



Workers' Dreadnought

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Bertrand Russell's Sentimental Journey.

By Karl Radek.

Many of our English guests have published articles and books about the impressions of their journey to the wild Moscovite country. As was to be expected, the Left English delegates expressed themselves with great sympathy for our struggle and for our work, whilst those of the Right helped with their reports the international counter-revolution in its fight against Soviet Russia. This is as it should be, and we have not expected anything else.

When Mr. Tom Shaw, a well-known English opportunist, asked the representatives of the Soviet Government, with the air of an innocent baby, how they could even presume that such a man of noble birth as the Right Honourable Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, the grandchild of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, and the son of Lord Randolph Churchill, could be capable of telling falsehoods; when he put these questions it was evident to every one that Mr. Shaw, who has no claim to noble birth, being a flunkey of the British capitalists and of common birth, would tell as many lies against Soviet Russia as would be required by the English bourgeoisie. It was, therefore, no surprise to us when Mr. Tom Shaw delivered himself of a thundering speech at the conference of the Fellow International against the Soviet Government, the alleged oppressor of the workers.

When Dr. Haden Guest, the Secretary of the English delegation, published in "The Times," that most reactionary international organ, a series of "revelations" against Soviet Russia, he thereby confirmed, in the eyes of the English workers, the fact of which we had been warned at the time permission was given him to enter Russia, viz. that Dr. Guest was visiting Russia as the agent of the British Government. We have been, however, obliged to submit, in order to be able to welcome honest Labour representatives to Russia. These "revelations" represent no danger whatever to the Soviet Government, because every honest English worker, who reads the daily attacks made upon Labour by "The Times" and all the Northcliffe Press, knows the value of Dr. Haden Guest's "revelations."

Mrs. Ethel Snowden, at one time the pacifist lady and representative of the working women's movement, may have thought to captivate us by graceful movements, but it goes without saying that we never for one single moment admitted that this middle-class lady was capable of understanding the revolution of the Russian proletariat. Like "gallant" people we pretended to believe in the sincerity of her violent expressions of admiration when watching the military parade near the theatre and when she told us that she quite accepted such militarism in defence of the Workers' State. We knew that the severe proletarian revolution would be too much for the delicate nerves of Mrs. Snowden, and that upon her return to England she would weep bitter tears on the manly breast of Mr. Philip Snowden, who would tell her: "But why did you go to that savage country; did I not tell you that it was not a country for British ladies to promenade in? You had better go for a rest to Belgium or to the North of France and do some sightseeing amidst the ruins of the war."

It is not worth the trouble to write about the articles, books and speeches of these Shaws, Guests, and Snowdens, but it is worth while dwelling on articles written by

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST'S APPEAL.

The appeal of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will be heard on Wednesday, January 5th, at 10 a.m., at the Guildhall.

Bertrand Russell in the leading Liberal weekly, "The Nation." Bertrand Russell is a prominent philosopher, mathematician, and a very honest man. For his pacifist convictions he was thrown into prison and, therefore, in his case his writings are not a case of hunting after personal lucre. His articles are very valuable because they demonstrate all the narrowmindedness of the best minds among the representatives of the

DEAR COMRADES,—

We want your help in working a scheme to increase the circulation of the *Workers' Dreadnought*

We want you to take an extra copy every week for a month (or more if possible), and to undertake to send it to somebody whom you think likely to become a regular subscriber and supporter of the paper. If you will send us 1/- only, with the name and address of the person to whom you wish the paper to be sent, we will guarantee to send it for four weeks. At the end of that time, it would further the scheme considerably, if the donor of the copies would write and ask the recipient to become a regular subscriber.

We will publish the names of those who take part in the scheme.

Yours fraternally,
NORAH L. SMYTH.

bourgeoisie, and their sheer incapability of grappling with the problems history has placed before mankind.

Mr. Russell describes Soviet Russia and admits that the Government put no obstacles either in his way or in the way of his comrades in their objective study of the situation in Russia. What had he seen in Russia? He speaks very well of the Communists. He says: "They spare neither themselves nor others; they work sixteen hours a day and forget even their holidays; that in spite of their power they lead a modest life, pursue no personal aims, and fight only for the ordering of a new life." And he comes to the conclusion that the Russian Communists remind the English Puritans of the time of Cromwell. But, says he: "Life in modern Russia as well as in Puritan England in many respects goes against human instinct. If the Bolsheviks will fall it will be on account of the same causes that brought about the fall of English Puritanism, because a moment will come when the people will see that the joy of life is more valuable than all that Puritanism offers."

Mr. Russell is indeed an "altruist"; he proyed it by his life. But Mr. Russell

has not denied himself a comfortable house, the quiet study of a scientist; he has not denied himself week-ends, the theatre and all the other things that even the dying capitalist order offers a man enjoying an income of hundreds of pounds per month.

There is, therefore, nothing surprising when he thinks a revolution in which such things as a telephone, a morsel of white bread, a tin of condensed milk, or (oh, horror!) a motor-car are luxuries, is no good and that Mr. Bertrand Russell could not stand such a revolution far more than under the conditions of life at the Delovoi Dvor Hotel, and all other comforts added on the top of it. That is why Mr. Bertrand Russell has not troubled to ask himself the question: "What would have been the comfort which the Russian workers would have received at the hands of Koltchak, Yudenitch, Denikin, and Wrangel in the event of their having proved victorious with the help of British imperialism?"

Mr. Russell considers the Communists, as the young aristocracy of The New Russia, full of vigour and vitality, and he says that Soviet Russia reminds him a good deal of Plato's State. Seeing that Plato has not been hitherto considered an abusive term, there is nothing left us but to thank Russell even for this mercy. However, Russell's concrete views on the situation in Russia are summed up in the following sentences: "When a Russian Communist speaks of the Dictatorship, he uses this word in its usual sense, but, when he speaks of the Proletariat, he uses it in a Pickwickian sense. He thinks of the class-conscious part of the workers, i.e. the Communist Party. He includes in this idea people who, by their origin, have nothing in common with the proletariat, such as Lenin and Tchitcherin, but whose ideas are, however, correct. He excludes real workers who are not followers of such views and whom he calls lackeys of the bourgeoisie."

These are the horrors that Bertrand Russell saw in Russia. However, in order to help him to understand what he saw in Russia we shall remind him of familiar British episodes. He, Mr. Russell himself, is of highly aristocratic origin; he belongs to the bourgeois class. However, when during the war he, being a pacifist, acted in opposition to the interests of the English bourgeoisie, the latter considering his views incorrect, regarded him not as a member of their class, but as an enemy, and threw him into prison. At the same time the bourgeoisie raised Henderson, an ordinary workman, who, however, defended their interests, to the rank of Cabinet Minister. Or, let us take a more glaring example. Ernest Jones, one of the leaders of the Chartist movement in England, was of an aristocratic family. His godfather was the King of Hanover, who took care of his education. Jones grew up at the English Court, but when, in his 46th year, he took part in the revolutionary movement of the British workers, he was thrown into prison, where he lay for two years under such deplorable conditions that many of his comrades died. And now what do we see, what was this unheard of thing that Mr. Russell saw in Russia? That only those who fight in the interest of the proletariat are considered proletarian fighters. This is beyond Mr.

Russell's understanding. It is, however, characteristic of all classes engaged in combat. They consider as their own, only those who fight in their interests, but not those who belong to them by accident of birth.

Mr. Russell maintains that he is opposed to Communism for the same reasons that made him pacifist. Civil war, like every other war, brings unheard of misery, whilst its advantages are problematic. Civilisation perishes in such fights. (We see how highly Mr. Russell values the civilisation, the outcome of which was four years of carnal imperialist war.) A strong government must be created in order to win, and every strong government leads to abuse. Mr. Russell has before him two tendencies in the creation of a strong power. On the one hand, there is the British Capitalist Government, which, with its allies, have plunged the world into an international slaughter-house, and who now, after the end of a great war, are continuing their work of destruction: small wonder he is not enamoured of Lloyd George and less of Churchill. On the other hand, there is the government of Soviet Russia, which is straining all its nerves to pull the masses out of the bog of misery created by capitalism. It is a power that makes heroic efforts to re-create the basis of human life. Fighting against the whole world of capitalism, it cannot content itself with partisan warfare. It must create a Red Army, an enormous machinery for provision of food, and centralise all the conditions of economic life. To this Mr. Russell says: "This is not good, it creates privileges; the Commissars, however modest they may be, have at their disposal motor cars, telephones, and go to the theatre. Is this freedom; is it equality?"

