

Japan and the Revolution.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE CAERPHILLY ELECTION.

There is to be a three-cornered contest in Caerphilly, in the South Wales coalfield. The Labour Party and the Communist Party are running rival candidates. The contest will be exceedingly bitter.

The attitude of the *Daily Herald* is illuminating because it must be remembered that the *Daily Herald* is supposed by some people to be a Red paper, a Left Wing paper, even a Bolshevik paper to which Third International money has been offered because its profession of Redness and of Socialism were taken seriously over there in Moscow.

The *Daily Herald* has come out in open and strong opposition to the Communist Party candidate. There is no longer any doubt that the *Herald* must be taken as voicing the views of the officials in power in the Labour Party on questions of policy where the official caucus intervenes.

The *Herald's* opposition to the Communist candidate was first displayed by its special correspondent, who declared that the Communists should come into the Labour Party as an integral part, and offer their candidate to be chosen or rejected by the Labour Party. The *Daily Herald* correspondent here overlooked the fact that the Labour Party has refused the Communist Party's application for affiliation, both nationally and to the local Labour Parties. Only if it were affiliated could the Communist Party become an integral part of the Labour Party.

The *Daily Herald* correspondent, in the *Daily Herald* way, made an effort to keep a foot in both camps (one must not offend the Reds, you know; circulation, circulation) by praising Bob Stewart, as a "good fighter," "everyone respects him," and at the same time coming down heavily against his candidature: "It is very strongly felt that this is no time to divide the ranks of Labour, especially in view of the fact that whoever is adopted would be bound to vote Left on any question of public importance, or of special importance to the miners."

What a weak, false argument for supporting reactionaries! It reminds us of the plea that Socialists should support Liberal candidates in order "not to split the progressive forces."

As for the pretence that whoever is elected will be bound to vote Left, the fact that a Right candidate will be chosen by the Labour Party is a proof of the absurdity of that assumption. Moreover, the cases of G. N. Barnes, repudiated by the Gorbals Labour Party, and Roberts, repudiated by the Norwich Labour Party, shows how easily a Member of Parliament snaps his fingers at those who put him there when he goes over to reaction!

But all that is merely the work of the special correspondent.

On August 8th, the *Daily Herald* came out against the Communist Party candidate in a leading article. Here are the most salient passages:

"In our movement there must be wide diversity of thought as to method, and sometimes it may be divided on questions of principle. But at this moment we think everything, except absolute essentials, should be put on one side in order to defeat handsomely the Government's nominee."

"We desire this for the sake of our own people here at home, those millions whom Lloyd George and his Parliament of hard-faced men have so grievously betrayed."

"The same call comes also from our comrades abroad. So long as the Coalition is in power Russia



BILL HAYWOOD, U.S.A.

is not safe, nor indeed is any revolutionist anywhere safe. We want Organised Labour to realise that the millions in Russia are starving because the failure of Nature has been accentuated and made worse by the callous, brutal policy of boycott and open war which Lloyd George and his Government have waged against the Russian people. To drive this lesson home, unity, above all things, is needed.

"Caerphilly can, by giving a thumping Labour victory, send a message of good cheer to the toilers at home and of goodwill and fellowship to our comrades in Russia and throughout the world."

The name of Stewart is not mentioned in the leading article, and the statement, under the photograph of Morgan Jones, that "the seat will also be contested by the Coalition and by the Communists," shows that the Communist candidate is to be thoroughly cold-shouldered by "Labour's Own Daily."

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It is important to note that the *Daily Herald* claims to speak on behalf of Soviet Russia; the phrases are subtly worded: "The same call comes to us from abroad. So long as the Coalition is in power Russia is not safe," etc. The inference is that the call to ignore and boycott the Communist candidate, in the name of unity, comes from Soviet Russia; but, of course, it would not do to more than infer that, for repudiation from Moscow might follow.

The Caerphilly situation is one that gives food for stimulating thought. What would have been the policy of the Communist Party at Caerphilly had the Labour Party accepted its affiliation?

COMMUNIST PARTY v. LABOUR PARTY

Would it have contented itself with putting up its nominee in the Labour Party caucus, and on his rejection in favour of an anti-Communist reactionary, would it have joined in supporting the anti-Communist reactionary, as the *Daily Herald* advises?

Or would the Communist Party have persisted in running its own candidate, in spite of its affiliation to the Labour Party? If it did that, it would be expelled; that is certain.

Is this running of Communist candidates adopted to force the Labour Party to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party, or does the Communist Party intend to persist in running its own separate candidates? If the latter be accepted policy, the repeated requests for affiliation to the Labour Party are not to be taken seriously. The Communist Party would do well to decide which way it is going.

And what is our position?

Our position remains clear and consistent: you are all aware of it. We say: do not affiliate to the Labour Party or enter into compromising alliances within it; stand aside; let it get into power and prove its uselessness and powerlessness. Stand aside warning the workers that the Labour Party cannot emancipate them, because it is merely reformist and will not sweep away the capitalist system when it gets into power.

