The Future World War—Act I.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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FROM THE INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow, 6th May (via Stockholm).—The Central Executive Committee of the Communist International addresses the following letter, signed by Zinoviev and all the members of the Executive, to all the parties and organisations affiliated, or who wish to affiliate to the Communist International :—

The Third World Congress has been summoned in Moscow on June 1st. After the second Congress most of the parties have thoroughly discussed the Theses issued by the Executive. Almost everywhere it has led to a split between the Communists and the Centrists. This was the period during which real Communist Parties were brought into being and were constituted. The Third Congress, out of the work which has been achieved, will have to draw the conclusions : it will give the International its final form and tactics. First on the agenda of the Third Congress is the report of the Executive Committee. This is intimately connected with the campaign and the splits in many parties, which characterise the lest period. The Executive Committee will lay a report of its conclusions before the Third Congress, which must pronounce its judgment.

The second item on the agenda deals with the world-wide economic crisis and the new aims of the International. By weighing up the facts and analysing this crisis, the congress of the workers of the whole world will prove the incorrectness of the reformist perception and will have to show the ludicrousness of those who still believe that capitalism can be resuscitated.

The third and fourth items on the agenda deal with the tactics of the International during the revolution and in the interim period : United demands, united actions and the final revolutionary struggle. The congress will take into account the experiences of the Russian and German workers, and those of other countries. Out of the best of them it must formulate the tactics of the Communist Parties, on the one hand free from sectionalism and the mania for sensational results, on the other hand leading to the close linking up with the masses of the proletariat, which must remain unswervingly true to revolutionary Marxism.

Points 5 and 6 are : The Trade Union movement, the fight against the Yellow Amsterdam International, the International of the Red Trade Unions. Here the fight will be decided between the 2nd and the 3rd Internationals, i.e. between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The congress will have to decide the mutual relations between the Red T.U. International and the Communist International. Much in the structure of the International of the workers' movement depends upon the decision arrived at.

"PITY THE BLIND."

All organisations must study this question and come to the Congress with the thought-out decision.

Items 7and 8 deal with questions of the internal organisation of the parties, with the methods and tenor of their actions ; with the structure of the International with its relation to its various affiliated parties. We have to examine (1) The constitution of the individual parties separately ; (2) the limits of admissible autonomy as between the members towards the Executive, and the concentration which is necessary for guiding the international struggle of the proletariat. In other words : On what bases shall the International be built up so that it may successfully fulfil its mission ?

Item 9 deals with the question of the East. Whilst this was theoretically outlined at the Second Congress, we must now define it practically.

Item 10 is of intrinsic importance. This is the Italian question. Under the Centrist influence, Serrati, the Congress of Leghorn has refused to accept the twenty-one conditions of the Second Congress. The Communist workers have formed a Communist Party, which is the only Italian section recognised by the Communist International.

The Socialist Party of Serrati has been shut out of the Communist International. Serrati has appealed to the Third Congress against the decision. The Executive Committee willingly leaves this matter to the decision of the Third Congress. The Italian question has become of international importance through its echo in the United Communist Party of Germany. The Congress will bring full light to bear upon this matter and lead to a comprehensive solution.

The agenda deals further with the position of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany, with the Women's and Youths' movements. Finally the Executive Committee will bring up on the agenda the economic policy and conditions of Soviet Russia.

We call upon all parties and organisations which are affiliated to the Communist International immediately to study and discuss, on the broadest basis the questions on the agenda. The notes should immediately be taken. The Executive Committee invites all parties to send, if possible, large delegations, which should consist of one-third from the Central Committee and two-thirds from those branches which are in close touch with the masses. If possible, the Congress must comprise many workers so as to reflect the spirit of the proletariat. The Central Executive Committee expects also women and youth delegates. The decisions of the Third Congress must be prepared and discussed by dozens, by hundreds of meetings of the workers. Time presses. Get quickly to the work of the Party ! The Central Executive Committee asks the parties to send reports of their activities during the past year, so as to define the attitude of the various parties in this connection on the agenda.

HOUSE OF COMMONS AND PROPAGANDA.

The members of the House of Commons are really very much upset at the way things are going. They asked scared questions about Revolutionary Propaganda, said it was paid for from abroad, and the law was not strong enough to deal with it. They have got D.O.R.A. and the Emergency Powers Act, under which no man's person or property is safe from attack by the authorities, under which you may not express an opinion by word of mouth or in writing without running the risk of six months in gaol, and still "the law at present isn't strong enough to deal with revolutionary movements in this country," according to Mr. Gwynne. What more do they want ? To be able to shoot us dead at sight, because we might hold different opinions to them, as they are doing in Ireland ? Mr. Lloyd George said they had already instituted some prosecutions (which have resulted in increased numbers taking part in active propaganda). Should it be necessary to ask the House to legislate on this matter they would do so. He thought it a mistake to rush too soon into action. He believed in the good sense of the British working classes, and did not believe they would be misled by these people. "Once it is known there is foreign instigation, even a good object would be discredited if it was patent that it comes from foreign sources." But his faith in the insularity of the British worker is out of date. Too many of them have been in foreign countries and have seen for themselves that there are sometimes better conditions there than here, for that old fetish to continue. He does not believe "in patent medicines either in politics or in the general physical state of a man's health. I think it much better to keep up the general condition—(hear, hear)—to see that the nation is fed, and if the nation is fed we need not fear Communism or Bolshevism, or any disease of that kind." He was much more concerned with this aspect of the matter, and that was all he had to say for the moment on this important topic.

Mr. Gwynne : "Are we to wait and see?"

"No, watch and pray." (Laughter.)

And, as ever under capitalism, when it is a question of benefiting the workers, it ended in laughter !

We read of men falling down from exhaustion in the unemployed queues outside the Labour Exchanges, but what has Mr. Lloyd George done to feed them, for they have been unemployed quite long enough for him to have put the solution into operation if he has one ? But Lloyd George *has* no solution to the question of feeding the workers properly, because there is none under Capitalism. Communism, or Bolshevism, is the cure and not the disease.

The mining question was the next problem tackled in reply to speeches by Mr. Holmes (Lib.), who proposed as a basis for settlement that until September 30th every man in the coal industry should receive his 1914 rate of wages, increased according to the index figure of the cost of living of the previous month (a fallacious figure, remember). In the event of the coalowner losing during this period he should be able to claim repayment from the Government, but the amount so repaid should not exceed the total loss, nor the difference between the amount which the coalowner had offered to pay to his workmen during the present month and the amount he would actually pay under this present scheme. If the coalowner made a profit, if the wages paid to his workmen were less than those he had offered, the coalowner should pay to the Government the difference, provided the payment did not exceed his total profit. To obviate the whole dispute beginning all over again on September 30th, he suggested that the parties to the dispute should get together and immediately resume their conferences, and if no settlement were arrived at by September 30th, that his scheme should continue according to the index figure for the previous month.