What is Mr. Russell to do between these two bad governments that have concentrated power in their hands? Having returned from his sentimental journey, having taken a good bath, he sits down by the fireside. How excellent the firesides are in England! He, although not a Commissar, does not suffer from any lack of coal, while the poor of London shiver in the cold. And now Mr. Russell, in his slippers and gown, sits down to read the papers, from which he learns that during his absence the agony of Europe has been proceeding at a pace of which even Miss Gibbs, in the "Daily Chronicle" (the organ of Lloyd George) speaks quite openly. Thus in Mr. Russell's breast there is gathering a feeling of discontent. How could a clever, good-natured, well-to-do man feel otherwise at the sight of others? And Mr. Russell declares in the "Nation": "If I cannot preach the Social Revolution, neither can I at the same time get away from the conviction that the governments of the leading capitalist countries are doing all in their power to bring about such a revolution."

How wicked are the capitalist governments and how nice is Mr. Bertrand Russell! It may happen that he will yet again be thrown into prison; we can only express the hope that owing to his good family connections his lot will not be too severe. We wish him well because what sense is there in his senseless sacrifices, and of what use are they?

Whilst in Moscow, Bertrand Russell remarked that he would rather go to prison than deny himself a joke. We are inclined to think that his philosophy, his pacifism, and even his Socialism are merely a form in which the sensitive son of the English aristocracy is jesting about the coarse forms of its policy, about the crude forms of its robbery. Couldn't it do it "more fine" in a "nicer" manner, so that Mr. Russell, enjoying the privileges of his position, may not feel the pangs of conscience, these pangs of conscience being so unpleasant.

Attractive indeed is the capitalist world, if, in the face of the greatest catastrophe of an entire historical epoch, it could not produce a philosophy greater than that of Mr. Russell. His philosophy reminds us of

one of Aesop's fables, which deals with such a non-philosophical creature as the ass, who, between two oats, kept philosophising as to which was to be preferred, and, not being able to make up his mind, died of hunger. We apologise to Mr. Russell for thus comparing his position to that of such an unphilosophical animal, but we apologise at the same time to the useful grey toiler for comparing him with such a parasitic creature as this petty middle-class philosopher.

Moving Forward.

By Fred Tyler.

The most serious objection to the dictatorship of the proletariat, in all countries at the moment, is the statement that such a principle, if enforced, would lead to the suppression of liberty.

Read where you may, in all capitalist's newspapers, the cry is ever present, viz.: "A Communist régime means an iron discipline and obedience of the masses to the authority of politicians above the masses."

Past issues of *Freedom* contained a number of letters from Anarchists known to me by repute, dealing with the vexed question "Authoritarian Communism: Its Relations to Freedom," and I heartily recommend all Communists to read them.

The advocacy of human liberty entirely, without transitional developments of society, is the policy of *Freedom*, and therefore, all forms of authority, whether Capitalist, Social-Democratic, or Communist, must without reserve be attacked.

Fortunately for humanity, enslavement to an idea is common to the revolutionists, and while aims and ideals exist in a hundred varied forms, the first consideration of the social rebel is the weapon and the means to bring Capitalism tottering, and then the structure or manner of human relations under the new order.

It is often contended that a social system cannot be ended without public opinion demands a change, and is strengthened by the knowledge of methods of change. That is agreed, and in recognition of this fact we propagate our ideas.

It is often suggested that it is impossible for any group of men and women antagonistic to Capitalism, to construct a new system of society in practical cut-and-dried form, whilst living under Capitalism. That also is correct reasoning, and to-day our movement is damned by "super-intellects" who spend time and energy towards that end.

But just as it is idle for "scientific Socialists" to read the horoscope of the future by weird, loose deductions from dead economists, so also is it foolish for others to stand on their little private watch-tower and inform the world with earnest, parrot-like plea: "We are against all force, no man has a right to rule and have power, be he Communist or reactionary."

The world rolls on, and man, blundering and stumbling through ages, reaches with an outstretched palm for the higher plane. He learns from the past, and adapts his hard lessons to new ages.

The lesson of the twentieth century, gleaned from the harvest of toil and want, is the flash of reason passing through countless minds: "He that owns the means whereby I live, owns my very life."

Following the rapid growth of such thoughts, fanned by the poets, a flame of discontent spreads everywhere, and quickens to action the masses.

The development of the commercial system with its direct effect, the driving into towns of the mass of the people, manufactured the engine of revolt.

Modern Commercialism stands astride the general body of the public, and throttles the life of the people.

Turn where they may, the barrier of monopoly confronts them, an advance of wages here, a rise in cost of living there, the closing of factories and industries, and down fall wages because of keen competition of workers in the struggle to live.

Wherever he struggles, no matter how he fights, the economic control of his fortunes by Capitalism weighs him down.

There is no hope for him. His masters have power, he is writhing under "the dictatorship of the Capitalist Class."

What is the remedy? Only the teaching of this doctrine: the workers must arm themselves with an idea. "Down with the dictatorship of the masters," and up with "the dictatorship of the working-class,"—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The apostles of "true freedom" must either stand passively by in such struggles, or join the mass in its battle for power.

The significance of Soviets seem lost on the readers of *Freedom*; the periods of political Socialism gone past, justified its existence.

The scheming of the S.D.F., and later the B.S.P., and further, the selling out of revolution to the reformers by the I.L.P., made *Freedom* useful and necessary, but the change to the Left of British Socialism, produced by the Russian Revolution, has brought revolution as a constructive idea again into the field.

Parliamentary democracy is a dead issue; the future lays with Soviets; the place of those who love liberty is inside the Communist movement, aiming at keeping power in the hands of the mass, and the foiling of the private plans of "Communist" politicians.

Thus *Freedom* is expressive of a spent force, an idea in the background, a soothing philosophy for some, but a bickering, meaningless phrasing of words to others.

Out of the Governmentalist and Anarchist controversy of a century, is born a new idea; mass power determined by the workers themselves, through their direct industrial control.

Unemployment.

A SHORT WAY OUT.

It is not only in this country that unemployment is increasing. In Great Britain things are bad enough. The men who fought for their country are finding they don't own enough of that country to pay their rent. They could have found this out long ago if they had read the right sort of paper.

In France, the unemployment is something like this:—

Motor car industry	30 per cent.
Building labourers	32 " "
Metal workers	32 " "
Clothing Industry	25-30 " "
Carpenters	30 " "
Furniture trades	30 " "

In Paris, nearly 100,000 men are idle, and at Lyons about half that number. "One of the main causes," says the *Daily News*, "is the accumulation of huge stocks, in the hands of the speculators."

In the United States the same thing prevails in some industries. And the cause is the same:

"Manufacturers are cutting down production, fearing that they may be overstocked in a falling market."

Now the cause of unemployment in both countries is overstocking, that is, over-production. In reply to the appeals of wise Labour leaders shepherds, the workers have produced more—in fact, they have produced too much. And they are the first to suffer from their over-production.

The remedy is not to produce less, but to see that the goods get to the people who need them. The French market is overstocked with boots and shoes, says the *Daily News*, but there are thousands of people in France who could do with these boots and shoes. Why cannot they buy them? Because the speculators are holding back the supply so that they can get their own price.

The remedy is to do away with the speculators. It cannot be done by asking Parliament to pass a Bill to stop speculating. And for a good reason, as far as Britain is concerned.

Out of 707 Members in the British Parliament, 73 are Sinn Feiners, and 66 are Labour Party, making 508 business men, who of course, stand for the rights of private enterprise, which includes speculation.

A little thinking will show that the only way is for the workers to manage their own affairs, to run their own country themselves. And that means Soviets. It means Communism. It means Revolution.

Unemployed Tactics.

By H. M. Emery.