We say, further, that the best propaganda that Communists can do at this juncture is to let the Labour Party continue with its effort to become "his Majesty's Government," and to tell the workers that all such shams must pass; that the way to emancipation is through Communism and the Soviets. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

RUSSIA'S STRUGGLE WITH FAMINE

In order to help the hungry the Soviet Government has authorised the Red Cross to do all it can to relieve the distress. The Red Cross shall: 1. Purchase drugs, food, and fodder at home and abroad and distribute them among the sufferers. 2. Distribute the goods and money in the possession of the Red Cross among the sufferers. 3. The Red Cross has the right to make use of all means of transport without payment. 4. Erect food centres wherever necessary. 5. Give the population medical aid. 6. Make collections where desired for the benefit of the sufferers.

The Red Cross will work jointly with the Russian Relief Committee, which is sitting in permanence in the Kremlin, and jointly with this committee form committees abroad and collect funds.

The committee has been given the right to conclude agreements at home and abroad, and to place orders for goods without any control on the part of the State. The committee is merely required to give the all-Russian Central Executive Committee an account of the moneys expended. All government institutions are obliged to show the greatest helpfulness towards the relief committee.

A decree of the all-Russian Central Executive Committee orders that all State institutions as well as the larger Party organisations are to send one person to the relief committee out of each five hundred members.

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MAX HAVELAAR.

Edward Douwe Dekker, who used the pen name of "Mollatadi," was Assistant Resident of the Dutch Government in Java during the 'eighties. He agitated against the monstrous extortions and tyrannies of which the natives were victims, and sacrificed his position in a vain effort to secure justice.

This novel, built up from his experiences in Java, contains, he declared, nothing that was not true.

We reproduce here a translation of Mollatadi's work by Baron Alphonse Nahuijs, using, not the complete novel, but the more striking portions welded together so that the continuity of the story shall not be broken.

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A new Assistant Resident was coming; and custom, which has the force of law in the Indies more than anywhere else, will have it that the officer who is entrusted with the rule of a district must be festively received on his arrival. The Controller, too, was present. He was a man of middle age, and after the death of the last Assistant Resident, being next in rank, had carried on the government for some months.

As soon as the arrival of the new Assistant Resident was known a *pendopoe* was erected in great haste; a table and some chairs brought there with some refreshments, and in that *pendopoe* the Regent, with the Controller, awaited the arrival of their new chief. After a broad-brimmed hat, an umbrella, or a hollow-tree, a *pendopoe* is certainly the most simple representation of the idea "root".

Picture to yourself four or six bamboo canes, tied together at the top with other bamboos, on which is placed a cover of the large leaves of the water palm, called in these regions *atap*, and you will have an idea of such a *pendopoe*.

In the case of a native functionary at the head of a district a *pendopoe* is certainly the most simple representation of the idea "root".

The relation between European officials and such high-placed Javanese nobles is very delicate. The Assistant Resident of a district is thus responsible to the Chief of the district. Still the Regent is much his superior—through local knowledge, birth, influence on the popular assemblies, revenues and manner of living. Moreover a Regent, as representing the Javanese element and being considered the mouth-piece of the hundred thousand or more inhabitants of his Regency, is also in the eyes of the Government a much more important personage than the simple European officer, whose discontent need not be feared, because many others can be got in his place, whilst the displeasure of a Regent would become perhaps the germ of disturbance or revolt.

From all this arises the strange reality that the inferior commands the superior.

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One of these consists of tribes whose kings and princes have been content to be tributaries to Holland, but have, nevertheless, retained the direct government to a greater or lesser degree in their own hands. The other division to which the whole of Java belongs, with a very trifling, nearly only apparent exception, is totally and directly subject to Holland. There is here no question of tribute, tax, or alliance. The Javanese is a *Dutch subject*. The King of Holland is his King. The descendants of his former princes and lords, *Dutch* functionaries; they are appointed, transferred, promoted, dismissed, by the Governor-General, who reigns in the name of the King. Criminals are condemned and punished by a law made at the Hague. The taxes paid by the Javanese flow into the Exchequer of Holland.

The Governor-General is assisted by a Senate, but this Senate has no power to modify his resolutions. At Batavia, the different branches of the Government are divided into Departments with Directors at their head, who form the link between the supreme direction of the Governor-General and the Residents of the provinces. Yet in matters of a political nature, these Residents apply directly to the Governor-General.

The title of "Resident" dates its origin from the time when Holland acted the part of a protecting State rather than that of a feudal superior, and was represented at the Courts of the several reigning princes by resident functionaries. The Princes are gone; the Residents have become rulers of provinces; they have acquired the power of prefects. Their position is changed, but the name remains.

It is proper that Residents who represent the Dutch authority in the eyes of the Javanese population, who know neither the Governor-General, nor the Senators of the Indies, nor the Directors at Batavia; they know only the Resident and the functionaries who reign subordinate to him.