Mr. Clynes, the Labour Party leader, made a very statesmanlike speech, which you all know means trying to hoodwink the workers whilst backing up the capitalists. He wanted both parties to come together again, for he "had reached the conclusion that the miners, as a body, were in a mood to receive the guidance of their leaders in regard to the terms of settlement, if those leaders were offered terms which they felt would be equitable to the men in all the minefields." He thought changes should be made gradually by easy stages.

Ah ! the old game the capitalists played so successfully during the war, when they *gradually* reduced the food of the workers and *gradually* introduced conscription and the other evils.

Mr. Victor Hartshorn showed by his speech how wise the miners had been to get rid of him, for instead of supporting their claims, he wanted more conferences, whether they had anything new to propose or not.

On the Morning of May 30th,
at 8 a.m.
Com. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST
will be released from
Holloway Prison.

Try to be there to send up three mighty cheers for the Cause we all have at heart.

The leader of the Industrial Workers of the World, "Big Bill" Haywood, has reached Moscow, at the invitation of the Third International. His cabled impressions give the lie to current press dope.

THE DUTY OF THE TRADE UNIONISTS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.

By K. STUTTGART.

he bourgeoisie is irritating the unemployed uch as possible. Its prostitute press pictures lurid colouring a fictitious luxury enjoyed by the out-of-works, who are revelling in the charity granted by the kind master class. Now the lamentation of Jeremiah is silenced. Once more the comfortable bourgeois can sink peacefully to rest on his bed of down. For him the ight of day is not darkened by the sight of the nemployed, who, in defiance of all divine right, would check the bourgeoisie in matters of eating nd drinking. Again the social ladder is set up, although its bottom rung, the one on which the nemployed are sitting, is sinking into the mire. What does that matter to the bourgeoisie, who its at the top and surveys from that coign of vanage the blue heaven above, and the earth beneath gay with police uniforms?

We must not mince matters: The unemployed re trailing along the ground, with their wings at. The few aspirations that they have the ew acts to which they are spurred, are merely the ying convulsions of the masses who are succumbing to their misery. *It lies with the masses ye t work, to allow the flame of life which is still eebly flickering, to be entirely quenched, or to e-kindle it by the storm-wind of action. At this oment, the behaviour of the working Trade nionists is decisive for the fate of the unemployed; but, on the other hand, in the future, the haviour of the unemployed will be a decisive ctor in the fate of the organised Trade Union asses.* Declarations of sympathy, fundamental [illegible] the duty of solidarity—in words—oured out in paragraphs of printed matter—beyond that, the Unions have not gone. Meanwhile the unemployed are perishing, physically, for lack of the necessaries of life. Morally, for lack of *deeds* of solidarity on the part of the working masses. They are sinking to the bottom, the dregs of the stagnant political waters, but like a muddy ebb-tide, they will strike back one day, on the rising flood of the revolutionary masses.

The reactionary Trade Union bureaucracy has all along taken up the same attitude as the master class towards the unemployed. It cleared its throat and spat, à la bourgeoisie, naturally, of course, *piano*, while the master-class thundered *fortissimo*. The "sponging, idle unemployed," was the stigma used by the Trade Union bureaucracy also. We know how these bureaucrats work! Day by day, in the sweat of their brow, they are threshing empty straw for the working-class, and of course they feel disconcerted if the unemployed show signs of moving. *In many meetings, the reactionary Trade Union delegates have voted directly against improvements in the ate for the unemployed. The Trade Union ocrats maintain actual antipathy for the unemployed.* They leave the unemployed still unemployed, although the factory councils—in words—are gushing with sentiment and all kinds of pulpit consolations.

In spite of this, Unemployment forms the first point in the order of the day. The opportunity is here given to the Unions for reform policy or revolution. *The Communist Trade Unionist must force the reactionary leaders on the question of unemployment, right down to a definite taking up of their position.* Then the owl is dragged into the daylight, where it closes its eyes. The need of the unemployed throws light on the helplessness of the reformists; but it also distinguishes the whole really revolutionary orientation from radical phraseology.

We cannot console the unemployed with the thought of the Revolution as the future El Dorado. We must associate ourselves with their present needs, and enter into the necessary measures for improving their conditions. It is not the question of the height of their demands which separates us from the majority Socialists, but chiefly the fact that they *do not want to fight* even for the smallest reforms, for they know that the present system has none to grant. In the academic question: Reform or Revolution, the Yellows can still influence the deliberations. In truth, the question of the fight, even if it be waged for reforms, will expose the lackeys of the capitalist class. They do not wish to incorporate the unemployed in their Unions, nor to grant them equal voting rights there. They do not wish to unite the unemployed with those who are still at work. *They do not wish to organise on a class basis. They want to keep the workers divided, for it is that which keeps the present system going, and they are fattening on the present system like vultures preying on carrion.* This is their opportunist policy. Communists must attack it with a definite aim, they must force the question of the unemployed to an issue, for this is a rock on which reaction will founder, but which *can* help to carry the revolution over the shallow bed of the stream to the better shore.

ED YOUTH NOTES.

By T. Islwyn Nicholas.

rice.

ve fed you all for a thousand years, but that our doom, you know;
the time you chained us in the fields, to he strike of a week ago.
ve eaten our lives, our babies and wives, but t was your legal share;
blood be the price of your legal wealth, d God, we have bought it fair.

im No. 7.

shalt wage the class war by pointing out e history of all recorded societies is an story of the CLASS STRUGGLE, and that the ancipation of the working-class from wage-slavery must be brought about by themselves.

ethuen and the Church.

Lord Methuen says: "I do not think the Church s any more valuable asset than the army." "At time," says T. Anderson, "it was believed at Jesus was the 'saving grace.' Now we know ere are other things that have been added unto it—a king, a prince, and an army, and also a few liticians. I would tell a good story about a litician, but possibly the statement by the Hon. A. Warren will be more convincing. He says: successful politician must be a good liar and y the game.' So let me finish this par with:
, what a beautiful prince!
s mother and dad don't take mince."

rave English.

ase of an ambush, with which they had to do, the occupants of five houses at Dunwere ordered to pay a fine of £100 each. r householders, who could not pay this, had ir furniture thrown into the streets and smashed pieces with axes by the E.M.G. One victim an old widow.

e Wisdom of Youth.

Thy kingdom come"—the cemetery!

ite Terror in Jugo-Slavia.

he bourgeois government of this State has, not stand back behind the capitalists and the mili-y of Roumania, undertaken a campaign of exnination against the Communist workers and the th movement. A number of young workers e, therefore, been arrested and their organisa-n declared unlawful and forbidden. Those of comrades who are still at liberty continue perstingly the Communist propaganda more zealously n ever. This shows that the Communist Youth Jugo-Slavia has, unscathed, come out of the cial test.

the Young Soldiers.

omrades, your life in the army will make of a thinking human being, an automaton; it deaden your ability to think over and iscuss everything that comes within your notice. Blindly you will have to obey the often stupid orders of your superiors. You will have to shoot the strikers, who are your brothers; you will have to defend and protect the bourgeoisie, trembling with the fear of the workers.