Judging from recent articles in Socialist papers, and Press reports of the activities of Unemployed Committees, there appears to be an entire lack of constructive ideas concerning the organisation of the unemployed.

There is also a disinclination to attempt such organisation by the super-Marxist, who, on account of the unemployed worker having temporarily ceased to be a creator of value, cannot place him.

The first thing necessary is a realisation that the unemployed worker presents to the Communist a mind to a certain extent freed from the restraining effects of custom and regular habits, and more open to receive Communist propaganda.

Organisation should at present be undertaken with two objects always in view. First, if Capitalism again stabilised itself for a time and absorbs the unemployed, that every worker now unemployed shall return to the factory with clear ideas as to the need for, and method of, organisation in the workshop. Secondly, if Capitalism fails to stabilise itself and a revolution becomes imminent, the unemployed worker will know exactly how to act, on Communist principles, and be ready to take part in a Revolution, and not in riots.

As Secretary of the Coventry Unemployed Workers' Committee, for four months, and leader of the Manx National Strike in 1918 (when a committee of five controlled transport, allowed no traffic on roads without a permit, fixed certain food prices, closed all public-houses, closed the schools and fixed the hours when shops should open and close), I may claim, I think, a little knowledge of organisation and mass psychology. With those qualifications, for what they are worth, I ask for a hearing.

Concerning Board of Guardians' Out-Relief.

I want comrades not to dismiss this by quoting the "Herald" and George Lansbury, and saying "Reformism." The Coventry Committee has consistently refused to take part in any relief work, and refuses funds except for propaganda. But we have urged every unemployed worker to seek out-relief, knowing full well that once you have got the worker, especially the skilled worker, to break through his bourgeois pride, you have gone a long way in freeing him from bourgeois concepts altogether, and also helped him to see his class position and unite with the unskilled as workers.

It has also given us a regular crowd of from nine to eleven hundred workers who attend our propaganda meetings twice a week at the Baths and take part in our Factory Gate Demonstrations, rather than hang round factory gates begging for jobs or round soup kitchens asking for soup.

There are about 2,200 "on the rates," and I shall be glad to supply other committees with lists of what we get from the Guardians (but they must realise it is our factory gate propaganda that has forced them to feed us; the capitalist does not mind you "seizing" a Library and getting your heads battered, if only you will keep away from the factory).

Most of our people have their tickets made out to their Co-operative Store, and got "divi" on it!

To give one case (the tickets are before me as I write), a man with an income of 10s. has for himself (no wife and children in Coventry):—

Half pound tea, one pound sugar, three-quarters pound margarine, half pound lard, half pound bacon, half pound cheese, one tin milk, four loaves bread, two pounds of flour, two pounds of oats, one pound jam, one pound rice, one pound currants, half pound raisins, quarter pound candied peel, four pound meat, one cwt. of coal.

Organisation.

The committee is elected at the mass meeting, each member being subject to recall. The committee meets once a week

and minutes, etc., are read at the mass meetings. There are standing sub-committees (Propaganda, Guardians, etc.).

Twice a week we have mass meetings, at which business is done, and Communist speakers deal with various phrases of working-class economics, etc. We particularly urge the rank and file to take part in the discussion.

When the weather permits, we hold demonstrations outside factory gates and have five-minute speeches from about four speakers, as we find this more effective than long speeches when the crowd is always changing. The workers inside are urged to organise their workers' committees irrespective of craft or sex and to prepare for the control of the factory by the workers.

I venture to assert that our tactics are more revolutionary, more dangerous to Capitalism, than those of committees who go about bragging that they are armed and urging their fellow workers to seize a Library!

We claim that our wishes are in line with the wishes of the Third International; our speakers and committee always march at the head of processions, etc., and no-one can be on the committee and shirk his duties when outside.

In short, we believe that we have acted as Communists, and greatly hope for the future.

The Early Fleecing.

By C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK.

Say, have you anywhere to sleep? Well, and are you warm enough at night?

Why I ask, is because I've just heard tell of a fellow named Early, who has just died, and has left behind him one hundred thousand pounds. Not much, what? But its terrible to have to pass from amongst us so early in life!

He came from Oxford, where all the wealthy proletarians—I mean parasites—amble learnedly around. He wasn't "one of us": he didn't have to work for his living; he never had to wait in a margarine queue, nor hang around for fruitless hours outside some anti-Labour Exchange. I don't suppose he ever got up any earlier than you or I, Bill, in spite of his name. The proverb doesn't tell us that "the early bird gets the boodle," either. Well, he's gone and left one hundred thousand of the best.

He called himself a "blanket manufacturer." I bet he never manufactured a "Woodbine," let alone a blanket. Still, all we've got to consider is the fact that he made his pile out of the sweat and blood of the likes of us; and that some of his blanket-making slaves are starving, and are blanketless o' nights. Hence the above title. From the poor sheep came the commodity so fleecy, and poor wage-slave sheep, with applied labour power, converted the raw material into lovely, warm blankets. During the process, business was transacted, and he *Business is the Fleecing*, ye ken! It's a funny world, Bill. Of course, of course—it's a *Capitalist World*—most of it!

Let us continue on the woolly track. Do you ever ponder, Bill, as to the reason why you and your Lizzie cannot this winter afford necessary warm woollen clothing, and yet, in this country, vast stacks of wool and woollen clothing are stacked in the warehouses? You'd like her to have some of those lovely jumpers displayed in the shops, but at 60/- and 70/- each, you daren't put your liking into action, and you can't if you dare! The price of wool in Australia is falling. Then why do not the suits of clothing in Britain get cheaper? One reason, a jolly close reason too, is that the Government, last March, bought up over 73 millions sterling of Colonial wool. Of this, 60 millions sterling is still stacked, unsold; and of the wool stocked in this country, the Government owns no less than 2,500,000 bales, so one can readily see why prices are high. The Government, being one of the primarily interested parties, wants a profit, and gets it. Do you remember the Government's Standard Clothing Scheme? That was in 1918. The profit on that gradely scheme, Bill, was just over £84,889. No wonder they are talking about repeating the game soon.

Watch 'em! The Bottomleyites shouted for a Business Government. Let's hope that the present one fills their hopes to the brim. A £1,150,000 wool deal has just been contracted between the British and Polish Governments (thirty-five thousand bales of which came from Australia and New Zealand). That's where the large stores of wool, previously referred to, are going. What is left is getting the price. And you and I have to go without such luxuries as woollen clothing. A glimpse at private company reports of directors' meetings will also show the sort of profits other early birds are getting, all the time. The salesman must profit too, so the real makers of the goods very often have not the wherewithal to re-purchase needed goods for their own use. The wageless, homeless, foodless, and workless slaves are shivering, whilst the shops and warehouses are crammed to overflowing with warm clothing, etc. Your need may be imperative, yet you must not take to supply your need, for the Law will punish all who violate sacred Property's interests.

What shall we do? Ah! Go round on the bum with our bands and banners! Let us solicit sympathy—it is so feeding. Let us patch up what shoddy rags are ours; our faith will warm us enough! Deputations may bring us—doles; resolutions passed will pass, and there will remain to us, enthusiasm—for a while. It will need a bigger mental effort, however, if we are to really help ourselves, and so our innocent families, towards foodfulness and health, and blankets. A mental effort—sure!

International Solidarity of White Assassins.

The Budapest paper, "Az Uisai," learns from an official quarter that the number of unemployed at Budapest amounts to about 160,000, to which the families of the war-mutilated, the war-widows and the wives of the prisoners of the war still left in Russia are to be added.

The number of sick persons unable to work is 30,000. Budapest, therefore, now counts 240,000 men and women with no means of living. Adding their relatives by multiplying the number by only two, we have 500,000 souls living in most dreadful misery, without work and the means of life.

The relief-action undertaken by the Communist Young International for the prisoners suffering cold and hunger in the Hungarian prisons and gaols should amount to so much as to enable us to help the victims of the economic situation of Horthy-Hungary for a part at least.

Workers, comrades! Help! Support the relief action of the Communist Young International for the dying Hungarian proletariat.

2,260 VICTIMS OF A SINGLE HANGMAN.

