

# Workers' Dreadnought

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## Revolutionary Education.

By A. Lunatcharsky.

I shall give here a few figures and facts to illustrate what we have achieved on the front for which the Communist Party and the Soviet government, owing to the difficult conditions of the past three years, could spare but little forces and means, but the importance of which is acknowledged by everybody. Under the most difficult conditions for supplying school appliances, with a hostile body of teachers, and with the project of the Communist school as yet incomplete, we have accomplished the following during the three past years:

1. A declaration on the uniform labour school has been drawn up, as well as a series of supplementary declarations. At present, this declaration is translated into almost all European languages. It has been widely discussed abroad and met with general approval not only in Communist and proletarian circles, but even among the more progressive pedagogues. Thus, for instance, the All-German conference of teachers at Munich, after hearing the report of Professor Brown, adopted a resolution endorsing the fundamental principles of our declaration.

2. We have won over the greatest part of the teaching staff. The former Teachers' Union, with 50,000 members, which was bourgeois in spirit, and led by the Social-Revolutionaries, changed into the Union of School and Socialist-Culture Workers with a membership of 300,000. The conference of this Union was composed of 30 per cent. Communists and manifested the strong sympathies of the teachers for the new forms of education.

3. The schools have been reformed and the number of young persons training to be teachers increased enormously. The students have become democratised. Several model teachers' institutes have been set up at Petrograd, Viatka, etc.

4. The schools have been declared accessible to all, and free in the broadest sense of the word, the State supplying all pupils' requirements. Of course, the number of schools is still insufficient, but during the revolution the number of elementary schools has increased to approximately 12,000, and the number of pupils has grown from 3½ millions to 5 millions. Progress has not been so good with regard to secondary schools. It has not been possible to increase their number. Intensive work is being carried on to reconstruct this petty-bourgeois school, which still preserves some traits of the Czarist period, along the principles of the declaration on the uniform labour school. A great change has been observed of late in this respect.

5. New conditions have been created by the issue of a number of decrees in the field of professional-technical education. Compulsory education has been declared for the purpose of raising the technical standard of the workers. Evening courses are being introduced in order to afford technical education to thousands and millions of workers. Most energetic measures have been taken to preserve and extend the existing industrial and agricultural schools. All gra-

duating engineers are exempted from work in all departments, and even from military service. Together with their professors, they are placed under exceptional conditions and under a special control that they may attend the lectures at the higher technical schools and thus furnish in the nearest future, the necessary number of engineers and fill the vacant places which remained after the imperialist and civil wars. The Department of Profession Education which is managing this work is in liveliest contact with the economic commissariats and is assiduously at its tasks.

6. In the field of higher education a complicated and elastic type of higher schools has been worked out, which, in its lower stage, has already been introduced in the form of workingmen's faculties. We are about to open 24 workingmen's faculties with 17,000 students this year. The past years have given us sufficient experience for the practical management of these faculties. Above the workingmen's faculties we want to build the higher school, which would serve as a factory turning out specialists for the various State departments. Above this higher school we shall construct a third stage—a school for the training of scientists and professors.

When we started on the reform of the higher school we had to deal with the open sabotage of the professors and with outspoken hostility of almost all of the student body. At present, we have a considerable number of Communist students (1,500 in Moscow alone). We now find sympathy in the widest student circles, and the sabotage of the most hostile part of the professors and students has been broken. This sabotage has been broken however not only by compulsory measures, but by such other measures as the introduction of the "academic" food ration for the professors and by improving the social maintenance of the students.

7. In the field of out-of-school education we have succeeded in considerably increasing the number of libraries, notwithstanding the fact that publishing activity has been limited, on account of the shortage of paper. Almost all Russia is covered with a network of reading-huts. Thousands of new people's houses have sprung up. Only very recently we directed all our energy to unify the whole educational activity in one mighty Chief Department of Political Education, which will be most closely connected with the Communist Party and work under its control. The institution will take upon itself the whole task of political education in the country, for education must be only the basis for Communist education, and Communist education must be in accord with the general education.

8. The abolition of illiteracy has been declared to be the most important task of the moment, and the work in this direction is well under way. Millions of primers have been issued to the masses. The dark wall of ignorance has been shaken. The Red Navy, the Red Army, Petrograd, and many provinces are delivering the last blows to

the monster of ignorance, and we are, at present, firmly convinced that there will be no grown-up illiterates in Russia after the lapse of three or four years.

9. In the field of the sciences every effort has been made to preserve the former scientific apparatus. We have taken special care to put the professors in tolerable conditions, and the scientific world replied to our care with a series of important discoveries and inventions. It is sufficient to point out the remarkable discovery of Professor Marr about the identity of the Etruscan and the Armenian-Georgian languages, the discovery of Professor Roshdestvenski about the decomposition of the lithium atom, the remarkable physical and medical discovery in our rentgenological and radiological institute in Petrograd, which is considered the best institute of this kind in Europe, of a whole series of technical inventions, as in the hydro-peat technique. Some Russian scholars went abroad for the sake of getting into contact with Europe, and all these scholars are friends of the Soviet regime.

10. In the field of art we have succeeded in preserving the monuments of the past, while we brought them to brilliant completeness and made them accessible to the masses by the organisation of innumerable excursions. The best theatres, which are maintaining the best traditions of the former culture, have been preserved in a satisfactory condition. Their doors are wide open for the proletariat, which had not been formerly acquainted with their art. At the same time all kinds of art schools have increased in number and have been made generally accessible. In the field of plastic and allied arts these schools have been made to approach the problems of industrial art, i.e. life itself. In the field of music they are directed to the development of choir-singing. Special institutes have been created to direct the attention of the proletariat to mass-recitation and to rhythmical mass-action. We may be proud of what we have accomplished along these lines, in which no European country has surpassed us. In the provinces the number of museums has increased and been brought into order. Hundreds and thousands of works of arts which were found among the treasures of the Czar, of the noblemen, and of the churches, have enriched the museums of the centre, while many of them were sent to the provinces where several model museums have been opened (in Astrakhan, Viatka, etc.).

11. The "Proletcult," an organisation of independent proletarian art, has enjoyed the fullest support of the State. This organisation is, at present, being extended. Certain elements of the new revolutionary proletarian art have fully developed, and we shall afford this art opportunity for expression along broad lines, both in the metropolitan cities and in the provinces.

12. The feeding and supplying the children and teachers in our hungry, cold, and barefooted Republic has been, of course, unsatisfactory. This fact has been one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the normal development of the school. Similarly the

lack of the most elementary school appliance was a serious obstacle. We cannot get out of this crisis at once, for it is connected with the crisis in the whole country. But, after the report of the People's Commissary before the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the latter passed a vote of confidence, and decided to come to the assistance of the Commissariat of Education, and adopted a resolution which would enable the Commissariat of Education to improve matters considerably.

To sum up, we may state that, under the conditions prevailing all over Russia, only a proletarian government could have accomplished all that has been accomplished, for we had to work along the most neglected front, which necessarily could not receive the sufficient attention of the Communist Party and of the central authorities.

After the military victories and with a more or less ordered economic structure, this front will gain first-class importance, will attract the best brains of Soviet Russia, and then all these blossoms which we see around us will bloom into beautiful flowers and will make Soviet Russia a model for its neighbours, who in the past have been ahead of her.

### Communism and its Critics.

By JACK EDWARDS.

None are so blind as those who will not see. There comes a time, however, when it is unwise to pretend to be blind any longer. Such is the thought that strikes me after reading in the "muck-raking" Press, the generously, unstinted denunciations of the Communists. During the past week or two, Communism has sprung into such prominence as to command the august attention of several of the watchdogs of Big Business.

The attacks made have, besides being totally misrepresentative of Communist thought, been directed against things that are subsidiary to the real essence of the Communist Movement. Our movement has as its object, the emancipation of the workers from a system that denies free and full expression of that which is best in human beings; our critics attack such bogies as free-love and atheism.