A Residency, so-called—some of them have a population of one million souls—is divided into three, four, or five Departments or Regencies, at the head of each of which is an Assistant Resident. Under these the government is carried on by Controllers, overseers, and a number of other officers, who are required for the gathering of the taxes and superintendence of agriculture, the erection of buildings, for the waterworks, the police, and the administration of justice.

In every Department, the Assistant Resident is aided by a native chieftain of high rank, with the title of Regent. Such a Regent, though his relation to the Government and his Department is quite that of a paid official, always belongs to the high aristocracy of his country, and often to the family of the prince, who have governed in that part or neighbourhood as

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

Edward Douwe Dekker, who used the pen name of "Mollatadi," was Assistant Resident of the Dutch Government in Java during the 'eighties. He agitated against the monstrous extortions and tyrannies of which the natives were victims, and sacrificed his position in a vain effort to secure justice.

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independent sovereigns. It is very politic in Holland to make use of the ancient feudal influence of the princes, which in Asia is very great, and is looked upon by most of the tribes as a part of their religion, because, by making those chiefs paid officers of the Crown, a sort of hierarchy is created, at the head of which is the Dutch Government, in the person of the Governor-General.

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Workers' Dreadnought

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TO ALL OF YOU.

DEAR COMRADES—

You have supported the *Workers' Dreadnought* and brought it through many trials. We ask you to make another effort to bring us through this period of holiday stagnation. A donation first and then a steady effort to increase the circulation.

Our appeal to you is urgent: we ask you to respond to-day.

ZINOVIEV TO THE COMMINTERN.

A "Left" Wing View.

Zinoviev, in the Moscow, gives a review of the International situation. We will confine ourselves to the passages dealing with Britain.

Comrade Zinoviev says:—

"England this year has witnessed the unification of all the formerly dissenting Communist Groups and Parties."

"The arrests and other repressions with which the bourgeoisie came down upon our British comrades attest the growth of Communism in England."

The first of these statements is not quite accurate. The S.I.P. still stands outside the Third International, and there are the anti-Parliamentary Communist Party and some other groups still outstanding.

As to the second point, we should like to think, with Comrade Zinoviev, that the arrests of Communists, genuinely prove the growth of Communism; but it is useless to blind ourselves to facts: the coal dispute; the fear of other great industrial disturbances, on account of the all round lowering of wages, was the main cause which prompted the Government to special censorship of propaganda during the past months. Many of the persons imprisoned under D.O.R.A. and the E.P.A., were charged on account of speeches which had not even a Communist tendency.

Comrade Zinoviev justly observes:—

"Towards the end of the year the attempts of certain uneasy adherents of the Comintern to create a Right Wing within it became more apparent." That is so; but such attempts have by no means ceased. Their power is due to the fact that, in Britain at any rate, we have numbers of people in the movement to whom Communism is nothing more concrete and definite than opposition to the capitalist intervention in Soviet Russia. Study and discussion is greatly needed in our movement.

Comrade Zinoviev continues:—

"The so-called 'Left' opposition at the Second Congress of the Comintern was represented by the Dutch Marxists, Sylvia Pankhurst's group, and partly by the representatives of the Shop Stewards Committee of England and America, some Syndicalists groups and the group of the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.)."

"The Second Congress approached the opposition of the Left carefully, and patiently explained the blunders of these 'Left' comrades, succeeding in securing a revolutionary collaboration with many of these groups."

"Only a year has passed. A very considerable part of these Left elements has been thoroughly assimilated by the Comintern."

"The tactics of creating Communist nuclei within the trade unions have justified themselves completely, and given excellent results in France, in Germany and in England. The best elements of the French syndicalists have sincerely come over to the Comintern. The same is to be observed in reference to the Spanish and Italian syndicalists."

"The adherents of the Shop Stewards' movement and the group of Sylvia Pankhurst have joined the United Communist Party of Great Britain. The most friendly collaboration is observed between the Comintern and the best part of the I.W.W."

"Our Left British comrades should have recognised, and we are sure, have recognised the justice of our

position on the question of their working in the Labour Party. The social-traitor leaders of that Party have themselves begun to drive our comrades from the ranks of the Labour Party, thus confirming the correctness of our viewpoint."

Comrade Zinoviev says "the tactics of creating

Communist nuclei within the Trade Unions have justified themselves completely and have given excellent results in France, in Germany, in England." Well, well, we should like to come in touch with some of those nuclei and hear what they have done; it would do our heart good if they really are advanced enough to be called Communist, and really are powerful enough to achieve results.

Let us hear from you, O Communist nuclei!

Comrade Zinoviev says the adherents of the Shop Stewards' Movement have joined the United Communist Party."

This is not quite accurate. Certain members of the Shop Stewards' Movement have joined the Communist Party, but no organisation answering to that description has done so. The Workers' Committee Movement in England is now reduced to a low ebb; broadly speaking, one must admit that the Shop Stewards of that movement no longer function.