In a conversation with a bourgeois editor of the "Pesti Hirlap," Stefan Lazar, the hangman, Alexander Gyory, said that he had hanged 2,260 men during his activity till then, who were accused and condemned for high treason. Part of the victims of the governmental mass-murderer died during the war through sentence of the Austrian-Hungarian court-martial. By far the greatest part, however, are the comrades of both sexes, led to the gallows after the fall of the Soviet Dictatorship in Horthy-Hungary, by this Hungary.

Thousands of victims pine away to-day in the Hungarian gaols, and hundreds of them await the same fate, to follow the 2,260 souls dispatched by this same executioner.

Workers, comrades! You must hear the cry of the imprisoned. The call of the Hungarian Communist Party for help and relief of the wretches cannot remain unheard.

Support actively the action of the Communist Young International as a first step to the relief and the later liberation of the victims!

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UNITY.

In a matter of a few weeks, at the clarion call of the Communist International, British Revolutionaries will meet for the purpose of consolidating its forces into what will likely be known as "The United British Communist Party." Should this happen, it will mark a new epoch in British proletarian politics, for never in its history or the history of any other nation did the toiling masses get such a call for to send its advance guard to sit in conference to prepare its programme for the final struggle with its age-long enemy. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves to have procrastinated the three years our fellow-workers in Russia were weltering in blood and dying of hunger, while we, the enlightened so-called revolutionaries, fought, sometimes, our own shadows. The Russian peasants and workers will forget your three years of pious resolutions if only you come together in one solid phalanx, silently preparing, without talk, the pathway that leads to uniting our forces with the Red Army and Navy. The real purpose of the Communist in the days ahead of him or her is to sink personality, propagate the industries, the army and the navy with the purpose of making our own class understand its historic mission upon earth, showing that the class that dominates us meantime had, perforce, to use its power with the help of the blinded proletarians to overthrow the reactionary land-owning aristocracy of Britain. When Bonnie Prince Charlie gathered the last remnants of the feudal system in the fastnesses of the Scottish Highlands, the Bloody Duke of Cumberland, who joined the rising bourgeoisie, was sent North to crush this reactionary uprising, which was, according to that epoch, a counter-revolutionary move. It could not carry out its (bourgeoisie) historic mission without the use of the armed forces of the country, and they as we all know committed abominable atrocities which we, the proletarians, would never condescend to do. The evolution of the dictatorship of the capitalist class to the international dictatorship, with dear Winnie Churchill as its secretary, has shown to you, fellow-workers, especially the last few years, that this rule must now come under the dictatorship of the proletariat before we have world peace. We are not to discuss whether this or that defaulter is to be hung or imprisoned, we can safely leave that in the hands, not only of the duped proletarians of this land, but the hands of our fellow-workers in the great British dependencies, who feel the power of the mailed fist to a greater extent than we in free Britain. Our discussion lies in the fact that in one of our Communist parties we have members of it putting into operation bourgeois law and order; also some of its members are yet framing laws which they say are to ease our burdens on our way to the Social Revolution. Fellow-workers, is it to be Communists of this type or the Communists of the workshop and army that you

are to place confidence in the struggle for your emancipation? We can look for our guidance to the mistake which cost Bela Kun and his comrades thousands of lives in uniting with those two-and-a-half internationalists, and let us here, fellow-workers, throw aside those men who are just social reformers, for they, with their pacifism, will do likewise with us in the coming struggle for power. One of the members is reported to have said, during the negotiations for affiliation to the Labour Party, the following: "Why, there is no difference between our constitution and yours." This was supposed to have passed between that arch-traitor, Arthur Henderson, and one of the "heid yins" of the Communist Party. And now, if it is true, are we to be led with a pack of creatures who have no knowledge of the class-war? Certainly not! The workers must build from the workshop that nucleus they have faith in—a solid, federated Communist Party to work conjointly with the rank and file of the army and navy in the organising and disciplining of ourselves for the final struggle.

Leaders of workers' committees think that the whole membership in a workshop can become members of the Communist Party, but this is a false idea. Neither can the whole committee of workshop be members of the Party if its component parts support palliatives. If the whole committee are not Communists, the need arises to form a Com-

Communist Party, Financial Appeal

The Communist Party added sixty per cent. to its membership roll in the quarter just ended.

There was, however, a deficit of **THIRTY FIVE POUNDS** on the quarter's working.

The effectiveness and development of the Party is seriously hampered by lack of funds.

We therefore appeal to all Third Internationalists to give the Communist Party immediate and substantial financial support. Cheques and donations payable to the Communist Party Treasurer:

COMRADE TOM WATKINS,
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All applications for membership, to the Communist Party Secretary:

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD,
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munist Group inside the committee. During the transitional stages of capitalism, and if the commodity worker is elected to function as delegate of his department, and at the same time a member of the Communist Party, he cannot instruct the workers on the question of reforms in hours and wages. His duty is to tell them that this way of asking his master for another bone to pick will not take him out of the wilderness. Before a Communist takes a delegate's job he must bargain with them for the chance of laying down the real position of Communist tactics, and that he, though unwilling to take their palliatives, is not his will but theirs, and he, being subject to the rules of capitalist society, cannot make a better compromise with his fellow-slaves. The above method ought to have been the way during the war period, instead of the methods they practised too often, especially on the Clyde. Perhaps our Russian comrades think that in Scotland and in England those much-boasted committees are carrying out the communistic tactics to seize the workshops in a short space of time, but they are sadly mistaken. Everyone in the class-conscious fight knew too well that the masters needed all the man-power, and even it had passed laws to keep the herd from migrating to the highest bidder amongst the slave-owners, therefore if the situation had been exploited in a purely revolutionary programme,

which could easily have been done at the period, for victimisation of the slave then was dangerous to the masters losing their war. Instead of a strong position during the bosses' peace, we have a weak one, and every leader of palliatives who worked the committees has either been victimised or has taken cold feet in the struggle and is sitting around some party chair, meantime looking back wistfully upon the phantom committees. The struggle must continue, and the next time the boss class calls the herd together we will not enlarge our power by tongue-wabbling, thereby deceiving our comrades on the Continent, but will apply the programme of the Workers' International Industrial Union to the departments of industry, without going to the boss, with cap in hand, in a quiet conscientious manner, telling him and his friends that we are going to run the workshops under the name of the British Soviet Republic. This cannot be done by wasting time in making political careers; it can only be accomplished by hard, honest work, and behaving like true proletarians. By W. LESLIE.

"Baby" Week.

"Baby Week" was started on November 21st all over Russia. Its task is not only to carry through a number of concrete and practical measures for improving the life of the children, but also to draw the interest of the wide working masses to all questions regarding Socialist education and the protection of the health of children.

The concrete measures for this week have been indicated in the article by Comrade Kaplin in the "Pravda" (No. 264).

During "Baby Week," wherever possible, the Trade Unions, together with the Labour Inspection Department and the Educational Departments, are to withdraw from work all young persons under 14 years of age, or at least a considerable part of them, and put them in school. A special investigation of all factories and works is to be made during the week. Young persons under 16 must be released from all heavy, harmful, and dangerous work (the inhalation of dust, poisonous gases, high temperatures, dampness, contact with swift working machines, working with sharp implements of mechanisms, work incurring losing of weight, etc.), and transferred to safe and harmless work. The sub-sections of the Labour Protection Department are to organise mass investigations of the factories and works in order to remove any violation of children's labour protection legislation. Special attention is to be paid to the observation of the 4-hour day for young people of 14 to 16 years of age and the 6-hour day for the ages of 16-18. A watch is to be maintained as to whether children are being employed for night shifts and overtime work. It will likewise be ascertained whether they enjoy a month's holiday, as decreed, whether they attend the schools, what are their housing conditions, etc. Special attention is to be given to the small craft establishments, where the children are morally perverted, for the master here generally uses them in all kinds of personal services and accustoms them to the acceptance of bribes and perquisites, simultaneously breeding in them the petty instinct of private property and exploiting them to the utmost.

The work of investigation should be participated in by the local organisations of the young men's league as represented by their economic and judicial departments, and also the Women's Sections, for whom the health of child labour should be especially comprehensible and near.