But it is interesting to note that these indulgent critics always attack bogies, but never the economics of Communism. They always attack the architectural design of the building, but never the invulnerability of its concrete foundation. And why? Ah! there's the rub. Either because they realise the futility of so doing, or because they know nothing about real Communism! The only qualification needed to criticise any movement is an ineffable state of ignorance.

Let us deal with a few of the charges made by these Communist critics.

One of their first indictments is that we are up against established institutions. Now that is true. We are up against such institutions as retard the progress of society from one stage to another; and where is the conscientious thinking man who wouldn't be? As a growing child has perforce to discard its clothes for larger sizes at different periods, so society, at different stages of development, requires newer and more humane institutions. It is admitted to-day, even by the most conservative, that Parliament and the Church, for instance, have outgrown their usefulness. We say that an institution that allows representatives of the most virulent form of parasitism to have a say in the government of society—we say that that is anti-social and destructive. Who wouldn't? Only those who are hired to defend, in spite of the lessons of history, the present damnable order.

We are up against an institution that pretends to represent the teachings of the Man they really despise—Jesus Christ. This Man did not support the exploitation of the workers as the Church does to-day. He did not build his house upon a brothel, as the Church does to-day. He did not shield and put a gloss upon hypocrisy, as the Church does to-day.

Christ may not have been as scientific as Darwin, Marx, and Engels, but He was passion-

ately frank and sincere; and frank and sincere men, whether they are agreed with or not, are to be admired for such qualities.

One of the planks in the platform of the Communist-critic, is that we are irreligious and atheistic. Now, it would be sheer hypocrisy to deny that, judged by old standards, we are irreligious, and so on. Although, according to our own interpretation of the term, we have a religion, which is Humanity. We believe that by serving the interests of Humanity, we are performing the highest service it is possible to perform. With respect to Communists denying God, a writer named W. A. Mutch, writing in the *Empire News*, for December 19th, attacks an article on "Who is Going to Forgive God?" by Jack Edwards, the article having appeared in the October issue of the *Red Dawn*.

On the whole, Mutch's attack is so much rhapsody and jargon. He quotes from Edwards' article a reply to the Bishop of Birmingham's opinions as the causes of the Great War. Mutch quotes no other part of Edwards' article, which explains the latter's reasons for his opposition to the opinions of the worthy Bishop. I suppose this is another example of the incomparable impartiality of the apologists of Capitalism!

Another thing the Communist-critics wax eloquent about is our supposed advocacy of free-love. What a grand subject to write books about, to make speeches about! Look at the money there is in it!

I have just finished reading "Sylvia's Marriage," by Upton Sinclair, and I have just glanced through "Night Haunts of London," by Sidney Moseley, and then I read such people as Mutch talking about the glories of marriage inside Capitalism! But these critics have received their answer long ago; both in William Morris's "News from Nowhere," and in H. G. Wells' "New Worlds for Old."

No need for them to go to the "Ancient Lowly" or "Ancient Society" or "Origin of the Family." There is no real marriage under Capitalism: it is simply a commercial contract between two people desiring to live under one roof. If you have plenty of money you can dissolve the contract, but if you haven't any money—well, you must rest content! That is modern marriage. Men with plenty of money keep harems, and the law—well, the law represents money, so it winks and says nothing. Economic circumstances compel the girl to choose, not the man she loves, but he who is best able to maintain her. In working to secure the economic emancipation of women, we are making it possible for women to choose their mates without the company of the phantom of impending poverty. We are making it possible for women to have full liberty of choice. There is only one freedom—economic freedom. Where there is no economic freedom, to talk of other freedom is to waste time. We irritate the Communist-critics because we say that Communism will make the woman the equal of the man. They hate equality between the sexes, you see. They want the woman to remain what she is to-day—part of the man's chattels. They hate it being made possible for the workers to secure divorce. The poor fools don't see that lack of divorce facilities only creates and nourishes secret prostitution. Divorce or no divorce, punishment or no punishment, an outlet for expressing human desire will be found. What the Communists want to do is this: they want to abolish those things that aid in the developing of the morbid passions. They want to wipe out those things that are inseparable from production for profit, matrimonial unhappiness, deceit and pretence inside marriage, due to the lack of economic security on the woman's side, and the harmful, erotic literature that finds a ready sale in the back-streets of our so-called gay principalities. A marriage where economic security on both sides prevails, would be productive of a race of people whose beauty and intellect words would be too feeble to describe.

Listen to what William Morris says:—

"A child born from the natural and healthy love between a man and a woman, even if that be transient, is likely to turn out better in all ways, and especially in bodily beauty, than the birth of the respectable commercial married, or of the dull despair of the drudge of that system."

When one reads of what the wives and daughters of the workers have suffered through the ages, it makes one's blood boil to think that such apologists as Mutch and Gilbert Frankau and others have the sheer audacity to talk of the sanctity of marriage and motherhood. History is replete with accounts of the shamefully humiliating indignities tolerated by the workers. In feudal times, the lord of the manor claimed the first night with the girl married on his estate. That is being done to-day indirectly, but the Church and the law sanction it and gloss it over.

It is for exposing and desiring to change all this that the Communist-critics attack us. They attack our materialism, not because they have our spiritual welfare at heart, but because religion affords a useful weapon with which to fight the march of the workers.

What did the Man they despise and reject say to the scribes and Pharisees? It is recorded in Matthew, xxii, 27, that he said:—

"Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but within, they are full of extortion and excess."

That is what he would tell the brazen, snivelling cowards who find human expression in persons like some of these critics, critics who are brazen in nothing but in proclaiming the fact that they are cowardly, hired Pecksniffs.

It is, by the way, amusing to note how these people denounce the irreligion of the Communists, and yet they do it in the columns of a paper whose circulation, whose very existence, depends upon the extent to which it can desecrate and profane the day it was told to keep holy! Yes, comrades, Capitalism is a wonderful thing. It makes or breaks, just as its passing whims decree. It is true that we wish to change all this. We may suffer rebuffs innumerable, even periods of disillusionment; but the march will go on. We will not be dismayed, because we know that the universal process of evolution is on our side.

I appeal to all sincere men and women to refuse to talk about these things only in dark corners and in hushed whispers. Let us go to the highways and by-ways and expose the iniquitous filth and animalism under the superfcies of capitalist society. Let us tell these people who deplore prostitution that it is the stone next to the keystone of capitalist society, and that its abolition means the relegating to limbo of Capitalism. Let us tell them what our plans are. Life is very short, and that being so, let each of us try to leave a foot-print on the sands of time. When each of us arrives at his appointed end, and the tomb yawns to receive its due, let each and every one be able to say that he or she has done his or her duty.

Comrades! There is only one thing in life worth living for, and that is the aiding of humanity to achieve something better than it has at present.

There is only one thing worth doing, and that is the making of rebels, of men and women who seek something better and nobler than Capitalism can ever offer them.

### SCOTTISH I.L.P. REJECT AFFILIATION TO MOSCOW.

The Scottish section of the British Independent Labour Party, meeting in annual conference at Larbert yesterday, declared by 93 votes to 57 against affiliation to the Third International, thus reversing the decision of a year ago.

The decision is taken to imply support of a new International open to all Socialists, on a basis of national autonomy in methods and policy.

The subject arose on an amendment by Leith and Renfrew branches instructing the party

"to join the Third International, and thereby destroy imperialism and render war impossible."

Shinwell denied that affiliation to Moscow would produce working-class unity; and he cited France and other countries as examples of disunion created by Communist tactics. Russia would only accept I.L.P. affiliation under conditions the approval of which would certainly make for civil war.

Were they prepared to arm the workers here for armed revolution? Unless they were, they were not facing the realities involved in affiliation with Moscow.

## Patriotism, Old and New.

By S. Macaulay.

When the war was at its height, acts were committed in the name of patriotism, which in ordinary times would have been severely punished by the very persons who condoned them during the crisis.