Young soldiers, beneath your military coat you must never forget that above everything else you are a worker, conscious of the interest of your class, the class that slaves and suffers. Young soldiers, play the part of men in the present crisis.

J. Steward.

Comrade James Stewart, who is now in prison for a speech delivered to the Unemployed of Wolverhampton, was editor of the "Young Rebel," which was suppressed in 1917, and one of the founders of the Young Socialist League.

"The Young Worker."

All young rebels should get a copy of the official organ of the Young Workers' League—"The Young Worker." The editor is Comrade N. B. Whycer, who has made up the first issue splendidly. It contains heaps of jolly good articles, and its price is only threepence.

Youth in Bulgaria.

In Bulgaria there exists, in addition to a weak Young Social-Democratic League, a Young Communist League, which is very active politically. Its issues a fortnightly journal, "Wladeyka Pravada" (Truth of the Young).

Great Labour Victory.

At a meeting of the Glasgow Education authority, an application by the Glasgow Central Socialist Sunday Schools for the use of a room with piano in Townhead Public School, for Tuesday evening, for the purpose of recreation classes, was considered. But "Fat" said no. These people are revolutionists; they hold extreme views; and they propose to realise their object by REVOLUTION. All the other "Fats" trembled. Some were heard to mutter "My God"!

The I.L.P. delegates closed their eyes as if engaged in prayer. They were waiting their time. "Fat," trembling, said:—"Listen, gentlemen! Here is their Fifth Maxim. [He reads same.]" "Fat," by the time he had finished reading it, was boiling with rage. And then a man, with a reversed collar, said: "It's all a mistake, gentlemen! It is not the S.S.S. maxims my friend has been reading. Listen, gentlemen! That maxim is published by the Proletarian School."

The request was granted.

"SAVE THE DREADNOUGHT."

A collier writes: "You know we are locked out, but we are dreading lest the 'Dreadnought' should cease to be published, as it is undoubtedly the best weekly revolutionary paper, so we must do our little bit to try to keep 'our' paper going."

ENGINEERS and FIREMEN SUPPORT MINERS.

The following resolution has been passed by the Gateshead and Newcastle joint branches of the A.S.L.E. and F.:—

"That this joint meeting of A.S.L.E. and F. branches in the Gateshead and Newcastle promoting area do give our wholehearted support to the miners in their gallant struggle against accepting poverty wages. We hereby desire to link ourselves with the unofficial movement and withdraw our labour in the event of a strike on May 15th."—J. Foote (Chairman), A. Wright Secretary.

The new events in the Balkans are bringing the economic and political crisis to a head there. They are a fresh proof of the defeat of a nationalist and aggressive policy of the Balkan bourgeoisie, but they are also a fresh proof that the Entente Imperialism by the "peace" it has made, is not in a position to restore the economic life of the people in Central Europe or the Balkans. The Balkan bourgeoisie is not in a position to lift the Balkan peoples out of the crisis into which it has brought them. The Entente, who conquered the Balkans economically and financially, has no interest in them and does not trouble itself about restoring them. Quite the contrary: it is trying to chain these people still tighter, and to turn them into colonial slaves. It is trying to exhaust the last resources which these people have at their disposal, by using them as cannot-fodder in counter-revolutionary attacks on Soviet Russia. With such a policy, however, the Entente is driving the Balkan bourgeoisie to ruin, and is rousing against them the working masses in the Balkan States. The fight of the Balkan peoples for social freedom from the yoke of the bourgeoisie is at the same time a fight for the national people from Entente Imperialism. At the head of the fight stands the Communist Parties, united in the Federation of the Balkan and Danube countries. Their slogan of the Federated Socialist Soviet Republic of the Balkan and Danube countries is winning more and more support from the working and small-owning classes. The new events in these countries are preparing conditions for new and bitter struggles under the banner of this war-cry, which—once the Balkan and Danube peoples combine together—can emancipate and save them.

We are very sorry to learn from Mrs. Whyatt that her brother, Mr. J. E. Phillips, died very suddenly whilst addressing an unemployed meeting on January 31st. She enclosed £3, to help to tide us over these stressing times, knowing how near her brother's heart our movement lay and his great hope in Miss Pankhurst.

Mr. Phillips was an old friend and supporter, and it is with deep sorrow that we learn this sad news.

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER

An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

(Continued.)

Thus in Western Europe, and especially in England and Germany, the big bourgeoisie and the big peasants, the middle classes and middle peasants, the lower bourgeoisie and the small peasants, are all united against the workers, through the monopoly, the banks, the trusts; through imperialism, the war, the revolution.* And, as the labour-question encompasses all things, they are united on all questions.

Here, Comrade, I must make the same remark I have already made with regard to the peasant-question (in the first chapter). I know quite well that the little minds in our Party, that miss the strength to base the tactics on great, general lines, and consequently base them on the small, particular ones, that these little minds will call the attention to those elements among these layers, that have not yet come under the ban of the great-capital.

I do not deny that there are such elements, but I maintain that the general truth, the general tendency in Western Europe is, that they are under the ban of the great-capital. And on this general truth our tactics must be based!

Neither do I deny that there may be "rifts" yet. I only say that the general tendency is, and will be, for a long time after the revolution: unity of these classes. And I say that for the workers in Western Europe it is better to have their attention directed to that unity than to these rifts. For it is they themselves that must, in the first place make the revolution, and not their leaders, their Members of Parliament.

Nor do I say that (which the little minds will make of my words) that the real interests of these classes are the same as those of the great-capital. I know that these classes are oppressed through it.

What I say is solely this:

These classes cling to the great-capital even more firmly than before, because now they also see the danger of the proletarian revolution ahead.

In Western Europe the dominion of capital means to them a more or less sure existence, the possibility of, or at least the belief in a betterment of their position. Now they are threatened by chaos and the revolution, which for some time to come means a worse chaos. That is why they side with capital in the effort to lift the chaos by every possible means, to save the production, to drive the workers to longer working hours, and to greater patience in privation. For them the proletarian revolution in Western Europe is the fall and breaking down of all order, of all security of existence, be it then ever so insufficient. Therefore they all support the great-capital, and will continue to do so for a long time, also during the revolution.

All Classes Fight the Proletariat.

For finally I must yet point out that what I have said applies to the tactics at the beginning and in the course of the revolution. I know that quite at the end of the revolution, when the victory draws near, and capitalism has been shattered, these classes will come to us. But we must determine our tactics not for the end, but for the beginning and in the course of the revolution.