"Baby Week" undoubtedly will not end after seven days, as is supposed. Its chief aim will have been attained if it succeeds in arousing a great interest in all its questions in the future. We may hope that the echo to the call of labour protection of the growing generation will continue to sound deeper and louder.

The World's Congress of the Communist International.

By the late John Reed.

The Second World Congress of the Third International was really its first congress—last year's meeting was only a propaganda committee, with a handful of delegates. But more than that, the present congress was really the first gathering of actual revolutionary fighters ever held.

It was remarkable for the number of real proletarians, of actual workmen-fighters-strikers, barricade-defenders and of active leaders of the revolutionary nationalist movements in the backward and colonial countries. German Spartacists, Spanish Syndicalists, American I.W.W.'s, Hungarian Soviet and Red Army leaders, British Shop Stewards, and Clyde Workers' Committees, Dutch Transport Workers, Hindu, Korean, Chinese and Persian insurrectionists, Irishmen-Sinn Feiners and Communist-Argentinian dockers, Australian "wobblies." All these people were not clear on Communism, they had violently divergent ideas about the dictatorship of the proletariat, Parliamentarism, the need for a political party: but they were welcomed as brothers in revolution, as the best fighters of the working-class, as comrades that were willing to die for the overthrow of Capitalism. And they left Moscow almost all convinced that a Communist Party was necessary, that only through the dictatorship of the proletariat could Communism be reached, and that the Communist International was worthy to be the General Staff of the World Revolution.

"Life itself is with the Communist International," said Lenin. "We may make mistakes, but nevertheless all the revolutionists in the world must come to us, must join us . . ."

One year ago, there were feeble Communist groups and tendencies in Europe and America, or parties undergoing severe internal struggles: now there are powerful Communist parties almost everywhere, or such parties are crystallizing with tremendous rapidity. There were delegates present from the Communist parties of the United States, England, Germany, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, China, Korea, Turkey, Persia, Mexico, Iceland (where the Communist Party has a membership of five thousand, out of a population of one hundred thousand), Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Dutch East Indies, Switzerland, Spain, the International Socialist League of South Africa.

The Dynamic Force of the Congress.

The irresistible magnetic force of the Congress destroyed what was left of the Second International, leaving for the Geneva Congress only the German Majority Social Democrats—whose delegate in the Bureau is Comrade Noske—the Branting Swedish Social Democrats, the Huysmans Belgian Party, the Austrian Woodrow Wilsonites, and the Polish Party, headed by Gen. Pidsudski, who led one of the wars against Soviet Russia. As for the "Two and a Half" International, upon which were fastened the hopes of the French Socialists, the German Independents, the Swiss opportunists and the Hillquitized Socialist Party of the United States, one puff of revolutionary scorn blew it out of existence.

The German Independents—Daumig, Crispin, Dittman and Stocker—came hurrying to Moscow to demand admission, knowing well that if they returned to Germany without an encouraging answer, the German masses would move out from under them. Comrades Cachin and Frossard of the French Socialist Party were also there, apologising for their sins and the sins of their party. The American Socialist Party likewise sent a letter announcing its decision to adhere to the Engdahl-Kruse resolution adopted by referendum, which caused considerable amusement here: while at the same time arrived the report of the May convention of the Socialist Party with the Hillquit resolution adopted there, which contained the affiliation to the Third International, at the same time holding on to the "Two and a Half" International. As, however, the American Socialist Party representatives

were arrested on suspicion of counter-revolutionary activities, and are held for deportation, the reply of the Communist International to this insolent request will be forwarded to America through other channels.

A Real International.

Millions of workers all over the world, of all races, speeches and colours, now look to the Communist International, whose Executive Committee, seated at Moscow, will act as the staff of the ever-developing world-revolution, issuing orders to its different national sections. It is time that talks of "national autonomy" for the affiliated parties should cease. Just as military organisation, a centralised and disciplined body of revolutionists, so the new International, unlike the Second International, is a centralised and disciplined army, the movement of each division of which must be strictly subordinated to the interest of the revolution as a whole.

This does not mean that the Communist International will take part in the details of the revolutionary struggle in each country, but that the International, through its Congress, lays down the broad lines of organisation and tactics to be followed on a world scale, to be binding on all parties—and the Executive Committee decides immediate questions which spring up from time to time—such as splits within the Communist movement, questions of what to do in time of crisis, when the local party is in doubt, etc. It is the supreme governing body of the International, and its decisions are binding for all parties—which have, however, the right of appeal to the next World's Congress.

Doing away with Opportunists.

As a first step in the direction of centralisation and discipline, the Congress has ruled that all parties must become centralised Communist parties: that they must clear out of their ranks, at any cost, the opportunists and reformists who still remain there: that they must leave in executive positions only tried and proven Communists; and that they must make use both of legal and illegal organisations, and prepare the masses for civil war, for open insurrection.

To the German Independents and the French Socialists, and all the other semi-revolutionary parties whose opportunist leaders are now hurrying to get into the fold before the doors are shut, the Communist International says: "You are coming to us because the masses in your party are really revolutionary, really want to join us. But there are many non-revolutionary, even counter-revolutionary, elements in your party, many opportunists and compromisers and politicians. Before you can affiliate with the Communist International, your party must call a Congress; this Congress must adopt all the resolutions of the Congress of the International, must accept its rules of organisation, its platform, must expel from its ranks all the politicians, all the opportunists—the Longuets, Thomases, Renaudels (shall we add the Crispins, Dittmanns, the Cachins and Frossards?). You must publish all the communications of the Communist International, including those which denounce your leaders and the policy of your party. And when you have done all these things, when you have proved that your party is really a revolutionary Communist Party, not only by words, but also by revolutionary deeds—then we shall be glad to welcome you into the Communist International.

Needless to say, compliance with these decisions would almost entirely destroy the officialdom of the Socialist Party of the United States.

But towards its member-parties, the Communist International is even stricter. The Italian Socialist Party was told that it must expel the reformists in its ranks, the Norwegian party was ordered to revise its method of organisation, according to which whole Trade Unions, containing many members who are not Socialists, are organic members of the party: the German Communist Labour Party was denounced because of its attitude towards labour organisations, and its conception of the role and tactics of the Party; and

the Dutch Communist Pannecoek was rebuked for his theoretical conception of the role of the Trade Unions. Since the Congress, the Executive Committee has laid down the conditions for the uniting of the English Communist movement, the American parties, the Czecho-Slovak movement, and the Swiss Communist groups and factions. These decisions are binding.

The Colonial Problem.

One of the most interesting questions of the entire Congress was that of Nationalism and the Colonial problem. The Committee in charge of this question was under the chairmanship of Lenin himself. It considered in detail and exhaustively the evolutionary and liberation movements in the Orient, in India, Egypt, Ireland, Persia, Turkey, the Caribbean Republics (destroyed by American Imperialism), the Philippines; among the American Negroes, and the semi-Colonial peoples of Central America, etc.

The Theses of Lenin, advanced in his opening speech to the Congress upon the world situation and the task of the Communist International, was that one and a quarter billion out of the world population of one and three-quarter billion of people, are now in the condition of dependent or subject peoples—one part because of their colonial situation, or that of being under protectorates or "mandates"—others as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, which places advanced and civilised countries, such as Germany and Austria, in the position as colonies, and still others, because of their indebtedness to the two great capitalist solvent powers, England and America. In this condition are France, Italy, Belgium and other countries.

The problem of subject peoples must become the main problem of history. And the problem of the subject people, because of the increased intensity of capitalist exploitation of the subject, colonial and defeated countries, becomes a problem primarily of the exploited proletariat.

The division of opinion in the Commission was between those who believed primarily in the importance of the nationalist revolutionary movement, and those who believed that the Communist movement direct could be instigated in the backward countries. This latter was the opinion of many delegates from India and the Orient. In the end, it was laid down that it was the duty of the Communist International to aid both the Communists and the "national revolutionary" movements—as distinguished from the bourgeois national movement—in the backward colonial countries.

Oriental Awakening.

The interest taken in these revolutionary nationalist movements is emphasized by the opening of the great congress of Oriental peoples, which took place in Baku, where four thousand delegates of all the nations of the East met on the sea shore of the Caspian, planning the new Holy War of the Eastern proletarians for freedom.