Patriotism in early days meant loyalty to the tribe. The derivation of the word itself is significant; "pater," a Latin word meaning "father," is the root. The chieftainship of a tribe was often vested in one family, and the head, or father of that family, was looked upon as the father of the tribe. At this early stage of social development, the property of the tribe was held in common; it consisted mainly of cattle, which were often used as a means of exchange. Instances of the exchange of cattle for other commodities are common in ancient history. The point to be observed, however, is that the property was communal, that each member of the tribe had a personal interest in defending it against the attacks of enemies. Not only was this so, but it was considered the duty of members of the tribe to so defend it.

Here again may be noticed the economic foundation of "morality." That which was an obligation to the tribe was "right," the tribe had a "right" to the fulfilment of that obligation; what was good for the tribe was right, what was bad for it was wrong. We see, therefore, that in those early times, patriotism and morality were practically synonymous terms.

As society developed, its subdivision into classes also developed. From the taking of captives arose the practice of putting these captives to compulsory labour for the victors, the demarcation of the social relations between the members of the victorious tribe and the vanquished prisoners. These prisoners—or slaves—were seldom admitted to membership in the tribe, and the class line, having been drawn, has remained.

It is not to be wondered at that, in the minds of the slaves, the idea should arise that, not having any "rights" in the community, they should demand rights. History is full of instances of these demands. And the true history of the human race is the record of the struggles of the slave class to secure "rights."

The old communal spirit is still strong in man. Its animal origin is to be noticed in flocks of birds, of sheep, in herds of cattle, schools of fish, etc. But it has been prostituted; it has been diverted from its original simple purity.

The place of the old tribal leader has been taken by the ruling class of modern society, for, no matter what the form of government, monarchical or republican, the ostensible head of it is supported by the real rulers, the bourgeoisie.

It has been the task of the master class to keep alive the idea of patriotism, or loyalty to the tribe; but having imposed themselves between the slaves and the ruler, any support given the ruler must support them. All modern wars have been fought for the aggrandisement of the bourgeoisie, but the workers, the slave class of old, have to suffer.

There can be no doubt that the modern form of patriotism is dying. It can be included in the casualty list of the still unfinished world war. But in its place is arising a new patriotism—class patriotism. It is not a new patriotism to the masters; they have been patriotic to their class in the past. But it is new to the workers; it has been forced upon them. The utter failure of the ruling class to efficiently manage the affairs of society—he who runs may read—has demonstrated the necessity of their removal from the management, and its assumption by the workers—the only useful class.

And let us not delude ourselves. It is not to be expected that after centuries of power, the master class is going to step grace-

fully down and out. Nor that, having been put down, that they will "stay put" without a struggle.

The transition from the capitalist to the Communist form will have to be accomplished by a dictatorship of those members of the working class who are competent to perform this great task, who shall perform it.

## The Missing Tactic.

By T. Islwyn Nicholas.

Some of my comrades in the Communist movement are most amusing; for hours together they will discuss such questions as international politics and revolutionary working-class tactics which will aid them in realising the Communist ideal; but, strange to say, they ignore such an important tactic as Independent Working-Class Education. To ignore such a tactic is indeed a great mistake. The importance of spreading revolutionary education among working-class children may be seen by the work accomplished since the Russian Revolution of 1917 by the members of the Young Communist League of Russia. Thousands of them are swelling the ranks of the Red Army in defence of Communism; thousands are carrying on educational work in the isolated villages among the peasants. Previous to the Revolution, the Communists were unable, owing to the existing conditions to develop or aid the young movement in any way, but as soon as the Revolution was accomplished, their organisations have paid much attention to the young movement. The young movement is, in Russia to-day, a part of the adult movement and independent working-class education among the young an important revolutionary tactic. Realising the importance of education for bringing about the Revolution in Britain, I have written this appeal to every real revolutionary to support the International Proletarian School Movement. The teaching of revolutionary education to the children of our class, as a tactic of great importance, is to-day missing in the programme of the Communist movement. The I.P.S.M. is a movement brought into existence to spread among working-class children that which lies at the very foundation of the Communist movement—Revolutionary Education. We do not depend on the Christian goodness of the master-class for our economic emancipation. We establish our own economic fortifications; our own industrial or trade organisations and political parties. We have our own conception of an industrial government, which we find expressed in Sovietism. We publish our own literature for educating the adult workers; why then do we not own and control educational institutions for carrying on independent working-class education among the children of our class? The official Communist movement has not thought of the above question, which, I presume, is the reason why they have not taken any interest in the young movement.

It is with a sense of responsibility that I charge the British Communist movement of being guilty of not taking advantage of an important tactic which would have hastened the advent of that day which will mean the economic emancipation of the workers. Seeing that the official movement was so slow and careless, a few far-seeing comrades who realised the urgency of the matter, inaugurated, in 1918, the I.P.S.M., whose objects I have outlined in a former article on the young movement. The work left undone by the adult movement has been taken up by the I.P.S.M. Our work is, I have previously mentioned, purely educational, and our schools are composed of working-class children, and it is for the children that we are anxious to carry on the work. Comrades in the adult movement sometimes say how little effect we have on the majority of people. Why is that so? It

is this: Without finance, a movement cannot exist more than it can without moral support from the adult comrades. That financial and moral support has been denied us, nevertheless we have created a strong effect upon what is known as the Press and the bosses, aye, so strong that they have been calling us nasty names. When the comrades at Swansea started a branch of the Communist Party (B.S.T.I.), the local Press devoted their dirty editorials in appealing to the respectable Christian element in the town to be on their guard for the formation of a Proletarian School which usually accompanies a Communist Party branch. The object of these schools, it continued, was to teach little children "to hate their parents, to hate their God and country." Thus, you see, how we have impressed the other class of the Communist nature of our teachings. Comrades, our movement is your movement! How, then, can comrades help? First of all, write me; or, if you reside in London, get into touch with Comrade Edgar T. Whitehead, and you will get all the information which you desire for opening up a Proletarian School. If you cannot see the way clear, see that the matter is placed on the agenda at the next branch meeting. The funds required for the purpose of forming a school is very small; and our bookstall will give school secretaries credit on our literature if necessary. The method usually adopted in the conducting of Proletarian Schools, along with a model agenda, will appear next week in this paper. Now, comrades, I hope you will start the New Year well by starting a Proletarian School. You can help to replace the missing tactic in the Communist programme! Do it now, then you can rest satisfied that you have contributed your share in hastening the Red Dawn—the era of economic freedom. In conclusion, let me quote from a letter which I received from my teacher and comrade, Tom Anderson. He wrote thus: "The Master Class of the country, through their Press, Parliament and platform, have poured ridicule on us, and especially on your comrade, who has given his life, extending well over 30 years, to the teaching of the young. Not only my time have I given, I have given everything I could spare, and that for one purpose—that it might be the means of bringing about that day when the working class would take charge of the means of life. I live for the Revolution, for it means so much for the world. The world, comrade, cannot be won by soft words; it requires fighting men and women, and that means education and propaganda."

That, then, is the appeal of an old revolutionary; and if you show any appreciation for services rendered by men such as he, then take up the task of educating the children of our class for Revolution.

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### PARLIAMENTARY ACTION. OF WHAT UTILITY?

"Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

Let us attempt to review the position of the working class, even as Karl Marx himself would do, in order to realise what form of action the father of Scientific Socialism would advise the workers of the world to adopt in order to gain their emancipation were he here.

To-day we find the position of the workers worse than ever, owing to the highly developed (scientifically) methods of production; markets cannot be found to cope with the increased demands of the capitalists, for the commodities must be disposed of, if the bosses are to continue the exploitation; hence we find more workers thrown on to the scrap-heap than ever before in the history of the world. We therefore find to-day, a psychological atmosphere existing, that makes it possible for propaganda work to be done amongst the workers. To tell the worker that the cause of his degradation is attributable to private ownership of the means of production is only laughable. He should be advised to wait until the election of Parliamentary representatives came, then much would be accomplished by voting Communist.

"The change which must precede all changes, is a change in the economic basis of society. The economic basis is the real basis upon which is built the legal and political superstructure."