Theoretically, therefore, all this had to be so. Theoretically these classes had to co-operate. Theoretically this is an ascertained fact. But practically also.

This I will prove next:

For many years already the entire bourgeoisie, all bourgeois parties in Western Europe, also those that belong to the small peasants and middle bourgeoisie, have done nothing for the workers. And they were all of them hostile to the labour movement, and in favour of imperialism, of the war.

For years already there had not been a single party in England, in Germany, in Western Europe, that supported the workers. All were opposed to them; in all matters.**

There was no new labour legislation. Conditions grew worse instead. Laws were passed against striking. Ever higher taxes were levied.

Imperialism, colonisation, marinism and militarism were supported by all bourgeois, also the small-bourgeois, parties. The difference between liberal and clerical, conservative and progressive, great- and small-bourgeois, vanished.

Everything which the social-patriots, the reformists said, about the difference between the parties, about the "rifts" between them, was a fraud. And all this has now been brought forward by you, Comrade Lenin! It was a fraud for all countries of Western Europe. This has been best proved in July-August, 1914.

At that time they were all one. And the revolution has made them even far more united in practice. Against the revolution, and consequently against all workers for the revolution alone can bring actual betterment to all workers, against the revolution they all stand together without one single "rift."

And as through the war, the crisis and the revolution, all social and political questions have come to be connected in practice with the question of the revolution, these classes in Western Europe stand together in all questions, and in opposition to the proletariat.

In a word, the trust, the monopoly, the big banks, imperialism, the war, the revolution, have, also in practice, riveted together into one class all the great- and small-bourgeoisie and peasant parties of Western Europe, against the workers.†

Theoretically and practically, therefore, this is an ascertained fact. In the revolution, in Western Europe, and especially in England and Germany, there are no "rifts" of any considerable importance between these classes.

Here again I must add something personal. On pages 40 and 41 you criticise the Amsterdam Bureau. You cite a thesis of that bureau. Parenthetically, what you say with regard to this is wrong—all of it. But you also say that the Amsterdam Commission, before condemning parliamentarism, ought to have given an analysis of the class relations and the political parties, to justify this condemnation. Excuse me, Comrade, this was not the task of the Commission. For that on which their thesis is based, to wit, that all bourgeois parties in Parliament, as well as more outside, had been all along, and even now, were opposed to the workers, and did not show the slightest "rift," all this had been ascertained long ago, and was an established fact for all Marxists. In Western Europe at least, there was no need for us to analyse that.

On the contrary, considering you strive for compromise and alliances in Parliament, which would lead us into opportunism, it was your duty to demonstrate that there are any rifts of importance between the bourgeois parties.

You wish to lead us, here in Western Europe, into compromising. What Troelstra, Henderson, Scheidemann, Turati, etc., could not accomplish in the time of evolution, you wish to do during the revolution. You have to prove that this can be done.

Opposing Capitalist Forces unite to defeat Revolution.

And this not by means of Russian examples; these are easy enough, to be sure, but with West-European examples. This duty you have fulfilled in the most miserable way. No wonder you took almost exclusively your Russian experience, that of a very backward country, not that of the Western Europe, of these modern days.

In the entire booklet, which deals with these very questions of tactics, the Russian examples excepted, to which I will soon proceed, I find but two examples from Western Europe: the Kapp putsch in Germany, and the Lloyd George—Churchill Government in England, with the opposition of Asquith.

Very few examples indeed, and of the poorest nature, that there are "rifts" between the bourgeois, and in this case also the social-democratic parties!

If ever a proof were needed that between the bourgeois (and in this case also the social-democratic parties), there are no important rifts as regards the workers, in the revolution, and here in Western Europe, the Kapp putsch furnishes that proof. The Kappites did not punish, kill and imprison the democrats, the Zentrum people, and the social-democrats! And when these came into power again, they did not punish, kill and imprison the Kappites. But both parties killed the Communists!

Communism was too weak as yet. That is why they did not TOGETHER make a dictatorship. Next time, when Communism will be stronger, they will make a dictatorship BETWEEN THEM.

It was and is your duty, Comrade, to point out in what way the Communists could at that time have taken advantage in Parliament of that rift (?)—in such a way, of course, as to benefit the workers. It was and is your duty to tell us what the Communist Members of Parliament ought to have said to make the workers see this rift, and take advantage of it—in such a way, of course, as not to strengthen the bourgeois parties. You cannot do this, because in the revolution there is no rift of any importance. And it is of the time of the revolution that we speak. And it was your duty to point out that if in special cases there should be such rifts, it would be more advantageous to direct the attention of the workers in that direction than to the general tendency towards unity.

And it was and is your duty, Comrade, before beginning to lead us, in Western Europe, to show where those rifts are, in England, in Germany, in Western Europe.

This you cannot do either. You speak of a rift between Churchill, Lloyd George, and Asquith, of which the workers are to take advantage. This is altogether pitiful. This I will not even discuss with you. For everyone knows that since in England the industrial proletariat has some power, these rifts have been artificially made by the bourgeois parties and leaders and are yet being made, to mislead the workers, to entice them from the one side to the other, and back again ad infinitum, thus to keep them for ever powerless and dependent. To this end they even at times admit two components to the one government. Lloyd George and Churchill. And Comrade Lenin lets himself be caught in this trap, that is well nigh a century old! He strives to induce the British workers to base their politics on this fraud! At the time of the revolution, the Churchills, Lloyd Georges, and Asquiths will unite against the revolution, and then you, Comrade, will have betrayed and weakened the English proletariat with an illusion. It was your duty to point out not by means of general, fine and brilliant figures of speech (as in the entire last chapter, on page 72 for instance), but accurately, concretely, by means of clear examples and facts, what those conflicts and differences are—not the Russian ones, nor those that are of no importance, or artificially made—but by means of the actual, important, West-European examples. This you do nowhere in your brochure. And as long as you do not give these, we do not believe you. When you give them we will answer you—until then we say: It is nothing but illusions that mislead the workers, and lead them into false tactics. The truth is, Comrade, that you wrongly assume the West-European and the Russian revolution to be alike. And through what reason? Because you forget that in the modern, that is to say West-European and North American States, there is a power that stands above the various kinds of capitalists—the landowners, industrial magnates, and merchants; the banking-capital. This power, which is identical with imperialism, unites all capitalists, including the small peasants and bourgeois.

One thing, however, remains to you. You say there are rifts between Labour parties and the bourgeois parties, and that these can be made use of. This is right.

We might aver, to be sure, that these differences between the social-democrats and bourgeois in the war and in the revolution have been very slight and have disappeared in most cases! But they might be there. And they may arise yet. Of those we must therefore speak. Especially as you bring forward the "pure" English Labour Government, Thomas, Henderson, Clynes, etc., in England, against Sylvia Pankhurst, and the possibly "pure" socialistic government of Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, Hilferding, Crispien, Cohn, against the K.A.P.D.††

You say that your tactics, which direct the workers' attention towards these Labour Governments, encouraged them to promote their formation, is clear and profitable; whilst ours, which is opposed to their formation, is harmful.