In Scotland, the Workers' Committee is still a force: it remains apart from the Communist Party, publishing its own organ, *The Worker*.

Comrade Zinoviev returns to what he calls our "blunders."

He says we should have recognised the justice of the opinion that the Communist Party should work within the Labour Party, and that the Labour Party, by driving Communists out, has proved the correctness of this view.

On the contrary; we believe that the Labour Party's action proves that it is impossible for dealing in indemnity and other foreign coal to raise their own.

The Joint Industrial Council is a thing of the past; it resigned because it could do nothing. Dr. Macnamara, Minister of Labour, told the House of Commons the other day that the employers' and workers' representatives could not agree. In the long run, of course, they could not, although the workers' representatives were Trade Union officials no longer a part of the working class in many cases. The two sides could not agree on an unemployment scheme, on an hours of labour scheme, or on a minimum wage. How could they?

The Agricultural Trades Board has been scrapped. The other Trades Boards, so greatly vaunted by a host of tinkering Reformists and Fabians, will probably be abolished soon.

Dr. Macnamara, on August 4th, said:—

"There is, as the House is aware, considerable controversy to-day on the subject of Trade Boards as established under the Act of 1918. There is criticism that the establishment of Boards and the fixing of rates of wages by them may cause unemployment, and so adversely affect the industry which they desire to benefit."

These Trade Boards were created to be the protection of the sweated woman so depressed that she cannot fight for herself. They never did much for her; presently they will be gone.

The Labour Exchanges are being reduced; 84 are closed, 150 or more will be gone by the end of the year.

The Fabians, Beatrice Webb, for she has been the soul of the Fabian Society, have made the policy of the Labour Party, and in a little way have influenced the Capitalist Government in the prosperous days when capitalism could afford to give little things away.

That was, and remains, our view; but Lenin and the Comintern decided otherwise.

The Labour Party has twice justified our contention, by refusing the affiliation of the Communist Party, and now by the even more drastic step of notifying the local Labour Parties that they may not accept the affiliation of the Communist Party even locally, and that disregard of this instruction may imperil their own affiliation to the National Labour Party.

We heartily thank the Labour Party for this decision; it will help to strengthen the Communist Party and purge it of Reformist elements.

Now that everyone, including Comrades Zinoviev and Lenin, must finally admit that the Labour Party is a political party with all the attributes of a political party, we again submit, that for the Communist Party to affiliate to the Labour Party, striving to capture it from within, is the same as for Communists to remain a part of the Scheidemann Party in Germany, striving to capture it also from inside.

We are told that wherever there are backward and unenlightened masses, there must the Communists be to teach them. Quite so; but if combining the Communist Party with the Labour Party be the correct method why not have remained in the Scheidemann Party in Germany; why have split the Communist Parties of Italy and France?

Will Comrade Lenin please reply?

When we were in Moscow last year, Comrade Lenin advised our group to join a united Communist Party and to work for the acceptance of our own policy within that Party and within the Comintern.

"If the decisions about the Labour Party and Parliamentarianism are wrong," he said, "they can be altered by a subsequent Congress. Form a Left block within a United Communist Party."

On that advice we have continued to act in good faith.

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THE IRON HELL.**The Burial of Sanktym.**

In these days we see the passing of ideas of co-operation between capital and labour, of all those theories of joint control by employers and workers, which are associated with the Sankey report on the Coal Mines, and the Joint Industrial Council.

These impractical theories long cherished by those who would rob capitalism of its ugliness, but have not the courage to face its abolition, seemed to many people to have become really practical and imminent in the war period when the demand for labour exceeded the supply, when trade was booming and prices scarcely knew a limit.

Now that Labour is a drug on a falling market conciliation in the industrial field vanishes like the morning mist, and the workers are forced to submit to the iron heel.

Unemployment benefit is cut down in this time when it is so terribly needed, and the terms on which it is granted grow narrower and harsher.

The great masses of miners who have not been taken back after the Coal Lock-out are told that they are not entitled to benefit on the excuse that their unemployment is due to the mines not being fit for working as a result of the lock-out. Of course, the reason the miners are kept idle is because the British coal trade is slack and coal owners prefer dealing in indemnity and other foreign coal to raising their own.

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Will Comrade Lenin please reply?

SPICE.

J. H. Thomas, M.P., at Leyton Town Hall:—

"During the past seven years it had been his unfortunate lot to find that when a great crisis had arisen members of his union had said: 'It does not matter; leave it to Jimmy; he will pull us out.' Such a state of affairs had nearly resulted in disaster more than once."

Unprecedented candour!

Moral, don't leave it to J.H.T.

* * *

The "Labour News," issued by the Labour Party Press Service, says:—

"Steeloff writes in *Izvestia* on the Brighton Conference resolution which refused affiliation of the Communists to the Labour Party:—

"The Labour Party is in every sense of the word a Colossus with feet of clay, corroded, moreover, by the poison of the Coalition. . . . It is a mastodon whose defences have given way, whose skin is mangy, and which should be carried to the grave, or, better still, thrown on the dung-heaps."