The foregoing sentences are from Karl Marx's 'Critique of Political Economy.'

E. and C. Paul tell us in their latest work: "Tactical differences become differences of principle." Then which am I to follow, which path am I to advise my fellow wage-slaves to follow, the path laid out by Marx, or the path the Thesis of the Third International lays out?

Tactical differences ought to be sunk in the interest of unity, is the cry. I agree, but let the anti-Marxians, the Parliamentarians, sink that policy which spells the continuation of the present system. Can the working class be emancipated by the process of voting Capitalism out of existence before the economic basis has undergone a transformation? Let us examine this.

Parliament is a part of the machinery of Government which (known as the State), is used for the purpose of keeping the working class in subjection; for the suppression of a class by a class. What do we find in reply to this?

The Communist Manifesto, page 2 (a statement signed by Karl Marx and F. Engels), tells us in one sentence: "One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'"

Did not Ireland vote solidly for a Sinn Fein Parliament, but instead of bringing her independence, it brought the "black and tans," and a reign of terror?

The workers of other parts of the world must learn from the bitter and bloody experience of others.

That Marx was right is undeniable, and 'tis surely hard to believe that there are people, professed Socialists, who want the workers to think that the capitalist is really a benevolent old gentleman just waiting for the workers to vote correctly, then he will just naturally hand over the means of production, etc.

Such is the under-estimation of the modern capitalists' brutal, sly, slimy, and bloody murderous capabilities. Let the workers remember the Amritsars and the Tonyandys, let them know that if they are not prepared for forcible methods, the capitalists are. The plea is advanced of the educational value of elections and of the opportunity for propaganda which is afforded by the Parliamentary abstentionist, who takes part in elections, but does not accept the seat if successful. But for the class-conscious worker, his opportunity is seen whenever he meets a fellow-worker. Door to door propaganda can be carried on the whole of the year, even as the Manchester Branch does. The workers must ignore all capitalist institutions. Why is it necessary for Communists anxious for propaganda opportunities to wait for elections? Every street corner, every available moment is his opportunity. Why must forces be disbanded when the election results are posted up? Why must the worker be asked to have confidence in a part of the superstructure of capitalist society? To believe that leaders can fight their battles for them?

The only supposition that can be advanced is that by having control of the political machinery, you control the armed forces (capitalists permitting). Except in this, what is going to stop the capitalists from following the action of the American capitalist class, who expelled all Socialists from the Assembly in 1918, for being disloyal to the American Constitution, or of English capitalism which arrested Malone, M.P.?

Parliamentary action then, can only be for a destructive purpose (the Parliamentary machine being based upon a system of territorial demarcation, it cannot be used for the purpose of taking and holding the machinery of production and distribution, neither can an industrial system based upon social ownership, be worked upon such a machine), for it is to be undertaken for the purpose of capturing and destroying the machinery of Government. But the workers must find the constructive policy which, whilst it constructs the new, must have with it that which destroys the old society. Karl Marx says with regard to this: "The productive forces of society (capitalistic), create at the same time the material conditions needed for the abolition of the antagonism." The machine needed, therefore, must arise from the industrial activities of the workers. Is it the Trade Union which is this machine? As we find it to-day, its demands are merely for a "Fair day's wage for a fair day's work." But can it not be welded into a machine of emancipation? We will again turn to Karl Marx (last page, last paragraph), VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT: "Trades Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partly from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effect of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it; instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

There, fellow workers, there, comrades, is the machine which must be welded into a revolutionary, destructive, and constructive force.

Communist branches must be formed in every Trade Union branch. Classes, education, propaganda must be carried out in workshop, office, mine, and on the job; everywhere must we make ourselves felt, branch meetings included. Organisation has been carried out for us; the Trade Unions have all the workers in them organised ready for our agitation and education. Get busy, comrades: conditions are ripe. Trade Unions are the machine which will emancipate the workers. Not as we know them now, but as we Communists must make them.

The Workers' Socialist Soviet Republic to the Fore!

Onward to Victory!

HARRIS, of Manchester Central Branch.

### Help the Dying Hungarian Proletariat.

Betrayed by the Social-Democrats, encircled by the mercenaries of the imperialists, the Hungarian Soviet Republic broke down after a short existence. The Hungarian Communists know that a Hungarian Soviet Republic alone and severed from the other world by a criminal blockade could not endure. But without delay they grasped the initiative in the ripe historical moment, convinced thereby to effect similar action by the workers in the other countries.

From the beginning of the Soviet Republic, the Hungarian Communists were well aware of the hardships and sacrifices of the struggle. They saw the possibility of a bloody war like that which Soviet Russia The Hungarian Proletariat in the institution and defence of the Soviet Republic, fought for the whole world proletariat: for you, working men and women, did it fulfil its task of being prisoner for the world revolution.

The Hungarian Proletariat succumbed in its heroic struggle. It was too weak to hold its own against the power of world-imperialism, against a world of treasons, against the hidden and open counter-revolution. The battle was lost. The bourgeoisie took bitter revenge for the audacity of the proletariat striving to break its fetters. White terror flooded Hungary, and continues to do so until this day. In their fanatical hatred, the white officers and murder-bands make no difference: Communists, fighters for Soviet Republic or not, all who are suspicious of being Socialists are persecuted, arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and beaten to death.

Tens of thousands of these defenceless victims still continue their imprisonment in the detention camps and gaols. Hundreds have suffered the martyr's death on the gallows. The surviving are subjected to the most cruel tortures inflicted by drunken and mad officers and soldiers, who beat them with sticks and clubs to press from the half-fainted victims a so-called "voluntary confession." Women are violated by brutes of officers and men.

Hundreds of prisoners had their teeth beaten in, their eyes cut out, were mutilated and crippled. Thousands of guiltless prisoners and their families perish in the cold and dirt of the prisons and concentration-camps of Hungary.

Without clothing, without food, bread, and clad only in poor rags, tens of thousands of Hungarian workmen look winter in the face, which will increase their sufferings to the utmost. Unable to give its population bread and work, the Hungarian Assassin-Government tries to satisfy their hunger with bullets and the gallows.

Workmen, workwomen, comrades! Do not forget that the Hungarian comrades sacrificed their lives for the common object—for world-revolution. Do not forget that the imprisoned are suffering for you!

Do all you can to relieve the prisoners as soon as possible. And if that is not possible, let us at least try to lighten their burden as well as we can.

Show that international solidarity is not a vague phrase for us, but that it means reality. Show your brothers that they do not stand alone and forlorn. Save the victims of world-revolution. Collect clothes, underwear, and money for same. Set up relief committees and appoint collection places all over the country for the relief of the Hungarian proletariat. Support the relief-action of the Communist Young International!

#### THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

Communist Young International.

[The relief-action of the Communist Young International has already begun in several countries, and has led to good results. A committee of the English, French and Italian Trade Unions has been charged with the distribution of the clothing, underwear and money.—The Editor.]

# Resolutions and Regulations of the IX Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

## The Immediate Problems of Economic Construction.

### I.—The Increased Productivity of Labour.

The Congress is pleased to recognise the undoubted signs of increased productivity of labour among the leading workers; it, however, considers it its duty to warn all local and central institutions of the Soviet Republic against exaggerating the value of the results attained.

The only condition under which labour can gain really important results is firstly, if every attempt will be made by further agitation and organisation of our party and of the trade unions to inspire the many-millioned labour masses of town and country with the necessity for energetic, enthusiastic work and increased productivity of labour; and, secondly, if the central and local economic organisations will take all the necessary measures to keep a sharp eye on all the manifestations of the increased productivity of labour, both as to quantity and quality; in due time and correctly to effect a complete utilisation of the flow of labour power, to eliminate disunited efforts, small industries, labour partisanship, without entirely and harmfully suppressing all these but by leading them and establishing them within the limits of the general State plan.

