you are for the capitalistic classes with their surly agents, George, Churchill, Curzon, Thomas, Henderson and Braze, or whether you are with the Communist Party and the working-class movement. If you are with the working-class movement, support the policy of the Communist Party. The Communist Party provides the only solution. The hope of the working classes in this country lies in Communism. The hope of the working classes of the whole world lies in the world revolution of the Communist Internationale."

Mr. Percy Handcock appeared for the defence, and declared that the appellant had no knowledge of certain typewritten documents discovered by the police at two Tube stations, through the cloak-room tickets being found in Malone's flat. The sending of these cloak-room tickets to his flat, said Counsel, was a deliberate plot by some evil, maliciously-disposed person.

Speaking on his own behalf, Mr. Malone quoted from the speeches of high political authorities, and urged that what he had said had not and was not likely to cause sedition. The charge was a purely political one, he having criticised the Government fearlessly and without regard to his personal safety. The prosecution was a persecution of the working-class movement.

After retiring for five minutes, Sir Robert Wallace, K.C., announced that the Bench unanimously affirmed the conviction and sentence, and dismissed the appeal, with costs.

Comrade Malone was thereupon removed in custody.

NEW YEAR'S GIFT.

Mr. Kadritsky, £1; Joseph King, 5s.; Frank A. Pope, 2s.; E. J. Taylor, 1s. 6d.; total, £1 8s. 6d.; brought forward, £54 4s. 3d.; grand total, £55 12s. 9d.

LETTER FROM WESTERN AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

14, Trades Hall, Perth, W.A.,
11th November, 1920.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst,

Dear Comrade,—At a general meeting of the above organisation, I was instructed to write you a letter conveying the thanks and appreciation of the Party for your splendid fight against the Capitalist rulers of the Empire.

We sympathise with you in the threatened deprivation of your liberty just when events have reached so important a stage in economic development, but we realise too that persecution and the prison cell cannot undo the forces you have liberated; cannot blind again those whose eyes you have opened; cannot, in short, put back the clock of evolution or nullify the good work that you and others like you have done in the past.

We do not feel utter strangers to you, as we had the privilege of meeting your sister Adela for a few weeks in the first conscription campaign out here, when we had our first experience of the fighting Pankhursts.

As your paper was proscribed by our freedom-loving Government, we have only seen occasional copies of "The Workers' Dreadnought," but we have seen enough to make us wish for more.

Surely the day cannot be far distant when the Masters of Bread will be deprived of their power to afflict and destroy. May it come soon—but soon or late, in our time or in time to come, the Day will inevitably arrive, and with it an end to want and despair.

Perhaps, in that day, those who sacrificed and suffered will feel a keener happiness in remembering that their personal efforts contributed in no small degree to its realisation.

With hearty fraternal greetings,

H. M. LEIGHTON,
Hon. Secretary.

CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN OF EASTERN NATIONS.

An open Congress of the women of the Eastern nations will be held in Moscow on February 1st.

This Congress is of great importance. It will play a very important part in the history of the movement for emancipation.

The mass of the women of the East are still enslaved and subjugated. The laws issued by the Soviet granting economic, political, and juridical liberty, will remain in force until the woman of the East learns to take advantage of the privileges won by the Russian Revolution.

The coming Congress will imbue the woman of the East with self-consciousness.

POINTS CONTRIBUTORS SHOULD REMEMBER.

- I. Copy should be written on one side only.
- II. Articles for the following week's issue should reach the Editor not later than Saturday, first post.
- III. All matter for publication should be addressed: EDITOR, WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
- IV. Contributors should remember that lack of space often prevents long articles being published: avoid repetitions and write as concisely as possible. Short paragraphs on topical questions would be greatly appreciated.
- V. If any of our readers lack the time or the opportunity to write up incidents or news items of interest to the movement coming to their knowledge, they may simply state the facts, plainly, even on a post-card, and we shall prepare them for publication.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

	£	s.	d.
F. Lavers	0	9	2
Anon. Christmas Gift	0	5	0
Stepney Dance	0	6	0
Rev. Conrad Nash	0	5	0
Mrs. Brimley	0	10	0
F. Haughton	0	5	0
Brought Forward	2	0	2
Total	98	0	4

THE UNITED IRISH.