"It is perhaps superfluous to recall that the admission of the Communists to the Labour Party was pleaded for on the grounds of 'brotherly love.'

"But then the *Daily Herald* and its satellites always bring 'brotherly love' into all their appeals.

THE GRIEF AND GLORY OF RUSSIA.

By HENRY SARA

Continued from last week.

I spent nearly three days in Samara, a town on the Volga, with a population of 200,000. The Market was a very large one and trading was going on quite briskly. The big theatre was playing the opera *Faust*. Red Army aeroplanes were spinning up at frequent intervals, rising from the surface of the ice-bound Volga; and from one I beheld the city through a pair of field binoculars.

A Conference of the Communist Party was being held during our stay; it was a splendid gathering held in a magnificent hall. Another large gathering, this time was held in a theatre—the largest in Samara, packed with Ukrainian peasants. The following night, the local Communist Party held another meeting in the same theatre. Enthusiasm for the Third International, Lenin and Trotsky, and World Revolution, was intense.

Russian Schools.

Mrs. Snowden has dealt with the schools in Samara in her book, and in referring to her visits, says the places were houses of the bourgeois. Of course! The obvious reason why children—or rather, some children—are taught in what were once private houses, is because there never had been a sufficient number of schools in the Czar's time.

In Samara and environs, there are about 10,000 children having a splendid education and living healthy, clean lives. The stories going the rounds of the anti-Bolshevik platforms in this country as to the immorality in the schools and the congratulations by the officials of children who indulge in vice, are vile calumnies against some of the highest-minded men and women in the world.

A typical infants' school would be made up of children from four to seven years of age, with a total in one building, of 36. Hours, 9 till 4; breakfast at 10, dinner at 2. Dinner table very orderly, with china plates, wooden spoons, small American cloth mats for each plate, and white linen table cloths. Bread handed round by the children themselves. Their behaviour was splendid. Toys were plentiful but simple; most of them having the virtue of cleanliness for their main object: small ash towels, flat iron-irons and similar household furniture reaching on to the tooth-brush stand. They went through teeth cleaning drill daily; the brushes were soiled once a week. Diagrams, in coloured chalks, illustrated types of women that the children were taught to avoid. I asked if they had an allowance of milk, and was told they were not having any, but were having plenty of butter and meat, and that they were allowed to have as much as they could possibly eat.

A typical school for older students was one where the average ages were fourteen to eighteen. A large room, with a brilliant red banner inscribed with the words "To the Intellectual Workers," in gilt letters gave colour; blackboards and forms used in class rooms were in use; the class consisted of eight boys and three girls. One of the boys read a remarkable essay; and a discussion followed on the question of "Free Labour."

In this very fine-building, the pupils underwent a four years' course in Science. There were three resident teachers from Moscow, and 22 lecturers on circuit attended for different subjects. The system is one of Applied Theory.

Children as School Managers.

The old discipline has been done away with, and the children have now a greater freedom of thought.

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WORKING WOMAN AND CLASS STRUGGLE

By FRANC CONNER.

Clear visioned working women (whether they work with hand or brain, or both) are swinging clear of the so-called "Woman's Parties" and other associations of like stamp—organisations which, though indicting certain features of the capitalist system, do not move in the orbit of the proletarian revolution. These bodies, one and all, are earmarked with the bourgeois ideology. In so far as they faintly grasp the idea of a better society, they are Utopian. They feature the exploded idea that individuals or groups, by power of personality (irrespective of economic conditions), may cause or block great world movements.

Along this line, it is a pet dream of their leaders that women are to combine against armaments, and usher in the era of world peace.

The story has come down from the time of the Greek myth makers that Helen of Sparta caused the Trojan War; and through succeeding centuries, down to the present, story weavers have regaled their hearers and readers with tales of fair princesses that intrigued their countries into strife.

Entirely of a piece is the twentieth century fairy tale that women, banded together, will succeed in putting an end to war!

Ancient bards, story tellers of more recent date, twentieth century bourgeois feminists—are all birds of a feather in that they ignore the economic foundations of peace and war.

Undoubtedly the Trojan War had an economic background, and a study of the history of society shows that in the "changing economic factor" of human environment, lies the chief explanation of subsequent wars. Running counter to this economic factor, not all the princesses under the canopy could have made or stayed the conflicts.

Nor can all the "Woman's Parties" in the world to-day beat the machine guns into farming tools, or remodel the submarines into pleasure boats, as long as economic conditions prevail that make for the bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, those who expect women to be banded together as a political unit on any great question are weaving a rope of sand.

Women do not constitute an economic group, and for that reason, they cannot, under present conditions, act together on world or national issues; for such issues involve economic considerations. In the onward sweep of human society it is those that are swayed (directly or indirectly) by the same "economic motivation" that eventually find themselves marching under the same standards.