No, Comrade, our attitude with regard to these cases of "pure" Labour Government, where the rift between these parties of workers and those of the bourgeoisie become a split, is again quite clear and profitable, to the revolution.

It is possible that we shall allow such a Government to exist. It can be needful, it can mean a progress of the movement. If this is so, if we cannot proceed any further yet, we will let them exist, criticising them as keenly as possible, and replace them by a Communist Government as soon as we can. But to promote its coming in Parliament and through the elections, this will not do in Western Europe.

And we will not do this, because in Western Europe and in the revolution the workers stand all alone. For that reason everything—do you understand this?—everything HERE depends on their will for action, on their clearness of brain. And because these, your tactics of compromising with the Scheidemanns and Hendersons, with the Crispiens and their followers among the English Independents, of the opportunist Communists of the Spartacus League or the B.S.P.—because these tactics inside and outside of Parliament confuse the heads, here in Western Europe and in the revolution—making the workers elect someone of whom they they know beforehand to be an impostor, and because our tactics on the other hand render them clear-sighted, by showing them the enemy as enemy, because of all this and, even at the risk of losing a representative in Parliament in periods of illegality, or of missing the benefit of a "rift" (in Parliament!), we in Western Europe, and under the present conditions, choose our tactics and reject yours. *(To be continued.)*

* It is true that through the war an infinitely greater number of various elements has come down to the ranks of the proletariat. All elements, though as good as any element that is not proletarian, clings desperately to capitalism, and if need be will defend it by armed force, being hostile to Communism.

** I lack the space here to point this out in detail. In a brochure, "The Basis of Communism," I have done so at length.

† We Hollanders know this only too well. We have seen the "rifts" disappear before our eyes, in our small, but, through our colonies, highly imperialistic country. With us there are no longer democratic, Christian, or other parties. Even the Dutch can judge of this better than a Russian, who, I regret to say, seems to judge Western Europe after Russia.

†† It is yet the question whether these "pure" Labour Governments will come here. Maybe that here again you let yourself be misled by the Russian example—Kerensky. In the following lines I will point out why in this case, in the March days in Germany, this "pure" socialistic Government was not to be supported all the same.

Workers' Dreadnought

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THE FUTURE WORLD WAR—ACT I.

On May 13th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George made what is perhaps the most important speech he has made for a very long time, concerning Silesia and what may develop out of the situation there. The miners' lock-out and the industrial unrest are insignificant matters beside it; for it deals with the excuse for the rapidly approaching world-war. There will be a readjustment of alliances; our late allies may be our enemies and our late foes our allies. The visit of the Crown Prince of Japan is intimately connected with it also.

Mr. Lloyd George said:—

"The problem of Silesia is the problem of peace in Europe, and the problem of peace in Europe is the problem of unrest in England."

He denied Poland's claim to Silesia, which had certainly not been Polish for 600 years. The Commission which met to consider what should be done after the plebiscite was taken in Silesia, which was six to four in favour of Germany, had a majority (the British and Italian delegates) in favour of those Communes which wished to belong to Poland, going to her, and the rest of Silesia going to Germany. The French took a different view. This report was to have been considered in London, but did not arrive in time. They were about to consider it, when Korfanty raised an insurrection of the Polish population and tried to rush the situation and put us in the position of having to deal with a *fait accompli*. It was a complete defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, and we must deal with these things that happen with stern justice.

"If the peace of Europe is disturbed, I cannot see what is going to happen to the world, and I am alarmed—I use the phrase quite deliberately—I am frightened."

The Polish Government repudiates responsiblity, but arms and Polish officers are passing from Poland. It is a repetition of what happened at Vilna, which was given to Lithuania, but is still occupied by Polish troops.

"The future is dark and uncertain; no one can tell what it is charged with. The only thing I venture to predict is that force will count less with the Treaty of Versailles, and that the honour and credit of Germany, her signature and bond, will count more and more. But if circumstances change, and if the power of these 60,000,000 people—very powerful as we know from experience, able, courageous and resourceful—is, I will not say regained, but becomes more vital because of the changed circumstances, it ought, and it will, count more and more."

"Germany will have the right to say to us: 'You are asking us to honour our bond. . . . What did you do when Poland defied you over Silesia? Were you equally insistent then?' I am entitled to say, and I say it solemnly to Britain and the Allies, that it is not merely a matter of honour and that, surely, is not to be despised. It is not merely a matter of honour, it is a matter of safety; it is a matter of security that we should show that we must adhere to that Treaty.. . . ."

He insisted that the Germans were entitled to everything the Treaty gave them; they must have fair play. There were two ways of dealing with this situation; one was that the Allied troops should restore order, but against that was the fact that we had withdrawn our troops and could not insist on the other Allies sacrificing their soldiers' lives. The other alternative was to allow the Germans to do it, if the Treaty were not respected. "Not merely to disarm Germany, but to say that such troops as she has are not to be permitted to take part in restoring order in what, until the decision comes, is their own province—that is not fair. (Cheers.)

This sudden change of face takes one's breath away, when one thinks what a short time has elapsed since nothing was bad enough to say of the "Huns," and how the reparations must be exacted to the last farthing. But now these people must be conciliated; they are our potential allies. And not they alone but the Russians also, as the following extract shows:—

"Russia is now a broken Power, exhausted and in the hands, as I think, of a hopeless despotism, which is running the country upon impossible principles. But it is a great country; it is a gigantic country; it is a country of almost inexhaustible resources, and it is peopled by a very gallant race . . . That country is not going to remain as it is. Can anyone tell me what it is going to be? It will not be what it is now for long, but that it is going to be a powerful country, that it is going to be a dominant country, that it is going to have a say in the future of Europe and of the world, everybody knows. What view will it take, ON WHOSE SIDE WILL IT BE, AND WHO WILL BE ITS PARTNERS IN THE SCHEME OF NATIONS?"

Mr. Lloyd George stated on behalf of the Government, that whatever happens, we cannot accept a *fait accompli*. He threw down the gauntlet to the French and Poles, but ended up with a peroration appealing "to all concerned to do what is right, to do what is fair, to dismiss prejudices, to be upright, and fear not."

It is not surprising that Mr. Lloyd George is frightened: he is gambling in the lives of the world, and at the same time groping in the dark. He is breaking with the French, and yet is not sure of his future allies. Russia is an unknown quantity to him; he does not understand *why* she will be the dominant country in the world.

For some time past it has been the dream of the German Monarchists to link up with the Russian Monarchists, and when the situation is ripe, they think they can win over the Russian workers and defy the world. They still have plenty of arms, and the *British militarists know both these facts*. Lloyd George wants to be on the winning side, and he thinks that Great Britain, Japan, Germany and Russia (?) will be more than a match for France and America.