PATRICIA LYNCH.

Though in Dublin to-day there are many battered doors, broken windows, and men in black-and-tan uniforms, the talk is not all of raidings, reprisals and shootings. Many speak of the time that is to come after, for we are in advance of the Irish of any other day. It is not only that we possess an actual Republican form of government, for that fact cannot be altered by putting the members of Dail Eireann into prison; but the vast majority of the people are convinced that there can be peace and prosperity under no other form of government. These are indeed the days of the United Irish.

It is true that some few remnants of the old Nationalist Party and capitalist newspapers, perhaps to please their friends in England, speak of the chances of Home Rule of various brands; but the People will tell you that the Republic is all that matters. If it is not firmly established in this generation it only means that the children growing up around us will carry on the tale of endeavour and suffering; for in Ireland, self-determination really means self determination and not British Government determination. The martyrs of Easter week and the years that lie between, did not give their lives for "Home Rule within the Empire."

The three-fourths of the people by whose votes the members of the Dail Eireann were elected, should be given the benefit of knowing their own minds. I must confess that I have not yet encountered any who voted Sinn Fein through fear of their lives or property. Why should they? The ballot is still secret. If those votes were given in a burst of popular enthusiasm, nothing has happened to show that the enthusiasm has abated, and it does not seem the very best way to show those voters that they acted wrongly, to imprison their chosen leaders, and give them the doubtful blessings of British law and order in the form of martial law, the curfew, and reprisals.

But I have met several former loyalists who are changing their views. Unlike the ordinary Irish, who believe that loyalty to one's own country is better than loyalty to a foreign government, they do not accept raiding, etc., with that calmness and resignation which is so much to be desired. They resent them. They feel humiliated by their loyalty when it is made to seem like foolishness. It does not comfort them at all when they are told that the British Government of the present day is only acting like all previous British Governments, and they should have been prepared.

It would be a good thing for all parties if there were peace. In this respect, it would be well if the English would study the history of treaties between England and Ireland. They would then understand that the danger will not lie in Ireland's repudiation of her bond. There seems every possibility of friendship between a free Ireland and the English people; but one may be pardoned for mistrusting those whose heralds of friendliness come armed with rifles and machine guns.

NATIONAL GUILDS LEAGUE.

FOUR LECTURES ON GUILD SOCIALISM BY G. D. H. COLE, M.A.

IN THE
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Ferment in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Government is taking steps to demobilise large numbers of officers; this is causing great excitement in military circles. The organ of the officers, *Das Wort des Kriegers* expresses itself as follows:—

"The officers have allowed themselves to be fooled too long by the empty words of the political parties, and they will no longer be so dull as to expect anything from them. Therefore, all the active officers and our comrades of reserve, in unison with the non-commissioned officers, are now ready, instead of fighting against the hungry, revolutionary masses, to unite with them on the side of truth and justice."

In the whole country, protest meetings of the returning prisoners of war are taking place. Frightened by these great demonstrations, the Government and the bourgeois opposition are making conciliatory measures. The prisoners of war have made the following demands:—

1. Trial of those responsible for the war.
2. Publication of the correspondence dealing with the question of prisoners of war.
3. Prevention of further wars.

The prisoners of war are in the first ranks of the proletariat, which demonstrates their organising powers. In less than 30 days, their society has so developed that it now has 3,000 members, divided into 80 groups.

A Letter from China.

When in 1915, China joined the Entente, it did so on the strength of great and alluring promises.

The Chinese people believed them and looked forward to the Versailles Conference with great hopes. When the Chinese delegation came back, great was the disappointment, and a great agitation was started against the Government and against Japan, at the head of which were the students, whose central organisation is in Shanghai. In this town there is Sun Yat Sen and his followers, as well as the central offices of the Trade Unions and of the Socialist Party.

This student movement was suppressed; but as a result, it evoked the revolutionary spirit of the masses.

The Socialist weekly newspapers now demand the immediate conclusion of a treaty of alliance with Soviet Russia, and protest against the Chino-Japanese Siberia.

Germany.

According to the latest medical researches, out of 489,000 Berlin children, 29,000 are tuberculous, 77,000 sick and badly underfed, and 120,000 generally underfed. The mortality of the babies up to three months has, compared with pre-war times, trebled, and that of children aged 5 to 15 has increased by 55 per cent.