Though individuals, and even groups, are often directly moved to action by ideals rather than by economic motives, examination is likely to disclose mighty economic forces back of the agencies that foster these ideals, and that push them into the foreground where individuals and groups will pick them up.

The all-powerful Economic Factor.
Undoubtedly the opposition to negro slavery that grew up, little by little, in the Northern States before the Civil War was sincere (for the abolition of chattel slavery in America was an important historic advance). Yet the forces that spurred the people on were economic. In the last analysis (though the Emancipation Proclamation actually came merely as a war measure) the Southern slavery met its finish because it ran foul of the material interests of the Northern capitalists. It was when this clash of interests had grown violent (in the period before the war) that the masses of the North awoke to the real horrors of negro slavery.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMUNIST MEMBERS OF POPLAR BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Dear Editor.—As a member of the Bow Branch I was sorry to see in the "Workers' Dreadnought" a resolution passed by the branch censuring Conrade Pankhurst for her criticism of the Communist Party members of the Poplar Board of Guardians. I do not think she was out of order in the least; that if any member is speaking or acting contrary to the principles of Communism, they should be recalled. I think this subject should be publicly discussed, and not hushed up. If wages are to be lowered let it be done by the factory-owning class and not by the Labour and Communist Party.

Yours for Communism,
F. BRIMLEY.

To the Editor of the "Workers' Dreadnought."

Dear Comrade.—Although somewhat late I wish to write a correction to a leader of the "W. D." of July 22nd. The leader dealt with the Dockers' Congress and the work done by Liverpool No. 3 Branch. While we do not wish to deprecate the efforts of the rebels in that branch I would like to point out that the work done was not the efforts of any one branch or any one individual, but the united efforts of the Dockers' Vigilance Committee, which is a part of the Dockers' Section of the

grow into harmony with the coming needs of the future society.

Furthermore, Northern men and Northern women thought alike on the subject because their ideals were formed, and their opinions built up by identical economic forces. For the same reason, Southern men and Southern women were alike filled with bitterness when the institution on which the gulf of the Southern aristocracy depended was swept away.

As far as the banding together of woman is concerned, it needs no ghost to tell us that getting Northern women and Southern women to hang together on the question of negro slavery in Civil War days would have been about as easy as extracting sunshine from cucumbers.

Coming down to recent years, the women of America did not vote as a unit on prohibition. (In California, the economic importance of the grape-raising industry influenced the woman's vote.

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CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

Jude O'Grady, however, if class conscious, glories more in kinship with her brothers and sisters of the proletariat—working men and working women.

True, "the brotherhood of man" includes "the sisterhood of women."

"For Judy O'Grady an' the Colonel's Lady
Are sisters under their skins."

With good reason does she thank her stars that her place is with the proletariat. Never yet was there like ours held in human hands; for it is the mission of the workers to establish the "Comrade State" (Dictatorship of The Proletariat) through which "the peoples of the world" shall pass, as over a mighty bridge, into the new society, where every child (and every grown-up) shall have a chance to make the most of themselves; where all shall do their share of work, but where all shall know the grace-giving buoyancy that comes from unstrained muscles and feet that have a chance to rest after labour; where all shall have their opportunity to exercise brain as well as brawn; where all shall know "the joy of life;" where all may, reach up for the highest things of life.

With their bourgeois trick of blaming everything on individuals or groups they are prone to lay the inequalities under which women have laboured throughout the centuries to the mere personal arbitrariness of men. "Woman has been enslaved," say they, "by tyrant man" (not by private property, not by economic conditions!).

This line of argument fosters sex antagonism and sex antagonism, if it extends at all to the pro-

letin, binders working class solidarity. Anything that might block working class solidarity, even in a slight degree, is as welcome as the flowers in May to those that are seeking to perpetuate the old system. That do the feminists serve Capitalism!

All in all, the working class woman that lies in with these woman's organisations is pretty decidedly on the proletarian movement.

The day is near when women will really come into their own; but that day is not going to dawn because of the efforts of noble-minded persons, without regard to economic conditions. It is coming because the time is ripe, because the social order will require it. As the status of women in the past conformed to what economic conditions demanded of them, so is their position, even now, beginning to do the same.

The place of the working woman is with the vanguard of the proletariat, marching in step with her working class brother, not trailing after the Colonel's Lady, promoting activities that amount to nothing more than an effort to keep the tattered and draggled standards of Capitalism floating a little longer.

I have already been out for this, and am ready to go again at any moment, my new banner is made.

Mr. Ghandi is consistent, non-co-operation is the solution, but personal property was ever the greatest bar to freedom.

Yours truly,

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

85, Camberwell Grove,

London, S.E. 5.

August 6th, 1921.

"Tis the final conflict,

Let each stand in his place...