The Congress of the International laid it down as a principle that it was possible to establish Soviets in the backward subject countries, that the ground was even very favourable for the Soviet system there, and that these countries might come to Communism without passing through capitalism. This marks an important advance step in Socialist theory. It indicates the difference between the Second and the Third Internationals, in the intellectual realism which dictates this conception, in the determination it shows to turn to action, to create the revolution in the East and in this way, from the subject countries, to deal the most vital blow at international capitalist Imperialism, from the stronghold of its power.

The question which aroused the hottest discussion in the Congress was that of the Labour Unions.

The Breaking-up of the A. F. of L.

It will be remembered that in its letter to the American Communist parties of last January, the Executive Committee of the Communist International underlined the necessity of accelerating the break-up of the A. F. of L., and

supporting all tendencies towards revolutionary industrial unionism, by the Communists. At the Congress, however, the position was entirely reversed. The first proposition of the Executive Committee to the Congress, although it made an exception to the American movement, laid down the principle that it was necessary to revolutionise the unions by the Communists entering them and capturing the machinery, and expelling the reactionary bureaucracy, thus making the unions the instrument of revolutionary action. Almost nothing was said about industrial unionism, which indeed nobody in Russia—or even on the continent of Europe, for that matter—seems to understand. It was emphasised, above all, that the Communist must not leave the Trade Unions, except for very limited reasons.

This attitude is the result of Radek's visit to Germany, where the Communist movement had split into two parties, one of which, the Communist Labour Party, disgusted with the reactionary character of the German Trade Unions, and despairing of capturing them for the revolution, advocated leaving them and forming new "general unions." The movement seems to have temporarily failed. Moreover, the German Communist Party, whose representative in the Congress admitted that they had for nine months advocated the leaving of the unions, was now firmly convinced that the only possible way to capture the unions was to stay in them.

The American Delegation, the I.W.W., the Shop Stewards, and the Industrialists and Syndicalists generally, pointed out the general character of the Labour movement in the Anglo-Saxon countries, and even some continental countries, where the form of the unions was such that it could not be used for revolutionary purposes even if the Communists did capture all the offices, a course of action which had been advocated and practised for years by the Socialist Party of America. We agreed that it was foolish to leave the unions so long as the masses remained in them, and we also agreed that it was necessary to work in the Craft Unions, to smash them, and to build Industrial Unions both as fighting instruments and as the future organs for the administration of industry. We also demanded that the functions of the Workers' Committees and of Industrial Unions, which were narrowly limited according to Russian and German experience, be allowed some latitude, since in the western countries, especially in America, the theory of industrial unionism was very highly developed, as in England the Shop Steward movement.

The Question of the Trade Unions.

The fundamental difference between us and the whole group of Europeans lay in the fact that in Europe, the Labour Unions have for years been merely an appendage of the political party, and have been considered of secondary importance. This was nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the statement by Radek, that during the German Revolution, at the first constituent Congress of the German Communist Party, the question of unionism was not even on the order of business. He pointed out that during these last two years, the whole European revolutionary movement has been paying a great deal of attention to the unions, and now understand the important role they play—a role indicated by the part they played in the betrayal of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and the part they have played during the Russian Revolution. We responded that for twenty-five years, the question of unionism had been the most important question on the order of the business of the revolutionary movements in America and England, and that in the theory of unionism, the western countries are a decade ahead of Europe. The European delegates not only were unable to conceive of a Trade Union structure which could not be changed by a revolutionary majority—although they understand that the capitalist state cannot be so altered, cannot be made into a revolutionary instrument of the proletariat, but must be smashed—but they did not seem to realise to what extent this Trade Union apparatus had been developed in order to restrain and thwart the masses, or what a power in the working-class the unions have become in some countries, and are becoming in others.

After a long and bitter fight, the Executive Committee made several amendments to their

these which, although far from satisfactory to the objecting delegates, still made it possible for Communists in America to work for revolutionary industrial unionism, and for the destruction of the reactionary American Federation of Labour. The Anglo-Saxons, however (together with the Dutch, Spanish, Hindu, Irish, and part of the French delegation), presented their own amendment to the theses on unionism, which are incorporated in the report of the Convention.

The Red Labour Union.

The development of the revolution, which in the Labour movement will be hastened by the foundation in Moscow of the Red Labour Union International, to destroy the Amsterdam Trade Union International—and upon the organisation committee of which is a representative of the I.W.W. and of the Shop Stewards—will surely bring about a radical alteration of the attitude of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, an attitude which is not even satisfactory to the Russian unions. At the next congress these Theses must be altered. The Russian Comrades, even those responsible for the Theses, admit that they have received a great deal of education upon the subject of unionism from the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon delegates.

The fights which were threatened upon the questions of the role of the Communist Party and Parliamentarism, simmered down to a more or less unclear opposition from the Syndicalists and the Industrialists, and from the "anti-Parliamentary" wing of the Italian Communists—an entirely different position. The Thesis of the Executive Committee, with some slight alterations, and with the addition of minority Theses presented by Comrade Bordiga of Italy, on the Parliamentary question, were accepted by large majorities.

The Nationalists' Movements.

Of course, there were various remnants of the sentiments of the Second International. On the National and Colonial Question, for example, the delegates of the British Socialist Party insisted upon the danger of "indiscriminate Communist agitation" in India, and informed the congress very gravely that the British workers were so patriotic, that an up-rising in India would draw the British masses away from the Socialist movement to rush to arms for the defence of the Empire. Also Comrade Serrati of Italy, objected to aiding the nationalist revolutionary movements in colonies, for very much the same reasons. This point of view was, however, severely rebuked by the members of the Congress.

Comrade Reed delivered a report, both in the Committee and in the Congress, upon the Negroes in America and the revolutionary movement among them. It was decided by the Executive Committee to invite a commission of Negro revolutionists to come to Russia as guests of the Soviet Republic. This invitation will be forwarded through the United Communist Party of America very soon.

The amended Theses will be sent as soon as possible, and the stenographic report of the congress is almost entirely translated, and is now being printed.

A Unique Congress.

The Congress was unique in world history. The stories of how the delegates reached Russia, across innumerable fronts, through unheard of dangers and hardships—one American I.W.W. went around the world, and finally walked five hundred miles across the desert mountains of Manchuria—are the most thrilling tales ever told. Many on their way here lost their lives, were shot, deported and never reached here at all. Perhaps that is one reason why there were so many revolutionists at the Congress—because except for a very few who received legal passports, almost every delegate had to come illegally, in a revolutionary way, risking his life. Among them were no less than six American Communists of both parties, and two from the United Communist Party, and several I.W.W.'s, Miss Pankhurst and other British delegates. Now, as this is written, most of the delegates have started on their long way home, through the fronts, through the cloud of spies hanging over every frontier town.

The Friendly Welcome of Soviet Russia.

Soviet Russia welcomed the delegates heartily. As they came through the different towns, the population came out to meet them with banners

and music, singing the "International." The honour, the love, offered to the foreign delegates, the real respect and gratitude and affection shown by the workers and peasants, will never be forgotten. They were fed, clothed, and given free access to the theatres, feasted and cheered. It is impossible in this article to describe the great demonstration at Petrograd, where tremendous masses flowed like a clashing sea through the broad streets, almost overwhelming with their enthusiastic affection, the delegates as they marched from the Tauride Palace to the Fields of Martyrs of the Revolution, protected on both sides by long lines of workers holding hands, forming a living chain: the vast throng on Yuritsky Square, in front of the Winter Palace, where seventy thousand people crowded, roaring, to greet the delegates: the pageant at night on the steps of the old Stock Exchange—now the Sailors' Club—where more than five thousand people in gorgeous costumes, took part, depicting the history of the proletarian revolution, from the Paris Commune to the International Revolution, and the cruisers of the Red Fleet, decked with flags, saluted with cannon the opening of the Congress, and the Red Army marched past in review. Or the demonstration in Moscow, the procession of three hundred thousand people, lasting all the afternoon, the armed proletariat tramping by to salute the delegates, the trucks full of happy children, the interminable ranks of youthful proletarians enrolled in the Universal Military Training, the athletes, half-naked, beautifully tanned by the sun—twenty-five thousand of them—who afterwards drilled with flags on the vast field; the aeroplanes and dirigibles over the ancient city, where under the Imperial old red Kremlin wall, by the Brotherhood Grave of the revolutionary heroes, the delegates of the Congress stood watching the interminable file of workers' organisations and Red Army detachments go singing past.