### II.—Uniformity of the Economic Plan.

The basic condition of the economic regeneration of the country is the undeviating introduction of a uniform economic plan to be carried out in the nearest historic epoch. This economic plan is naturally enough, owing to the general economic collapse and impoverishment of the country divided into a number of consistent interdependent main problems:—

(a) First and foremost the improvement in the state of transport, formation and delivery of an indispensable reserve of corn, fuel, and raw materials;

(b) Machine construction in connection with transport and for purposes of obtaining fuel, raw material and corn;

(c) An increased production in machine construction for the manufacture of products of general consumption;

(d) An increased production of articles for general consumption.

The cornerstone of the technical side should be the wide utilisation of electric power and all its latest improvements; this should be applied in the various stages of the general economic plan according to their respective importance.

1. The elaboration of the plan for the electrification of social production and the realisation of the minimum programme of electrification; that is to say, the utilisation of the principal sources of electric supply and of the existing electric stations as well as of a part of those which are now being effected in the various central towns.

2. The erection of district electric stations and main cables of electric transmission with a corresponding increase of the productivity of all manufactures connected with electric supply, etc.

3. The next step is the construction of electric stations in the various urban districts, the further development of an electric network and the gradual electrification of the most important industrial processes.

4. The electrification of industry, transport, and agriculture. The economic centres of the Soviet Republic should lay all their plans in connection with the above chief economic plan; all the principal powers and means should in the first place be mobilised consistently and systematically to carry out the immediate economic needs.

As far as possibilities are arising in Soviet Russia for foreign trade, this should be entirely subjected to the requirements of the principal economic plan.

All auxiliary industrial processes—the need for which arises for the execution of the principal tasks—should be developed as far as there is real necessity. Productions which are not indispensable to the general plan of the economic period should be maintained only in so far as that can in no way interfere with the execution of the chief problems. In view of all this the current economic task of the Soviet economic centres must represent not only the mere sum-total of registered needs and requirements but should emanate with an iron consistency from the whole economic plan which has been drawn up with a view to the forthcoming period.

The realisation of this plan is possible not by means of a casual, individual heroic effort of the leading elements of the working class, but by means of stubborn, systematic, organised labour attracting ever greater masses of workers. The success of this kind of gradually increasing mobilisation and labour education is only possible by a constant elucidation to the mass of the urban and rural workers of the essence of the economic plan, its consistency and its tangible results, which, however, become possible only after a long term of intense work and great sacrifices.

### III.—Mobilisation of Skilled Workers.

The 9th Congress approves of the theses of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. on the mobilisation of the industrial proletariat, compulsory labour service, militarisation of industry and the application of military detachments to economic needs.

In connection with the above the Congress decrees that the Party organisations should in every way assist the Trade Unions and the labour department in registering all skilled workers with a view to employing them in the various branches of production with the same consistency and strictness as was done and is being carried out to the present time with regard to the commanding staff for army needs.

Every skilled worker is to return to his particular trade. Exceptions, i.e. the retention of skilled workers in any other branch of Soviet service, is allowed only with the sanction of the corresponding central and local authorities.

### IV.—Mass Mobilisation for Compulsory Labour Service.

It is necessary from the very beginning to place the mass mobilisation for labour service on a proper footing; that is to say, to establish upon every occasion an exact as possible proportion between the number of mobilised, their place of concentration, the extent of the labour problem in hand and the requisite amount of tools and appliances. It is equally necessary to secure technically competent and politically firm trainers and organisers for all mobilised labour sections; such organisers are to be selected by party mobilisation of Communist labour circles, just as that was done in the establishment of the Red Army.

### V.—Labour Rivalry.

Every social system, whether based on slavery, feudalism or capitalism, had its ways and means of labour compulsion and labour education in the interests of exploiters.

The Soviet system is faced with the tasks of developing its own methods of labour compulsion to attain an increase of the in-

tensity and wholesomeness of labour; this method is to be based on the socialisation of public economy in the interests of the whole nation.

In addition to the propaganda by which the people are to be influenced and the repressions which are to be applied to all idlers, parasites and disorganisers who strive to undermine public zeal—the principal method for the increase of production will become the introduction of the system of labour rivalry.

In capitalist society rivalry assumes the character of competition and led to the exploitation of man by man. In society where the means of production are nationalised, labour rivalry is to increase the total of the products of labour without impairing its solidarity.

Rivalry between factories, regions, guilds, workshops and individual workers should become the subject of careful organisation and of close study on the side of the Trade Unions and the economic organs.

The system of premiums which is to be introduced should become one of the most powerful means of exciting rivalry. The system of rationing the food supply must get into line with it: so long as Soviet Russia suffers from an insufficiency of provisions it is only just that the industrious and conscientious worker receive more than the indigent worker.

### VI.—From Trust Centralisation to Socialist Centralisation.

The present form of industrial organisation is the form characteristic of a transition period. The Labour State has nationalised the capitalist trusts, complemented them with all individual enterprises of the same branch of industry, and has combined after the same method all the branches of industry which were not formed into trusts under capitalism. This re-organisation has resulted in the entire industry of the country becoming a number of concurrent combines economically independent though united by the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Under capitalism every trust was in a position to acquire the requisite quantity of material and labour power at the nearest goods market and labour exchange, whereas, under the present conditions these enterprises can receive all that they require both in material and men only by order of the central organs of the united organisation of public economy. Unfortunately the methods of the centralisation which were applied immediately after the expropriation of the bourgeois led to the monstrous form of red tape and delay which are of course of great harm to our industry. Under the conditions which existed at the time of the revolution, and taking into consideration the vastness of the country, the extreme indefiniteness and changeableness of the principal factors of production, the disorganised transport and communication, the uncertain methods and equally uncertain results of economic registration—the imperfection and delay resultant was unavoidable.

The task of organisation consists in preserving and developing the vertical centralisation of Head State Departments, combining it with the horizontal submission of the various enterprises to economic regions, where the enterprises of the various branches of industry of diverse economic importance have to draw their raw material, transport means, and labour power from the same sources.

(To be continued.)

**Ogmore Valley Notes.**

By "Socrates."

**The New Year.**

With the dawn of 1921 A.D. the modern British working class still finds itself in the web of the Capitalist System, and the "land fit for heroes to live in" is still a dream. With unemployment, and its offspring misery, starvation and prostitution (the latter a disgrace to a Christian country) faces the workers of Britain for the coming year. What a happy New Year to thousands of working-class homes, with the spectre of the above hovering around them. Let us, as workers, attend our Trade Union lodges, and make them live institutions as in Russia, in order to be prepared for the coming Social Revolution. Let our motto always be: "Agitate, Educate, Organise."

**The Fabian Society.**

To the advanced students in the Socialist world, text-books on different subjects, such as Industrial History, Economics, Philosophy, and so forth, are very essential, and certainly require cash. I should like to draw the attention of students attending such classes to a cheap reprint of *The History of Trade Unionism*, by Mr. S. Webb, which can be obtained from the Fabian Society for the low price of 5s., post free, the original price being 21s. This is an excellent opportunity to have the history of Trade Unionism revised, and completely brought up to date, for the remarkably low price of 5s. Don't delay, Comrades!

**Lecture.**

At the Workmen's Hall, Ogmore Vale, on Sunday, December 26th, a very interesting lecture was delivered by Comrade J. E. Edmunds, organiser of the Workers' Union of Cardiff, the subject being "Education and Democracy." In the course of his remarks, the speaker pointed out the many defects of our present educational system, and alluded to the subjects taught, such as history, with its series of intrigues between kings and barons, Henry VIII. and his many wives, and so forth. The speaker regarded all these as unfit for the children of the working classes to-day, and rightly so. Another point, comrades: He reminded the audience of the stunt now taken up by the Capitalist Press in regard to waste, and the attempt now being made to cut down expenditure on education, on the part of the Capitalist Class, who prefer spending it on armaments, such as Dreadnoughts, etc., for the small sum of only £9,000,000 each. If on Dreadnoughts, why not on education and housing? He also made a special appeal to the adults to take an interest in the education now being meted out to the children of the working classes.