Halls continued:

"With regard to the old men . . . I would

like hon. Members to remember it is their prede-

cessors who are to blame for not having made some

provision for these men at an earlier period of life

than 70 years. If it had been done there need not

be so much concern about the older man who is

becoming less fit. In any case, if a man does

become a little slower with his hands, if we have

had all the value of that man's experience and

knowledge out of him we should not be anxious to

get rid of him nor seek to pay him a lower rate of wages."

Weakness of Labour Party.

Nevertheless, the policy of the Labour speeches

were exceedingly weak.

Mr. Halls said:

"I am prepared to admit with the farmers that

if a certain wage had to be paid, it was only right

that there should be a standard price for produce."

Hand in Hand with the Boss.

Smith (Lab.) said:

"So much has been the working [of the Wages

Board] with regard to the necessity of permits [to

pay lower wages to old or unfit men, etc.], that

where there has been doubt or difficulty with regard

to a specific case, the understanding between the

two sides has been so complete that they have left

it to the officials of the Labourers' Union to investi-

gate, and they would take his word as to whether

the permit should be taken or not."

Clynes calls Minister "Innocent."

J. R. Clynes (Lab.) said he feared the Minister

in charge of the Bill would find himself "the

innocent cause of a great deal of mischief, strife

and conflict." It is absurd to describe the Minister

in charge of a Government Bill as "innocent"

with its results. He must accept joint responsibility

with the rest of the Cabinet for the measure as well

as a special personal responsibility in regard to it.

Perhaps Clynes regards Cabinet Ministers merely as

men who work for paid jobs. That may be largely

true, but if so, it is a matter of guilt, not of

innocence.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Where the Labourer didn't ask for more.

Mr. Pretzman (C.U.), declaring that the Agricultural Labourers' Wages Board had done harm, said that the farmers and their labourers had previously been working together in a common industry, for the common good, in his district the labourers' wages before the war had been 16s. and 18s. a week (no one said "Shame"). On 8th March, 1917, they were 21s., on March 15th, 1917, they were raised to 23s., and on July 19th they were raised to 25s. These increases were offered by the farmers. In no single case in that district were the rises asked for."

What more could the Government desire in placid tolerance from a Labour Party than the Labour Party displays?

The House decided to abolish the Wages Boards by 73 votes to 202.

Voluntary Joint Councils.

Voluntary Joint Councils of Employers and Workmen are to take the place of the Agricultural Wages Boards. Their establishment is practically compulsory, because till they are set up those who formed the Wages Boards shall act in their place. But their agreements are voluntary. They may, but are not, compelled to submit them for confirmation to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries (or, in Scotland, to the Board of Agriculture). If so confirmed, the agreement adopted by the Wages Board shall be the one implied in every contract for the district, except "where the Committee is satisfied that the agreement for payment of wages at a lesser rate was, having regard to any special circumstances affecting the worker or the special terms of the agreement, fair and reasonable." In that case the wages recoverable shall be at some lower rate than the rate so agreed by the Committee. The security for the payment of the agreed rate to the labourer is therefore very flimsy.

J. H. T.'s Inconsistency.

J. H. Thomas (Lab.) objected to "forcing the workers to the Courts." He said:—
"On the one hand, the employer feels the services this man can give are not sufficient to warrant the full wage being paid. The worker, on the other hand, says: 'Very well, I admit my disability, and I will take a less wage.' If both are satisfied, there ought to be some mutual arrangement outside the rigid application of the Wages Board."

One thing the labourer cannot get in the country districts is money, but he can have as much land as he wants for cultivation." (Members cried "No.") Yes, in the poor land districts it is so. The land is going out of cultivation by hundreds of acres because it is absolutely impossible to find the money on these poor lands to pay the wages stipulated by the Agricultural Wages Board. We can make it possible for the agricultural labourer to live."

Federal England.

Mr. Halls (Lab.) said he was one of a family of an agricultural labourer:—

"I was one of a family of 10 whose father never received above 18s. a week, and I knew what it was to live in poverty when my father worked on the land. It may be news to some hon. Members but I remember a time when a man who worked on the land dare not even let it be known that he was discontented with his lot . . . let alone ask for increased wages. If a man let it be known that he was dissatisfied, or asked for an increase of 1s. or 2s. a week, it would be regarded as a sufficient reason for getting rid of him. It was only in the inner circle that a man allowed discontent to be known. . . . I remember as we sat at the fire, if we were talking about our lot and all that we had to put up with, my poor old mother, when she heard any person going past would say: 'Do not let us so loud, or So-and-So may hear what you are saying.' . . . That is why I say it was one of the greatest blessings that ever came to the agricultural labourer to have these Wages Boards established, and an authority set up which determined wages and conditions."

(But the Wages Board did not free the agricultural labourer from his state of abject fear, did not give him courage to adopt an independent stand; it merely referred the question of his conditions to the Wages Board.)

Halls continued:—

LITERARY COMPETITION.

Subject:

THE MEANING OF COMMUNISM AND AFFILIATION
TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The essays sent in for this Competition are, on the whole, far too long, too rambling, and quite lacking in that clarity and simplicity which was especially asked for. The writers in most cases have scarcely touched the subject actually set, but instead have dealt at great length with the history and manifold evils of capitalism.