The first session of the Congress was held in Pritsky (Tauride) Palace, in compliment of the Red Capital. Then special trains transported the delegates to Moscow, where the other sessions took place in the great Vladimir Throne Room of the Imperial Palace in the Kremlin. Here were gathered together most of the revolutionists who fill the eye of the working masses of the world—from Russia, Lenin, Trotsky, Kamanev, Bukharin, Radek; from France, Rosmer, Sadoul, Lefevre; from Germany, Levy and Mayer; from Italy, Serrati, Bombacci; from England, Sylvia Pankhurst, Jack Tanner, Willie Gallacher; from Austria, Toman, Gruber; from Hungary, Rokoski—and just after the Congress—Bela Kun.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

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NATIONAL SECRETARY'S NOTES.

Gorton Branch Statement.

I have read the statement of our comrades from Gorton with a good deal of interest.

There would appear to be a good deal of misconception on the matter. So far as I am aware, no member of this Party has suggested "that we should eat our programme in the interests of Communism." So far as I am aware, no single member of this Party is prepared to be a member of a party which adopts revolutionary Parliamentarism as one of its tactics.

I deny, emphatically, that the Theses lay it down that Parliamentary action should be a Communist tactic for Britain. I assert that the Theses lays it down that the attitude towards Parliament of a Communist Party should be determined by a whole series of conditions that exist. I further assert that, without a shadow of doubt, very special conditions do exist with regard to this country, that make it certain that "revolutionary Parliamentarism" would be a ghastly failure for Britain, in achieving any revolutionary spirit or revolutionary ends.

It so happens that the Comrades who have started the World Revolution are Slavs. It so happens that these comrades, who have also written the world Theses, have found by experience, that by revolutionary Parliamentarism they have achieved their triumph. It is a terrible knock-out blow of an argument—"This is how we did the job." I agree with my Gorton comrades that the Thesis is very very weak on the Parliamentary question, that the autonomy and local judgment on this question allowed to different countries is not so great as I should like.

I agree again, that the better position would have been to have made the Theses the basis for discussion at the January Conference. There is no doubt about that. I urged that for some hour and a half to the comrades of the other parties, who first met informally, until at last, the actual resolution of the Third International was produced, which made it clear that the Theses was not going to be made the basis of discussion at all, but that we could accept it or leave it. As a matter of fact, we adopt much the same attitude with our own members—"Accept our seven points, or do not join. At any rate, we are not prepared to budge or discuss about them."

In point of actual fact, I am not over sanguine about the January Conference producing a real Communist Party at all. I think it quite possible that we shall again miss the vital elements, and that more than one "Unity Conference" will have to be held before a party is finally evolved, capable of carrying through revolutionary aims effectively. I have no illusions on the matter.

But in spite of all this, I still say: "Take part in the January Conference and carry the fight into a united party of Third Internationalists." If that United Party proves ineffective, adopts fatal tactics for any success, gets into the hands of career hunters and reformists, of people who prefer talk to action, then will be the time to split it and report on the whole situation, back to the revolutionary centre.

One sentence in the Gorton statement strikes me as very curious, "Our congratulations go out to our Russian Comrades in their gallant fight." Well, those same gallant Russian comrades, who have been defending the world revolution, who have died for it in thousands whilst we have been talking, are saying to us: "It is essential that all Third Internationalists be in one united revolutionary party, and to show your loyalty and admiration for us, please accept the world Theses the Communist International has agreed upon." Gorton says: "All admiration for them, a little grunting, but no bacon." The Russian comrades are imploring us to forge a party that is "effective," that can do things, that can wield power, that is capable of carrying through national movements among unemployed, soldiers, sailors, police, on the industrial field; everywhere in fact. Our little Party numbers six hundred; this after six months' existence. One in every fourteen thousand adults in the country. Those of us who founded this anti-Parliamentary Party, looked to at least

a membership ten times as great within six months. There is no good saying we have realised our hopes. However good and perfect one's theory may be, it has all to stand the test of Dietzchen ("Does it work?"—"Is it effective?"). In these days we cannot lose time. Capitalism is crashing, and unless Communists get a huge move on, banks will crash, business and finance crash, unemployment sweep the country, and even the revolution itself be carried through; leaving the official Communist Parties "in the air."

As an Internationalist, I am very loath to say to Russian comrades: "I admire you all very much, but none the less, I am going to cut myself adrift from you because you have drafted a Thesis a little different from how I should have drafted it myself."

If it is at all possible to get a real revolutionary party on this Thesis, and there is undeniably a possibility, then let us make the effort.

A New Experiment.

My congratulations to Comrade Aldred on being adopted as Communist candidate for Shettlestone, in opposition to Bailie Wheatley and a Co-Lib. I understand Aldred is definitely pledged not to take his seat if elected, but to devote himself to the advocacy and preparation of the Soviets and the Armed Insurrection. At the same time, I understand that his group propose to carry on a campaign in all the rest of the Glasgow constituencies for a "Don't Vote" ticket, so as to dish the Labour fakirs and the Revolutionary Parliamentarian fakirs. This is all good news. Let us see how it works. Workers will certainly realise the Communist opposition to Parliament much more effectively from Comrade Aldred's programme and election tactics than they will from any proposed revolutionary Parliamentarism. I predict that an overwhelmingly effective piece of propaganda for Communism will result from our Comrade's innovation.

Christmas Competition.

This realised a profit of close on £18 for Party funds. Our best thanks go out to all those who put their backs into it to achieve this result. It far from clears the Party debt, which at the present moment is over £40, but with three national conferences within seventeen weeks this is not surprising. If Branches will pay their dues regularly, and make their best efforts in building up their own membership roll and founding new groups of Communists, there is no reason why we should not reach the Leeds conference at least solvent. The Party has been sadly hampered by being too small to afford a travelling organiser for the provinces, but like all movements that ever achieve anything, early days are always stormy.

Wishing all comrades, a right revolutionary New Year, we will express the hope that before its close, more large portions of the world's map will be coloured Red.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. NOTLER.

It was the other night. It was a ferocious night; not the kind of night you mean though, Henry. Not a stormy night, or a windy, blasty one. But just a ferocious night, if you get me?

There were about forty of us, but it might have been forty thousand. A gramophone was spinning merrily under the gas jet. I don't know if a gramophone has feelings of any sort or whether it objects to being wound up and shaken a bit when it won't go. But "spinning merrily" is the correct way to write in these cases. All the great writers write like that.

A piece of mistletoe that had mislaid its berries hung suspended from the gas jet, but it was obviously impossible to do any affectionate embraces with that gramophone in the way. It is not to be supposed that the gramophone was there to be kissed. But, really, the gramophone—no, I mean the mistletoe was unnecessary. Out of the hundred and fifty games that were played that evening, it is safe to say that one hundred and forty-nine were kissing games.

At the very minute I am referring to, the particular game going on was a sort of whirling embrace. You grasped someone of the opposite sex by the waist with one hand and the tips of the fingers of the other, and then did a sort of

shuffle round the room. It was called dancing, I believe.

I enjoyed it immensely. For, although there were some forty of us in the room, and half of them on the feet of the other half, I was seated, with my feet high up, on a chair in the doorway. Or to be exact, I was right in the middle of a beautiful draught midway between the window and the door. On my right was a young comrade smoking a cigar—everybody smokes cigars at Christmas—and on my left was the Soglashatelist. As there was a conversation going on between the cigar and the Soglashatelist, I came in for more draught, and a few volumes of smoke.

It is not really good form to argue at what are called jollifications. One talks like this—at least everybody who is anybody does:

"Rotten weather, what?"

"Looks like rain."

"Do you dance?"

"Yes, sometimes. But I don't get these new fangled dances."

"Well, my partner is over there and I'm booked now. So long."

"So long."