Remember, the Soviet Government was recognised as the *de facto* Government of Russia last April, when relations were strained between France and England; the judges have decided that Russian goods and money cannot be confiscated in this country, and trade is to be resumed. It is a market we need, and may be an ally we need very soon, for events move very rapidly these days.

But there is just one little factor Mr. Lloyd George does not seem to have taken into account, and that is, what attitude will the workers take up? Will they be deluded into a world-war by talk of "British honour," to defend German rights this time? Will they think it better to be killed in the trenches than to die of starvation in unemployment? Or will they upset all these diplomatic plans and decide the fate of nations themselves?

We wonder!

MONEY AND PLAIN TALKS TO COMMUNISTS.

In our last issue we stated that unless we received the sum of £30 from voluntary subscribers, we should be forced to cease publication.

We wrote those few lines with an aching heart. They appeared in small type, yet good enough for friends to see.

The response came rapidly. A group of Comrades have written (see page 8, column three), that they will make up to that figure any difference from money we may receive from the usual sympathisers.

Thanks, hearty thanks!

* * * *

When last week we forcibly put to Comrades our position, we did not overstate it.

Let us examine it.

Anybody conversant with the production of a paper, be it weekly or daily, knows that no paper can live on its own sales unless it carries advertisements.

Take away the advertisements from the *Daily Mail* and it would cease publication within a fortnight unless the "Carlton" came to the rescue.

It is more so with a paper that defends a Cause, that fights for a Cause.

There is only a certain class of advertisement that we could carry: books, workers' needs, notices for the co-operative movement, etc.

A great many advertisements we should naturally refuse.

Therefore, it plainly follows that our press must be "subsidised."

This subsidy can only come from those who are fully in sympathy with our work. We have no "secret funds." We do not engineer campaigns, that would finally pay. We are not alone in that; it is the position of all the Communist, of all the honest workers' press.

Therefore, the fact is: we must be subsidised.

* * * * *

For many months the *Workers' Dreadnought* has been run at a loss. We do not blame our comrades. We probably failed to make the paper interesting enough for them; we were probably too theoretical; aye, probably we gave the reader too much small print, whereas modern conditions, factory conditions and rush and uncertainties of life have lessened the power of concentration, and brought to the fore a desire for short, snappy paragraphs.

We may have been wrong, but we thought that food for the mind—if only we could give it—was the thing required.

Be it as it may, the *Workers' Dreadnought* has been run for the last months by comrades who gave all they possibly could to keep it afloat.

Our appeal for funds is an appeal from friends to friends; from co-workers to co-workers.

It is just as well, at this juncture, to state that the expenses of production of the paper consists of the usual printing costs, paper, postage, and routine distribution. There is not a penny spent on the Editor's side of it. For the past years, Comrade Pankhurst gave her services free to the paper, and those who, though ill-fitted for the work have, temporarily, during her imprisonment, taken her place, have not done otherwise.

* * * * *

The question now arises: is it worth while to the movement to keep the *Workers' Dreadnought* alive?

It is an important question. It is for the comrades freely to decide.

We desire to take our readers fully into our confidence and plainly state our case.

It might be divided under various heads.

Whilst we strongly believe that at any moment decisive action, and even in the period that immediately precedes that action, all the power of the working class ought to be united under one central initiative, thought or leadership, we do not shrink from opinions expressed by some comrade, that the workers' press should be "materially" centralised.

Independently from questions of finance, the mechanical possibilities of the present hour, this is fundamentally wrong, from the view-point of presentation of our case to the unconvinced.

Modern society, although clearly sub-divided between exploiters and exploited, has produced classes with a different psychology—even trade unionism has done that—and it is childish to assert that one organ only could fulfil all the requirements.

Whilst we do not assent to the idea of a single paper inside the movement, yet we fully agree, once again, that there is an imperative need for community of thought and direction.

That is indispensable.

The scission of the former Socialist parties, in what we may term petty-bourgeois and class-conscious, need an intensification of propaganda greater than ever, for we are faced not only with enemies, but with adversaries just as dangerous.

Any contribution to the common Cause should be welcome, not discouraged, even if at the bottom it is a particle of purely individual initiative.

* * * * *

There is the question of "foreign money." It is always so when the workers' movement takes a new turn.

We are inclined to believe that there are people and firms who are now heavily interested—financially—in commercial undertakings that were formerly "enemies." Even as far as the Argentine Republic, not to mention Peru, there are City capitalists with interests there.

Capital, in its various forms of exploitation does not know frontiers.

The provincial press is full of talk of foreign money paying for "Red" propaganda.

If the Moscow Soviet, who sent greetings to Comrade Pankhurst, were to send us some contribution, we should promptly acknowledge it and consider it a special compliment.

Yet we are fully aware, and we openly disclose, that a shilling from a factory girl, say of Poplar, would carry more weight, in so far as it would come from one who is actually suffering under the same conditions from which we suffer.

No one, we hope, would charge us—on this point of being biassed by a national or race prejudice.

As a matter of fact, we are constantly receiving money from foreign parts. Owing to the wide spread of the English language, there are a great number of our subscribers who live abroad—some of them still contributors—and who are very keen on keeping their subs. up to date.

There is another explanation we owe to our friends and to our comrades.

During our "interimate," viz., after Comrade Pankhurst had gone to prison, a change took place in the sub-title of the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

It is due, both to our supporters and to Comrade Pankhurst, to let it be known—since it is no secret, purely Party knowledge—that such change was made by the following letter of the then Secretary of the Communist Party:—

DEAR COMRADE,

At an Executive meeting held to-day, the resolution of the 1st. inst. (January 16th, 1921), of which you have had notice, threatening a repudiation and boycott of both the *Workers' Dreadnought* and the Agenda Press, was again considered, and by a majority vote, it was decided to repudiate the *Workers' Dreadnought* as official organ of the Communist Party, B.S.T.I., and also to institute a boycott of both the *Workers' Dreadnought* and the Agenda Press.

I would ask you, therefore, to remove from the *Dreadnought* Front Page, Editorial Page, Back page and bottom of Back Page, the intimation that the *Workers' Dreadnought* is the official organ of the Party or is published by the Party.

Although this letter was sent to all branches, our former Communist Party, whilst Comrade Pankhurst was "away," and, of course, unable to clear the air, it is not argued that it did affect our circulation. The point of fact we took it as an ill-graced move, our comrades who thought, in their earnestness, that they were doing the right thing.

We publish it to-day without rancour or fear, space will be given to the members of that Communist Party if they feel the need for a response.

* * * *

We ask your support.

We do so—paradoxically as it may seem—because of our strength of our failures.