**Elections.**

Remarkable enthusiasm was displayed in the Valley on hearing the result of the bye-elections at Abertillery and of the Rhondda. Comrade George Barker is a very prominent figure in South Wales, and is greatly esteemed in the Trade Union world. An excellent fighter, and a very straight and honest man. The opinion of the advanced elements at Ogmore in regard to Comrade Barker entering Parliament is, of course, that he will be a better man in Trade Union circles. Whatever our opinions are concerning parliamentary action, the election proves the confidence that the workers of Abertillery have in George Barker.

**Economic Class.**

The Economic Class, held under the auspices of the South Wales Miners' Federation, under the tutorship of Mr. Ted. Williams, Miners' Agent (Garw District), is attended by a reasonable number of students, and the lecturer has now reached the "Analysis of Value," and the lectures have all along been very instructive and interesting. We should still like to see a number of new faces at the classes, commencing after the Christmas recess. Hurry up, friends, and join the class. We need education in the Labour movement to-day. This is our opportunity; let us make the most of it. Don't let us be unprepared for the future.

**Ely Valley Notes.**

By T. Young.

**Democracy.**

Most of our Twentieth Century Trade Union leaders are very fond of the word "Democracy," and the recent strike in the Rhondda gives us a good example of their interpretation of it. Forty-six thousand miners went on strike in protest against victimisation, and appealed to the S. Wales Executive Council for a conference to discuss the dispute. Now for the "democracy"! Forty-six thousand men took action, after prolonged deliberation, and eleven Executive members took up the cry of the bosses, and ordered them back to work, refused to call a conference, and enforced their opinion against the forty-six thousand.

This is "democracy" in the S.W.M.F.! The Executive Council is a little group of autocratic "tin gods" whose will is the "last word" and must be obeyed. The will of the majority does not count, they alone have any brains. The ignorant rabble must be sent back to work, and we shall get some more "beautiful" faces on "the gate to more" posters.

**Unemployment.**

The recent craze for increased production, initiated by the bosses and carried out by the miners' executive, is already having its effect in the mining industry. Production was increased, and in less than a month numbers of pits were idle, because they had produced more coal than the bosses could sell.

Throughout South Wales a campaign is in progress to reduce the number of workers and force the smaller number to keep up the increased rate of production. Groups of men are given notice because their district does not pay. In some districts men have been frightened into speeding up, and the notices have been suspended, but still remain in existence as a threat which will be put into operation if the output is reduced. Fear of unemployment is compelling men to ignore safety and health, in order to produce greater profits. The bosses receive the assistance of the miners' executive in this speeding up campaign, and they are always ready to preach this gospel of increased exploitation of the men whom they are supposed to represent. For years the miners refused to pay towards the capitalist unemployment scheme, but now, without consulting the workmen, the Executive Council have agreed to set up a committee of six members of the E.C. and six members of the bosses' council for the administration of the unemployment pay deducted from the men's wages. We have heard many of these "leaders," loudly claiming that every industry should be made to support its own unemployed at a full rate of wage, and now they are collaborating with the exploiters to pay the unemployed £1 per week, by a further exploitation of the smaller number who are permitted to work. Talk about reorganisation and a rank and file executive, surely these measures are long overdue.

**Industrial Unionism.**

For a long time it has been an avowed object of the M.F.G.B. that "all workers in and about the mines should be members of the Federation." To-day the number of Trade Unions in the industry is larger than ever. Instead of attempting to attain the avowed object of one industrial union, the executive are to-day making "working agreements" with all sorts of little craft unions inside the industry. These tactics can only have one effect, and that is to weaken the power of the Federation. Instead of going forward to a more complete industrial unionism, we are going back to the bad old days of craft unionism and the bosses' plan, "divide and conquer."

**CONCERNING UNITY.**

By H. M. EMERY.

Branches are circularising Branches and are sending reports to the *Dreadnought* with many rash accusations of "selling out," and so things get hot, but not necessarily Red. There's such a thing as white heat.

One Branch claims that "Moscow knows which party was genuine," but fails to say what it means by "Moscow" or "genuine." The position seems to be: "The Third International knows WE are the only honest Party—God bless the Third International." "The Third International says the Parliamentary tactics should be used in England." "To Hell with the Third International."

Since membership of the Party and of Branches is being published in the *Dreadnought*, let us also openly look at the composition of the Party and of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The latter first. The Communist Party of Great Britain is a conglomerate of Communists: half-baked Communists, half-fledged Communists ex-I.L.P., and Left Social Reformers. The Communist Party (B.S.T.I.), is a conglomerate of Communists: Anarchists, Syndicalists ex-I.W.W., plus a few wandering spirits who never will come to earth.

We have no concern but with the Communists of each Party, whether we unite on a basis of pro or anti-Parliamentarism, we shall be in the minority in the united Party, for some time, but come together we must.

The loose talk of "Moscow dictating," shows that few regard the Third International as an International Communist Party, but rather think of it as a Second International painted Red.

The time has come. The development of the tool dictates it, when revolutionary effort must be international and internationally directed.

It is fatal to think in terms of 19th Century conditions. 20th Century Capitalism cannot be fought with weapons forged to fight 19th Century Capitalism. National Parties died with Nationalism.

We are creating the first real International Revolutionary Movement, and during its early stages, some national branches of the International Party will receive instructions they think unwise; but we must accept, and then use our efforts towards securing a decision that better meets the needs of the section concerned.

**A REPLY TO THE GORTON BRANCH.**

We think that the confusion of thought that undoubtedly exists in the minds of the members of our Party on the attitude to be adopted towards the forthcoming United Communist Party is in the main due to the interpretation of the terms "political action" and "direct action" of the working-class. The position is such in the British movement, that it has come to be regarded that one who upholds the first, cannot agree with the second, and vice-versa. But what is the common conception of these terms? It is that belief in the necessity for the "political action" of the working-class is synonymous with a disagreement with the necessity for any economic action by the workers—any strikes or mass movements of any kind—and a declaration that all "grievances" of the proletariat can and should be redressed by "constitutional action" i.e., in the last resort, on the floor of the House of Commons. Apart from the "political action" of the working-class, it is self-evident that this is not what is implied by the term when used in the Third International Theses and Statutes. But we think, hardly a British Communist will deny that is what is meant by the contemporary term "political action," which finds its highest expression in Parliamentary action, with a view to legislating the capitalist class out of existence! Our Party, of course, is united as to the absurdity of this proposition and consequently fights tooth and nail against it.

On the other hand, "direct action" means economic action by the working-class; action straight at the point of production—in the form of strikes—and is action on the part of the working-class directly to effect the Revolution. This is regarded as a negation of the "political action" above-mentioned.

We of the Stepney Branch think that it is the desire to fight and expose the falseness and hollowness of such "political action" that influences our comrades of the Gorton Branch to take up its present attitude towards the Third International, even though the Gorton Branch agrees with the Soviet idea, which originated in the Party that is the mainstay of the Third International, the Russian Communist Party, which also put the idea into practice and created the first Soviet State, with all that it implies as to the impending doom of Capitalism. And if we are right in our argument so far, then we can say to Gorton: "We are with you, Comrades."

We wish, however, now, to point out that all the above is an argument against participation in the Second International, and not in the Third, for the reason that the Third International came into existence because of the collapse of the Second International due to its sterile Parliamentaryism, which landed it in the opportunist morass. This "political action" is the very thing against which the Third International wages a merciless war.

If the Gorton Branch does not agree with this conclusion of ours, then it seems to us that the Gorton Branch sees no difference between the Second and the Third International.

-(Continued on page 8.)

## BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Jack laid down his mallet, then he poured out the last drops of tea from the can into the tin of milk and stirred up the ghost of the milk at the bottom. As he stirred, he said:

"You were saying something the other day about tram tickets being given away. Now, what do you mean by it, Mac?"

Mac denied having said such a thing. If he remembered aright, it was Casey who said so, or maybe Henry.

Jack poured out the tea into a mug and took a drink. "Now, supposing?" he suggested.