The writers have gone to considerable and highly commendable pains in this direction, but greater brevity would have enhanced the value of their work.

The Man from Jupiter.

This essay shows a failure to understand what Communism is, and contains several grave errors.

It says:—“Economic equality will be based upon a reasonable classification of the individual, upon the nature of the work, as well as the faithfulness of the worker.”

This passage is wholly wrong in principle, for under Communism economic equality will be an absolute right, not subject to qualification or reduction.

In the next passage the writer refers to rates of wages, but wages under Communism will be abolished. That is essential to Communism, under which the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the books we read, and so on, will not be measured out to us: we shall have the use of all these things what we need; we shall never be stinted in our use except by an actual shortage of any commodity, and all the resources of the community will be organised to insure that there shall be a scarcity of nothing.

The Comrade who wrote this essay seems to have confused the State Socialist reforms introduced in Russia with what will happen under Communism; but Russia is not Communist yet. The Russian Communists, Lenin, Bucharin, all of them insist upon that fact. Says the Man from Jupiter:—

“Communism gives to the mother 8 weeks' holiday before the birth of her child, and 8 weeks after at full pay.”

That is not Communism; that is merely the temporary makeshift set up in Russia. Communism gives to the mother, as to everyone else, all she needs for life.

The Man from Jupiter suggests a six-hour day, but the Communist work-day will be less than that. The whole conception outlined by this essayist is that of State Capitalism and not Communism at all.

Early in the Morning.

This essay also is too long. It has many good points, but covers too wide a field. It contains good expositions of “History and the Worker,” “Bluffing the Workers,” “The Meaning of Crises,” “The Weakness of Labour,” etc.

Too little space is devoted to Communism itself, and the exposition is by no means adequate. The Chapter “Communism, Women and the Family,” is exceedingly good.

Redhead.

Redhead's essay is also too long, and covers too wide a field. It deals rather with “what Communism is not” than with what it is. It is an excellent description of the evils of capitalism, but not an exposition of what Communism is and of the programme of the III. International. It is, however, full of excellent passages well worthy of reproduction.

Derby.

Derby, as he says, is in “deadly earnest,” but his pages are an earnest plea for Communism, not an explanation of it.

1917.

1917's essay is one of the longest—a book not a pamphlet! It has six chapters, the two last entitled, “Communism” and “Ways and Means,” are long enough to make an ordinary-sized pamphlet. This essay is in many ways exceedingly good and forceful, but it does not keep to the point.

Mary Ruby.

Mary Ruby leads off effectively in an original style:—

“You cannot get a house in your country without paying rent.

“You cannot get a loaf of bread in your country without paying profit and rent, as well as the cost of flour and labour.”

The essay contains a surprising number of useful facts, but it does not tell us What is Communism. Indeed, Mary Ruby has headed it, “World War or Else the Communist International.” Other essayists could learn lessons in conciseness of statement from Mary Ruby, who is inclined to go to the other extreme—but the essay is a list of glaring facts, not an explanation.

Plymouth.

Plymouth's essay is attractive: it observes shrewdly:—“We need that simple pamphlet. That there is anyone in the movement able to write it is quite another thing.” This essay has considerable breadth of vision, and reveals a Communist spirit in its author, but it does not meet the test set.

X.Y.Z.

X.Y.Z. leads off clearly with a definition of Communism from the concise Oxford Dictionary. Some essayists have evaded even a bare definition of Communism. This essay is comparatively short, but its style is rather verbose; therefore its 4,000 words

give a very incomplete presentation of the subject. Still it covers some essential points not dealt with by any of the other essayists.

Pencaitland.

Pencaitland's essay does not begin well. Its first section, “The Problem stated,” is incomplete and ineffective. The second section, “Present Productive Powers,” is good. The third section, “The Capitalist System,” requires some revision, but is satisfactory in the main, and commendably free from unnecessary detail.

The section on “Communism” is good, so far as it goes, but incomplete. The comparison between capitalism and Communism is also good.

This essay ignores the second part of the subject, the Third International: its conclusion, is rather weak. But it is the best attempt to deal with the subject set that has been sent in.

M.I.C.P.

This essay is again rather too long, because M.I.C.P., whilst in part applying himself to the very difficult task of clearly explaining what is Communism, has, to a certain extent, run off on side issues, like all the other essayists except Pencaitland and X.Y.Z.

The Verdict.

Pencaitland, M.I.C.P., and X.Y.Z. are the only three essayists who have really applied themselves to solving the problem set, M.I.C.P. and Pencaitland have come nearest a solution, but neither essay seems to us to fulfil adequately the general need for a simple pamphlet clearly explaining “The Meaning of Communism and Affiliation to the Third International.”

A satisfactory result might be obtained by the collaboration of M.I.C.P. and Pencaitland, with a few hints from “Early in the Morning” and X.Y.Z.

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