This is the paper we should have liked to have produced, and failed, to a great extent, owing to money pressure:

There is Russia—Soviet Russia, not an experiment but a huge reality, living, working—forging ahead. By the massive weight of her freedom, imposes herself on the effete Chancelleries of Europe.

We wanted to give you trustworthy news of Russia, not a replica of *The Times* information, but the thing. We have done something, but we know we could have done better.

There is the Continental movement: Italy taken by the throat by the newly-formed White Guards; Germany where the Communist Party is second in importance to that of Russia—France slowly awaking

(*Continued on page 8.*)

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Ideas for Red Army—Lefebre, who died in the Artic Sea—The British Delegation—"This has not been said before"—A new rig-out of Clothes for our "Leaders"—A fire in the train—The Polish War.

Everyone on the islands has five substantial meals a day. This was the dinner served to all the island visitors on that day.

The visitors come normally for two weeks, but if they are in poor health they may stay a third week. If their health is not then restored they may go to a sanatorium where they may stay up to six months if necessary. Over 4,000 workers were accommodated at one time in the islands during the summer of 1920, and arrangements are being made to house still larger numbers during 1921. Visitors come in the winter also, but only some of the houses possess the necessary heating facilities.

Many stories have been told of the destruction wrought by the revolutionary proletariat, but no one can fail to be struck by the perfect preservation and the absolute cleanliness of these houses, built for the occupation of a few people and their servants and now tenanted by a numerous stream of people such as was never contemplated by the architects. The delicate fabrics are everywhere unspotted; the polished furniture shows no scratch. In rooms that are much used, for meals, concerts and so on, there are loose washing covers on the chairs, but in most cases the original upholstery is uncovered, and is entirely like new. Again and again Stephanoff calls our attention to the fact that the inmates of the houses are genuine proletarians.

The visitors do no house work of any kind. The servants who wait at table and undertake the other domestic duties, are on duty during sixteen hours one day, and have the next completely free. This arrangement they have substituted for the eight-hour working day by their own choice. On the alternate days when they are nominally on duty for sixteen hours, they of course do what is necessary in the house from morning till night; but they are actually working the entire day through.

Our guides enquired with anxious solicitude as to the health of a lovely dark girl with a scarlet handkerchief adorning her long black hair. All dimpling with smiles, she assured them she was well. She had taken part in a "Subbotnik" (Saturday volunteer work) a fortnight before. The work had been piling wood, and a log, falling upon her head, had knocked her senseless for a time. Therefore she had been sent to the islands for three weeks' rest. She had completely recovered, and was enjoying herself immensely. If the incident came to the ears of any counter-revolutionary grumblers, it has probably given rise to a serious story of ill-usage.

The Saturday work parties, in which volunteers gather to do any necessary work they can, frequently devote themselves to the essential and simple task of carting wood fuel. From this circumstance has probably arisen some of the many stories about dressmakers being set to carry wood, and round holes being filled with square pegs.

The Subbotniki were originally started for members of the Communist Party, but in Petrograd the great mass of the workers join them. Foreigners passing through the city on a Saturday afternoon, are surprised to find themselves jeered at for not being at work.

CHAPTER XVI.
At a Camouflage School.

The audience were streaming out of the great meeting where Trotsky spoke, when some young Red soldiers surrounded me, declaring that I must go with them to speak at another meeting.

I refused, but with an insistence that was really a genial compulsion, and with laughing chatter about proletarian discipline, they dragged Comrade Raymond Lefebre of France, Comrade Steinhardt of Austria, and myself into a motor car and drove off at a mad pace. The interpreter and moving spirit in the escapade was a Swiss comrade who had attached himself to the Red Army. As the car dashed along, jolting over the rough road, the glass wind screen in front was suddenly broken, cutting the face of the Swiss comrade who sat on another soldier's knees. The blood gushed out and poured down his face and neck in thick streams; he wiped it off unconcerned. I had imagined that the meeting would be close at hand; but to my surprise, the went speeding away out of Moscow by the high road from whence Napoleon with his advancing troops first gazed upon that city.

At last we stopped, in a pleasant birch grove, before a wooden chalet curiously ornamented with painted carving. The chalet was quaintly and very comfortably furnished. A large hall, lit from the roof, and with a gallery, seemed to me like a studio. We learnt that this had been a millionaire's pleasure house and was now a Red Army camouflage school.

In a cosy little room we found a party of young officers seated at a table eating bread and jam. They invited us to join them, and set before us glasses of Kvass, a drink made from rye bread, which tastes and looks rather sour, weak red wine. The young men seemed jubilant at having Kvass to give us, and anxious to hear us say that we liked it. They were so full of joking excitement that I guessed there was some little mystery about the drink and that it had the savour attaching to forbidden fruit, when the peccadillo incurred for procuring it is not too serious. I asked whether Kvass was intoxicating, and with bursts of laughter some of our hosts declared it was not, whilst others said one could manage to get drunk on it if one drank a great many bottles. I learnt afterwards that the making of Kvass was prohibited, on the ground that it consumes too much bread.

The little repast we had shared was like the Norwegian "bread and butter" which precedes the real meal. We had barely finished it when a simple but good and substantial supper was brought in. There was a bottle for each one of us of some sort of drink made from pears, which we were told was not intoxicating, and which probably was not.

Several times I asked whether there really would be a meeting, for the night was wearing on. Our hosts always laughingly replied that it would take place in good time. Finally they led us round the house to a clearing surrounded by fir trees. Here, ranged in front of a little stage, were rows of wooden benches; children occupied the front seats, and behind them were women and men, both soldiers and civilians.

A Soldiers' Theatre.

The charming little proscenium and all the scenery and equipment of the stage were the work of the soldiers of the camouflage school. We sat amongst the children, who quickly made friends with us, until the lingering light faded and the tardy twilight began to fall. Then we were asked to mount the stage, illuminated with little electric lights, masked by scarlet decorations. A young officer was pressed for the work of translating the speeches. He was apparently unable to comprehend a single sentence of French or English, but he agreed to do his best. He afterwards informed Comrade Lefebre and myself that he had composed good speeches for us, though he did not quite know what we had said. Comrade Steinhardt spoke in German; a large proportion of the audience obviously understood and warmly applauded him. The Russians follow with intense sympathy the struggle of the German Communists.

After the meeting an entertainment was given by artistes from the principal theatres of Moscow. There was a scene from King Lear, songs and recitations of which was put on as a deterrent from alcohol. Such entertainments for the soldiers and people of the district were given at the camouflage school open-air theatre three times a week.

Educating the Red Army.

The arrangements for entertaining and educating the Red Army are on a vast scale.

In January 1919, there was not a single school in the Army, there were only two clubs, and a single travelling library. By December 1919, there were 3,800 Army schools for political and general instruction, 1,315 clubs and 2,392 travelling libraries. During 1920, these institutions have been still further extended.