That's how one talks, really, you know, Henry. But the cigar and the Soglashatelist didn't know it. They belonged to the low working-class, and knew nothing of good form.

"No," the Soglashatelist was saying, in a lofty tone of voice, it seemed to come from the ceiling. "To the best of my belief, the Hysterical Conception of the Means of Production and Exchange, was originally enunciated by Frederick Engels in his opus major of that entitulation, and it will be discovered in his Preface, which precedes and is appended to the original edition that—"

And so on for a few deep breaths. The young man with the cigar was firm in his belief that Frederick Engels did not write that opus major of that entitulation and said so. After a few more thousand syllables had been spent, I was appealed to.

"Hey?" I enquired.

They went over it again.

I said "Wait a minute. Let's go over it slowly. I think you referred to the Hysterical Conception—"

"No," said the Soglashatelist, "I said the historical—"

"You mean materialist," interjected Mr. Cigar.

"Go on," I said to the Soglashatelist. "Never mind interruptions. Begin again. The historical materialist conception of the history of pro—"

"The historical conception of the materialist—no, I've got it wrong; yes, the materialistic conception of the historical means—er—no, let me see, where was I?"

"The materialistic history of the means and conception?" I suggested.

"That's what I said," remarked Mr. Cigar. "Now Marx, in his twenty-fifth chapter—"

"You've both got it wrong," said the Soglashatelist. "Now look here. What I meant to say was this. That it was Frederick Engels, and not Karl Marx—"

And so it went on. I slipped to the door, where a young man was propping up the wall and looking on as if he was bored pallid. We yawned in company and I said:

"Things getting slack?"

"Some."

"Going home?"

"I'm at home. I live here."

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BRANCH NOTES.

Forth.

The Rhondda is once again in the throes of a strike, and suffering the consequences of increased production.

The dispute has occurred at the "Park and Dare" collieries, Treorchy, where 11 men have been dismissed, owing (the employers contend) to the places in which they are working not being remunerative; in other words, "turn out more coal or get out." Once again the slave-owners are demanding a larger margin of surplus value (profit), or no right to live at all.

After a period of negotiating, the owners eventually offered to employ the eleven men at their neighbouring collieries, but this offer was flatly refused, and the district meeting on Monday decided they would await the result of the meeting with the Board of Directors on Tuesday, and if no satisfaction was obtained, a strike should be declared on Wednesday morning in the Rhondda No. 1 district. This has now commenced.

Mass meetings will be held throughout the district to-day (Thursday), and a South Wales Conference demanded.

Reports show that Rhondda No. 1 is out to a man. On this fight, as all realise, depends the future security of the workers against the owners.

The workers in Porth all realise well that these minor skirmishes are but the prelude to the big fight to swing over from the privilege of working to make profit for the bosses, to the privilege of working for the community and the full fruits of their labours to the workers. Just so long as the idea of stealing surplus value from the workers rules all the owners' actions in the field of industry, so always must these strikes occur. Only with the coming of Communism will strikes cease, for only then will there be no one to exploit the workers' toil.

All enquiries for Porth Branch to Trevor Lewis, 23, Church Terrace, Ynyshir, Rhondda.

Central.

A new member in Comrade Ross was accepted last week and a committee of five appointed to look after the business side of the branch. At the meeting held on the 21st inst. another new member in Comrade Smith was admitted to the group. All communications to the Central Branch to Comrade Frances Goodwin, c/o I.S.C., 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1.

Merthyr.

This town is an I.L.P. stronghold, and the local Communist branch is doing none too well in consequence. There can be no peace between the bourgeois pacifism and reformism of the I.L.P. and the clear-cut struggle on the basis of the class war carried on by the Communists. With a united party and an adequate supply of organisers and propagandists, it will be an easy matter to come to the aid of our comrades keeping the flag of Communism flying in Merthyr. All enquiries to the local group to Comrade H. Griffiths, 60, Quarry Row, Merthyr Tidvil, South Wales.

Manchester Central.

This branch is making fine progress and hopes to be one of the best disciplined and strongest groups in the country. In view of the fact that the Communist Party (B.S.T.I.) has decided to sell out at Leeds next month, I am instructed by my group to declare that we cannot be a party to that decision, but await the result of the conference before taking further action. We of this group who a fortnight ago felt we were embarking on what seemed an optimistic position, are sorry to know there are still people in the anti-parliamentary faction who are ready at any time to blow hot and cold and take advantage of the proletariat.

E. A. Smith, Group Secretary, 73, Slater Street, Oldham Road, Manchester.

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

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

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence.

Entry Fee: One Shilling.

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

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

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

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

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Whitechapel.

Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

Poplar.

Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

Camberwell.

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

Sundays, Peckham Rye, at 11 a.m.

Birmingham.

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

Barking.

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

INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.

Soho International.

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

Bow.

400, Old Ford Road. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poplar.

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

Camberwell.

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

Hull.

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

Hammersmith.

Branch meetings held Fridays, at 8 p.m., at 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush, W.

Barking.

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

Stepney.

Branch meetings held Thursdays, at 8 p.m., at the I.S.C., 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1.

HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.

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

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

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

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

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

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gle on the part of the E.C. to introduce their IF. They do indeed follow the parliamentary method, and perhaps the sooner they transfer fully from Soviet ideas to middle-class constitutionalism, the better for all who want to prosecute the Class War.

On Sunday last the four strong Manchester groups met in the Bakers' Hall to review the position, and to decide upon methods for a joint working within the city of the four groups.

We have written to the whole of the Party groups upon the position re unity, and should deem it polite of them to at least reply to our letter. So far, only four groups, Sheffield, Exeter, Hammersmith, and Central London have replied.

Branch meets at Dale Street C.L.C. at 8 o'clock Tuesday and Friday evenings. Members wanted, but prospective candidates for Parliament need not apply for admission to our group.—Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.

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Gorton.

Secretary Redfern reports very good progress in the branch's various activities. The branch membership is now up to 39, and an average of twenty coming rebels attend the proletarian Sunday school carried on by the branch. A party and entertainment is being arranged for them on January 2nd.

The industrial history class averages an attendance of sixteen and the economics class averages an attendance of ten.

The branch has also purchased a large map of Europe for the branch room, and are all bent on carry on the educational work to the fullest extent. All this work is splendid and shows the way to other branches what can be done for Communism when the will is there.

All communications for Gorton Branch to Comrade Secretary E. Redfern, Gore Brook Hall, Williams Street, Gorton, Manchester.

Sheffield.

By fourteen votes to six this branch has decided to ask for a referendum on the question of acceptance of the Thesis. Six branches have now asked for this. All enquiries for Sheffield Branch to Comrade Arthur Carford, 183, West Street, Sheffield.

Altrincham.

Your circular of the 20th did not arrive till after we held our last branch meeting. I called a special meeting for the purpose of bringing before our members the circular, and they are still determined that a referendum be taken of all the members of the Party. Further, that this branch is not in favour of sending delegates to the Unity Conference on the basis of acceptance of the whole of the Theses and Statutes of the Communist International, but that we still hold to our original resolution that we only accept the Thesis as a basis of discussion. Our membership strength is seven financial members. We have the prospect of more members, but if the Party decides to go over, then these members will not come in if we remain part of the Group, and I can safely say that our branch will secede from the Party. This is not a threat, as the branch were determined to break away at our last meeting, and I prevailed upon the members to see the decision of the whole Party through before taking any definite step. The point is that just when we were on the verge of victory the conference should be influenced by certain persons to accept the parliamentary position. Now, Comrades, I am not so slow as to not know what is going on in the British Communist Party, for they are far from being united, and a good push on our part would have brought down the whole pack of cards. The fact is that we have been sold, make no mistake about it. Moscow knows which Party was genuine, and was waiting events.—Jack Whinfield, 62, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.

Manchester Branch.

We, of the above, are very much against the Executive's decision of the 20th December, which says:—

"IF half the branches notify the Secretary that they desire a referendum on the acceptance of the Theses."

We understood that a referendum WAS to take place immediately after the Cardiff Conference—but now it has become IF!

However, you must register our protest against this method of settling things without the consent of the branches. That is to say, that we consider it a complete wan-