United States.

The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party has decided to send a delegation to Soviet Russia. The delegation will be composed of Messrs O'Hell, Trachtenberg, Kohn, Lee and G. Berger, the wife of Senator Berger. The delegation will leave for Russia at the beginning of March.

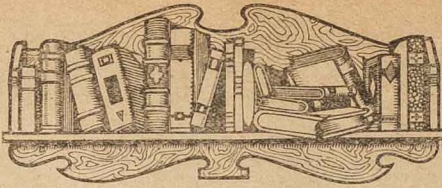
Russia.

On New Year's Eve a big fire broke out in Petrograd. A big printing concern in which several great dailies are printed has been destroyed. The editorial and printing offices of "Isvestia" are totally destroyed. Very heavy damages are reported at the printing offices of the "Krasnaya Gazetta."

It took thirteen hours to master the fire.

Lutovinoff, the secretary of the All-Russian Trade Union Council, who several times had stated that Trade Union officials ought to leave their offices after a certain period of Trade Union work and go back to their former job in the workshop, has left his post and taken up work in a factory to "regain contact with the masses."

"Pravda" writes on December 30th about Krassin's return to Russia: "All workers, including those in England, know that the British Government is beating about the bush with Soviet Russia. Yet recent history should have taught Great Britain that the Russian Workers' Republic not only cannot be beaten on the battlefield, but that she will not consent to be played with. The British Government accepted the July agreement, the chief point of it being the permission of a political delegation to England and the convening of a special conference to deal with special questions. Now Great Britain seems to forget all about these conditions. Her trading instincts make her desirous to trade with Russia, but she would trade as if Russia politically did not exist at all. She would like to arrive at a political understanding, but will not allow us to send over political representatives. She asks for guarantees, but she does not allow any discussion about these guarantees. She pretends very heartily to wish for an agreement, but sabotages the negotiations. Great Britain, in a word, thinks she can play a double game with Russia. We cannot allow that. Krassin's return to Russia does not, however, mean a deadlock, and we again state that we wish to continue the negotiations. Great Britain's attitude in the nearest future will decide our next steps."



OUR BOOKSHELF.

(These short notices are for the general information of our readers, and do not preclude a more complete review in subsequent issues.)

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING CO., LTD., 6, TAVISTOCK SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

This is a Company whose aims are "not to make profits nor to conduct propaganda," for, with faint humour, the Managing Director, B. N. Langdon-Davies, says: "There are plenty of publishers doing the first and plenty of organisations doing the second." Its aims are to supply the Labour world with the books it requires cheaply, freely, efficiently. The Company has been promoted by G. B. Shaw and Sidney Webb. Amongst its editors we note Norman Angell, H. N. Brailsford, G. D. H. Cole, H. D. Harben, G. Lansbury; and amongst the advisers, R. Postgate, L. S. Woolf, Stanley Morrison, and Major Gillespie.

Besides its own books and pamphlets, the Company is arranging to publish on an agency basis the periodicals and literature of industrial and political Labour bodies.

Its working capital is obtained from sums subscribed for debentures at a fixed rate of interest. Profits, if realised, will be devoted to the production of books and periodicals of a slow commercial return.

Mention is not made in the circular we have before us, if authors will be remunerated at all or on what basis: the best seller against the yet-unknown, or on a co-operative basis, before such profits are reckoned.

The programme of this Company appears to be, at the same time, useful, extensive, and ambitious. How far it will assist education of the workers in the direction of class-consciousness and in the development of the revolutionary spirit of the masses—this being the true task of organised Labour—remains to be seen.

There is certainly ample scope for an independent publishing house. The book-producing industry at the present moment is in a peculiar position: it is comparatively easy to get published essays of Lenin on the Russian Revolution, for he is distant, and consequently somewhat remote from the inner life of the British nation. It is almost impossible to get into print a book or a novel exposing the bargaining of our political life, the soullessness of our religious leaders, the slum-producing land-ownership, the reactionary intricacies of our industrial magnates' interests, or even the true needs and aims of our revolutionary movement.

We ourselves know of one or two books which are still in MSS., and likely to remain so for goodness knows our long, owing to the Philistine-like spirit of publishers, and, shall we say, of the daily-press-educated public.