Mac affected to be dense.

"Supposing what?"

"Supposing tram tickets was given away?" resumed Jack.

"Well, supposing they are?"

"How do you suppose the trams would pay, then?"

"It's like this," replied Mac, considering.

"Now, if you had no wages—"

"Go hon!"

"If you had no wages," went on Mac patiently, "you wouldn't need to pay for anything, especially as you would have no money."

"It's wonderful to me," said Jack, "how you get these ideas of yours."

Henry and Casey, who were listening, sniggered in company with Jack.

"So, of course," went on Mac, in no way put out, "you would just have free rides on the trams. Same with food and clothes; you just get what you need."

"Why have tram tickets, then, if we don't have to pay for them?"

"Exactly; you've hit the nail on the head. Why should we?"

"What about me, and Casey and Henry and the whole boiling of us? How do you suppose we'd earn our living if there was no tram tickets to print?"

"You could easily be doing more useful work; on the land, growing food, for instance."

"And get up at four a.m. to feed the pigs. Not me!"

"Nor me, neither," put in Henry. "If you can see me wheeling a barrer of hog-wash, that's more than what I can do. And sweeping up the muck in stables!"

"Things would be different, of course—" answered Mac.

"How different? And why 'of course'?" asked Jack.

"Don't you see that the workers would be taken off useless work and put on a better job when industry was in the hands of the people? They would only have themselves to consider, so of course they'd have all the latest improvements put in, without having to worry about what dividends the shareholders get."

"But where would you get all the money, from?" asked Henry.

"Where it usually comes from," said Mac; "from us."

"But you said we weren't to have no wages," put in Jack triumphantly.

"Same thing," said Mac. "If we have to supply the cost of materials ourselves, we naturally don't fork out the money with our left hand and shove it in our pockets with our right."

"Now, look here," said Jack. "Things is getting a bit too thick for me. Go over it again slowly."

"Well, you just figure it out like this," Mac replied. "All the industries, trades, factories, workshops will belong to all the people; not to the people as individuals, but to all of them at once. A sort of family affair on a big scale, if you get me. Then of course this family—which means the British workers—just run the whole business for themselves. They cut out useless work, and, as everybody works, there is less work all round. And as everybody would be working, there'd be no need of wages—or tram tickets. They would just be naturally en-

titled to free food and the rest from the fact that they are working."

"Well, all I can say is, if a man can get grub for nixes, then he ain't likely to do a stroke of work."

"Now, go easy with your own class," said Mac. "The workers get paid none too high now-a-days, yet they work like niggers for it. Put the question to yourself—if you had to work without anybody making profits out of you, and if you had your food, clothes, and housing sure and fixed for life, would you go in for shirking?"

"Certainly not," said Jack warmly, "but—"

"Well, it's a big 'but,'" said Mac.

## BOOK REVIEW.

"The Coming Revolution in Britain," by H. M. Emery

By Fred Tyler.

I have been reading a new pamphlet by H. M. Emery, the Secretary of the Coventry and District Unemployed Committee.

It is a short but able publication, entitled "The Coming Revolution in Britain," and is on sale to the public at the price of 1d.

It is purposely prepared in simple language, and is a brief, practical statement of facts, and within its six pages, contains much explosive material.

Placed in the hands of an unemployed worker, it will fan the spirit of class-antagonism, and make concrete all the good work that propagandists have done.

I believe that it would be correct to state that the writer had in mind the many thousands of workers who visit the outdoor meetings, and occasionally attend an indoor lecture.

Anticipating the difficulties of the workers to understand phrases, three outstanding terms are cited and explained: "Capitalism," "the State," and "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The passing of Feudalism and the coming of Capitalism is reviewed, and in the words of the writer, the present social condition is summed up.

"Fellow workers, we are in a slave-class and we may as well own up to it. Hired by the hour like a handcart, driven into the factories, into the fields, down the mines by the threat of starvation."

No high-flown language, simply the truth, simply spoken.

Turning to the "State," he lays down emphatically, the purpose of the past and present States, the political machine whereby one class maintains its power over another; but he is non-committal on the question of the position of the State when the workers take hold of economic power.

He asserts at a later stage, that the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," meaning the control of the power in the country by the propertyless class (the workers), "will be necessary for the workers, to capture the State machine and use it to maintain power."

Then we are told that "the use of the State by the victorious workers," is what is meant by the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

I think that in these two thoughts, we have exhibited the cause of the serious differences in the revolutionary movement in all countries.

The first school of thought, the B.S.P. Communists, who want a quick route to government (revolution), would probably lead to the indefinite subjection of the workers to the authority of Communist politicians.

The second, the school of thought represented by Comrade Emery, the temporary necessity of the machinery of the State to aid in the defeat of the counter-revolution.

The third, the philosophy of Enrico Malatesta, the ignoring of political parties, the abolition of the State at once, all power to the mass, and local autonomy.

British conditions will decide events here, and the aim of the workers must be to abolish the State when good tactics.

In conclusion, the term "revolution" is clearly explained; its necessity proven, and the pamphlet is worthy of being sold at every meeting.

## NATIONAL SECRETARY'S NOTES.

## The Manchester Break Away.

At the close of the sitting of the meeting of the National Executive, held on the 1st inst., Executive Councillor C. B. Warwick, acting under instructions from the Manchester groups, handed in his own resignation as Executive Councillor and the resignation of the four Manchester groups, representing two hundred Party members. This action was taken owing to the Executive having failed to carry through the referendum on the Unity question, as the Manchester groups allege was promised at Cardiff.

The reply of the Executive to these resignations was as follows: "That these resignations be not accepted until after January 29th." (Carried unanimously). The meaning of this reply is twofold. Firstly, that the Executive wishes the Manchester groups to reconsider the whole position, as we are convinced that the actual Thesis has not been in their hands a sufficiently long time for them to become thoroughly acquainted with various paragraphs and safeguards provided for therein for convinced anti-Parliamentarians, and that if this reconsideration encourages them to change their decision, these groups still remain an integral part of the Party, without having to apply for re-admission.

Secondly, the action of the Executive in refusing the resignations, was to make it clear that the views of the Executive as a body are in complete harmony with the views of the Gorton and Manchester comrades regarding the utter uselessness and danger of any form of Parliamentary action, whether that of the old S.D.F., or whether dressed up in the new clothes of the Theses as a wonderful new-found "revolutionary Parliamentarianism." Non participation in Parliamentary action, is one of the fundamental principles of this Party to which every member is pledged. We are anti-Parliamentarians.

If we propose to sit in Parliament, or to help other Communists to take their seats in Parliament, we then become Parliamentarians, perhaps revolutionary Parliamentarians, but none the less Parliamentarians.

The Executive wishes the Manchester Branches to understand that they are not Parliamentarians, and are not likely to become Parliamentarians.

We are aware, as much as the Manchester comrades are aware, that we are not "infants" in working for the Workers' Emancipation; we have as much class-war experience as any of the Covent Garden Communists.

We are in as close contact with the masses, and probably closer contact, than our friends in the other party. We are not anarchists, nor are we bourgeois. We claim a greater proportion of manual proletarian membership than the other party.

We claim that our Party is better conducted from the view point of rank and file control, Soviet principles regarding party government, Communist principle as regards election and payment of party officers, than the other party.

We have read the Theses, we have studied the Theses, we have studied Comrade Lenin's works on the State, and his "Infantile Disorder," and after taking into consideration all the views and arguments there put forward, we still claim that this "revolutionary Parliamentarianism" would be a ghastly failure for Britain.

We are not prepared to support this revolutionary Parliamentarianism, either with our speeches, our writings or our money.

We claim that we are as far-sighted Communists, as genuine revolutionists, that we understand the psychology of British workers, as well as any body of men and women in the country. The only point on which we differ with our Manchester comrades is on obeying the call of the Executive of the World Revolution and forming one united revolutionary party. And for the moment we do not consider this difference with our trusted and tried comrades in Manchester, sufficient to allow us to loose hands and go separate ways. It is especially their help that we need in our fight to ensure that the party of Third Internationalists for Britain shall be truly a revolutionary party.

The Executive and the Party clearly showed the trust and confidence they had in the no-surrender anti-Parliamentarianism of our Manchester comrades, when they asked Comrade Elder to be one of their two Party nominees on the Communist Unity Organising Committee. The Executive has not wobbled, and will not wobble. The Party has not eaten its programme, and will not eat its programme. If I sense the views of the membership aright, we are as convinced and determined opponents of dissipating revolutionary strength by talk in the bourgeois Parliament as we were in June last. More convinced if possible, for Malone's activities inside Parliament have shown us how very weak this tactics is.

Page 23, last par. of the Theses, clearly lays it down that the Communist International wishes convinced anti-Parliamentary Communists to join them. There is no possible misconstruction on that invitation.

YOST TYPEWRITER, No. 20, fine condition, French keyboard, worth £80. Also seven vols. "Popular Science," cloth bound, clean, cost £3. Send offers to SATIRE, 47, Crowndale Road, N.W. 1.

## BRANCH NOTES.

## Bedford: New Branch.

A new branch of the Party is being formed at Bedford, and about six quires of *Dreadnoughts* are already being disposed of weekly. All interested in Communism in Bedford, are requested to communicate with COMRADE E. ROBINSON, 3, Cromwell Road, Queen's Park, Bedford.

## South Shields.

More recruits for Communism are wanted for this group. All interested in Communism and Workers' Rule in South Shields, are requested to communicate with COMRADE J. BEADHAM, 18, Osborn Avenue, South Shields.

## Hammersmith.

The usual branch meeting was held on Friday, December 31st. Three new members were accepted in Comrades Eich, Meacham, and Garner. Comrade Meacham has long assisted the branch in the sale of Communist literature and help at propaganda meetings, and we gladly welcome this old fighter for Communism as a Party member. Comrade Birch was appointed auditor for branch accounts for the last quarter, during the period of Comrade Biske's Secretaryship. Letters from the Gorton and Altrincham branches relating to the Unity Conference were considered, and Comrade Birch was instructed to write to these branches stating that we did not agree with their interpretation of the Moscow Theses.

The National Secretary's circular to branches, was next dealt with, and the branch agreed to notify headquarters that they were willing that a referendum should be taken on the question of the Unity Conference. Comrade Meacham was appointed "Report Secretary" to the branch, and will in future compile the branch reports for Hammersmith appearing on this page. The branch now numbers fourteen, and still more recruits are wanted to our ranks so that we may have a closely-linked and powerful group working for Communism in Hammersmith. All interested are asked to attend the weekly indoor meetings on Fridays, at 154, Goldhawk Road, or write to Comrade Mianie Birch, 10, South Street, King Street, Hammersmith, W.6. P.J.M. & E.W.

## Soho.

At our meeting held on December 22nd, the question of the circulars from Manchester and Altrincham was considered.

"It was decided to inform Comrades Elder and Whinfield that the Soho branch does not feel that it will be bound by the result of the coming Leeds Conference, and should the result of the new party be "Parliamentary," the members of the Soho branch will consider themselves individual members. Our comrades in Manchester and Altrincham are asked to consider that they are withholding 200 votes on the anti-Parliamentary motion.

"Further, Soho branch passed a resolution "That the National Secretary be asked to take steps to have leaflets explaining Communism printed for free distribution among the unemployed."

All interested in Communism in Soho and district are invited to communicate with the Secretary, Soho Branch Communist Party, c/o 58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W.

## Coventry.

Despite the very active work carried through by Communists in Coventry, a strong Party branch does not yet exist in this industrial centre. All class-conscious proletarians in Coventry who support the Third International, are invited to communicate with COMRADE H. M. EMERY, 153, Melbourne Road, Coventry.

## Gorton.

This branch is in favour of a referendum on the question of the Unity Conference. (Eight branches have now asked for this). The branch is opposed to lawyers being engaged to defend Communists when in the capitalist courts, and considers that Communists should defend themselves.

For Christmas, the Gore Brook Hall was gaily decorated by the women comrades of the branch, and a Feed and Treat for the children of the Gorton branch proletarian Sunday school was arranged. Great enthusiasm has been shown at Gorton by the women comrades of the branch in charge of this part of the branch's educational work. Gorton considers participation in Parliamentary action, whether conducted on the basis of the Theses, or not, to be the game of the bourgeois and impossible to be used effectively in the interests of Communism in this country. All Gorton rebels are invited to apply for membership to this live and active band of comrades at Gorton. Applications and letters to COMRADE E. REDFERN, Gore Brook Hall, Williams Street, Gorton.

## Manchester District.

Report of Joint Conference of the Four Manchester Groups, at the Baker's Hall, Swan Street, Sunday, 26th December, 1920.

This Conference opened at 11 o'clock a.m., there being about 40 members present when Comrade Russell took the Chair. He opened by reviewing the International position, and our relationship to the developments, pointing out the futility of Trade Unionism as a means of emancipation for the working-class.

The centralisation of activities was the first on the agenda, and it was agreed to join forces for the purposes of propaganda within the city. Comrade Webb of Central, proposed that a district committee be formed, one member from each branch, to take up duties of a watchful character, with no power apart from the rank and file members, this was seconded by a Manchester comrade, and supported by all present. First meeting to take place at 11 a.m. on Sunday, at 62, Brunswick Road, Broadheath.

## COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

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

**MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION:** Three pence.

**Entry Fee:** One Shilling.

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

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

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

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

## 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. 4 to 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

Thursdays. Branch meets at 7.30 p.m. at the Laurie Arms, Crawford Place, Edgware Road, W.

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

## SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

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## "RACHOPHONE"

152, ROMAN ROAD, BOW, E.

## A REPLY TO THE GORTON BRANCH.—Continued.

As for that part of the Thesis dealing with participation in Parliament, we think the Thesis would have been better understood by the British movement if its compilers had devoted a little space to the question of "political action" and "direct action," and the relation between the two. In the opinion of the Stepney Branch, the thrashing out of this question is of great importance, as it bids fair to be the rock on which our Party will split asunder.

We believe Lenin also, in his book "Left Wing Communism," would have been better understood, if he had dealt with this aspect of the Movement in his chapter on British "Leftism." We can see he recognises it clearly in his criticism of the Thesis of the Dutch Left (page 44). In his reply to their argument that "when the capitalist system of production is broken down and society is in a state of revolution, Parliamentary activity gradually loses its significance, as compared with the action of the masses themselves," he proves that this is obviously wrong, since the action of the masses—a big strike for instance—is more important *always* than Parliamentary activity, and not merely during a revolution, or in a revolutionary situation.

Translated into British revolutionary phraseology, what is this but a recognition of the necessity of "direct action" as against "political action"?

—The Stepney and District Branch.

## 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,  
5, Pentre Hill, Cilfrew, Neath,  
South Wales.

All applications for membership, to the Communist Party Secretary:

EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD,  
8, Sinclair Gdns, West Kensington, W.14.

## Hull.

We had a good meeting last Sunday evening. Comrade Beech gave his experiences in Russia, and a lot of questions were asked and answered in a most able and satisfactory way.

At our last branch meeting, we definitely decided to hold our Photo Exhibition on the 15th and 16th of this month. Entrance to same by silver collection. It is to be held in Owen Hall, Baker Street. A Committee of five elected to arrange everything for same.

We have decided to change our branch meeting night. In future they will be held on Tuesday instead of Wednesday.

For the coming week, we shall be getting after the unemployed, and hope to get good results.

Everything going along very smoothly at present. So with best wishes for all comrades in and out of the can.

Yours in revolt,

F. JACKSON.

## GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Manchester Central Comrades, 30/-; S. Shields Comrades, 1/4; Porth Comrades, 10/-; Holt Comrades, 6/8; Sheffield Comrades, 10/-; Coventry Comrades, 1/-; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Holdsworth, 30/-; Manchester Comrades, 6/-.

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