Some months ago, a few friends of the *Workers' Dreadnought* had prepared a scheme for a series of publications, on the purely educational and instructive side, in cheap pamphlet form, being reprints and new works, divided into subject-groups, and which would finally form an almost complete albeit small educational library for the industrial and agricultural worker's bookshelf. Lack of funds and pressure of circumstances prevented the carrying out of that venture. It is therefore with warmth and with more than the customary formality that we wish the L.P.C. a speedy success, providing it can steer clear of the eddying currents of social-pacifism.

"THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," No. 13.

(Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. 324 pages. Petrograd—Smolny, 63. Editor: G. Zinoviev.)

This publication appears simultaneously in English, Russian, French and German. Apart from its political importance, it is a first-class production from the technical point. It contains a dry-point portrait of Comrade Lenin, which we reproduce in our first page, and several photographs of the sittings of the Second Congress. The Manifesto to the Workers of the World is signed by representatives of thirty-two countries, for England the signatories being: T. Quelch, W. Gallacher, S. Pankhurst and MacLaine. We shall reprint next week: "When and Under What Conditions Soviets of Workers' Deputies should be formed." Other sections of the official documents will appear in our following issues.

SECOND EDITION JUST OUT.

THE REVOLUTION TO-MORROW.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Price 2d.

Post Free, 3d.

From *Dreadnought* Office.

COMRADE PANKHURST IN HOLLOWAY.

The following letter from the Governor of Holloway Prison was received on January 15th, in reply to a letter sent to him on January 6th, asking whether Comrade Pankhurst was receiving the privileges of Regulation 243A, which was won for political prisoners by the Suffragettes in 1910:—

H.M. Prison, Holloway,
17th January, 1921.

SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Madam,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., and to inform you in reply that the above-named was sentenced to imprisonment in the second division, and that no arrangement for supplying food is therefore necessary. She is in her usual health.

I am, Madam,

Your obedient servant,

A. N. PATON (Governor).

From enquiries made it was ascertained that the question of Regulation 243A being applied to Comrade Pankhurst was still under consideration, and it is the duty of all who wish to retain the meagre privileges that have been won, to carry on an agitation that will secure the recognition of all political prisoners.

One way of doing this is to rally to the meetings outside Holloway Prison every Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock. Do not be put off by false rumours that Comrade Pankhurst has been removed to another prison, which were circulated falsely, and which prevented many attending last week. Wait until you get official news in the *Workers' Dreadnought*. Comrades who wish to take part in the agitation in other ways should communicate with Comrade Smyth, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

The costs of Comrade Pankhurst's appeal may amount to £80, and will have to be paid within the next week or two, so we appeal to all who wish to protest against this very unjust sentence to give practical expression to their feelings by sending a donation, as large as possible, to Comrade Smyth, *Workers' Dreadnought* office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. The following sums are gratefully acknowledged:—"A Looker-On," 10s.; Mrs. Blatch, 2s.; collection Holloway meeting, 14s. 1d.; total, £4 19s.

Mr. J. W. Gott, who is being prosecuted for blasphemy, comes up at Birmingham. The last blasphemy trial took place in the same city in 1916, when Mr. Gott, after three trials, was sent to prison for six weeks.

MAKE A DASH FOR LIBERTY.

You are chained to your fellow-workers in slavery. You cannot gain your own liberty except you make them free also.

We stand together and we fall together.

If you want freedom, you have got to enlighten your fellows. If you keep your knowledge to yourself you will get nowhere.

Spread our literature.

Make the *DREADNOUGHT* known.

Get subscribers!

"THE PLEBS."

Agitate—Educate—Organise.

SIXPENCE.

Plebs League, 11a, Penywern Road, London, S.W. 2.

JANUARY.

The Banner of the Prolet-Cult—When J. H. Thomas Rules—Wells, Whiskers and Wisdom—Revolutionary Tactics—Economics Without Headaches—Tra la Monda, etc.

SOCIAL and DANCE

400, Old Ford Road, Bow.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22nd, 1921,

7 to 11 p.m.

Refreshments. Come and bring your friends.

Tickets: Sixpence.

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.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4 and printed at the Agenda Press, 10, Wine Office Court, London, E.C.4.