Trotsky, in reporting to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on December 7th, declared that the educational work in the Army would send the soldiers back to their factories and workshops head and shoulders above their former selves.

In addition to the Army schools for general culture, there are numbers of Red Army schools of military technique. Workers from the factories and villages take courses which qualify them to enter the lower ranks of officers. After experience in the fighting detachments the more able pass through a higher military school and become commanders of regiments and brigades. The most able are then selected to study at the general staff academy and academy of artillery and engineering. Some of the best officers, however, have passed through no military school; they have gained their knowledge by experience in fighting for the Revolution. Some officers have come over from the Czar's *régime*. Working with them is a political commissary, not merely to prevent any treachery on their part, but also to arouse in the soldiers the revolutionary enthusiasm which is an enormous asset to the Red troops. The old-style military commanders, in many cases, admit the value of the political commissaries and their propaganda. Trotsky reported that when inspecting a regiment at Zerkoff in 1919, he found that a quarter of the officers were Mensheviki. They were brave fighters, but when any hitch or dissatisfaction arose, these Menshevik officers, because they desired victory, always asked for more Communist agitators and literature to be sent to the regiment.

Soviet Russia continually hopes and strives for peace with the capitalist aggressors; but it knows that such a peace could be no more than an armed truce, and that whilst Communist and capitalist governments exist side by side, war may break out at any moment. Therefore, if

peace is concluded, it is intended to send the soldiers of the Red Army back to agriculture and industry, but at the same time form a people's militia, always kept in training, and always ready for swift mobilisation. Already the Department of Universal Military Training is proceeding with this work.

The Red soldiers urged us to remain at the chalet till day, but Lefebre and I insisted on returning to Moscow. The motor had broken down, so we were obliged to make a slow journey through the night in a horse-drawn carriage.

A Counter-Revolutionary.

"These two comrades will go with you," said our hosts, as a young soldier and a man of middle age climbed up and sat opposite to us. Lefebre soon fell asleep, and as we drove home in the early morning hours, the elder man opposite, an artist employed to teach camouflage to the Red soldiers, made a vigorous attempt to prejudice me against Communism and the Communists, cynically explaining his hostility by the phrase: "I am bourgeois," as though that fact were an all-sufficient reason.

Communist friends to whom we related the incident, dismissed it as unimportant. "Many bourgeois technicians sell their skill to us at the highest possible price, give us as little service as they can, and slander us all the time. Their abuse does not matter."

CHAPTER XVII.
What Russia thought of the British Labour Delegation.

How the Delegation got Soviet Clothes.

The official British Labour Delegation to Russia has not left behind it an imposing impression. All sorts of humourous anecdotes are told at its expense. In recording some of these, it must be understood that I am not disclosing official confidences, but the current talk of Moscow, in which I fancy there is more than the proverbial grain of truth.

It is said that when met on the frontier by Melanchansky and other Russian Trade Union officials, the British delegates, with high pomposity, declared that they would only consent to visit Russia on condition that they were able to go where they pleased, and to see what and whom they chose, without interference. Melanchansky, a jovial fellow, has, nevertheless, an iron will and a keen sense of the dignity of the Soviet Republic. Doubtless it was with a very scathing politeness that he told the Labour delegates they might go where they pleased, but they would be treated as guests and not as judges.

When the British delegates discovered that Melanchansky and his colleagues were staying in the same hotel with them, Tom Shaw and some of the others declared that they would immediately return to England, as they considered that Melanchansky was placed there to keep them under observation. Melanchansky had to explain that Soviet Sussia does not keep numbers of guest houses half empty for passing strangers, and that both they and he were staying in the only house available for visitors. The delegates' curiosity as to what could be seen in Soviet Russia was evidently strong enough to make the explanation suffice.

The Soviet Government not wishing to receive the British Labour delegates as its guests, they were called the guests of the Russian Trade Unions. A number of banquets and other functions were arranged to welcome them. The Russians there deliberately incited the British to respond to the toasts, in order that they might commit themselves to public statements regarding Soviet Russia, before returning to the chilly atmosphere of capitalist Britain. There seems to have been an understanding, either expressed or implied, that no member of the delegation should make a statement except by general agreement. But the opportunities for making speeches to big enthusiastic crowds under picturesque circumstances, proved irresistible to some members of the delegation. Once on their feet, their caution was thrown to the winds, and they gave utterance to more cordial expressions of friendship and much more revolutionary sentiments than the silent members of the delegation were prepared to approve. Reports of these speeches were sent all over the world by the Soviet wireless. It is said that in consequence, there were meetings amongst the delegation, and those who had not spoken demanded that there should be no more speech-making and no more individual expressions of opinion. But the flow of British Trade Union oratory could not be stopped, and even the silent members were soon making speeches. Mrs. Philip Snowden proved one of the most obstinately determined not be influenced by the prevailing atmosphere. She bolstered up her original prejudices by visits to counter-revolutionaries and anti-Communists, who supplied her with a jumble of feeble and mutually conflicting stories, which she has recently published in book form. She is said to have told amazing audiences that most of the working people in Britain own their own houses, and that the bourgeoisie are the main sufferers from poverty in this country. What she actually meant is probably conveyed in this passage from her book on Russia:—

"Most of the organised workers of Great Britain (and probably America) possess a little property, if it is only the dividend they draw from the Co-operative Stores. The illiterate man or woman is practically unknown among them. Their children enjoy free education. Their cities are organised and comparatively healthy. With the power of the franchise and the industrial power of their trade organisation, they can achieve any reform they may desire. They possess a tradition of freedom of conscience, of speech, of Press, of general living, which no tyrant in office would dare long and without good cause to defy."

Russian workers who had spent long years of exile in the dismal quarters of British cities, realised the falsity of such statements.

When the British Labour Delegation was in Russia, it was high summer, and the heat was almost unendurable. Perhaps this was why the members of the delegation accepted as a gift from the Soviet authorities a complete rig out of new clothes. But knowing that they did so, and remembering the great heat of the season, one received a little sceptically such phrases as these in Mrs. Snowden's account of her visit there:—

"Those dear Russian people thought we were attired like princes . . . They patted and stroked our dresses and coats. They turned longing eyes upon our boots . . . I gave the girl who looked after my room a warm woollen jacket, and she fell on her knees and covered my hands with kisses . . ."

"One thinks of . . . how much comfort an old flannel nightdress gave to a sick woman. . . ."

Captain Guest was regarded in Russia as exceedingly hostile to Communism and the Soviets. His professions of pacifism and of regret that Soviet Rusia should possess an army, and should use it to defend herself from attack, were regarded as specially hypocritical coming from one who used a British military title and had assisted in the work of the great capitalist War. Several persons independently reported to the Cheka the opinion that the conduct of Captain Guest was suspicious. They urged that he was possibly a secret agent of the British Government, and asked that he should be kept under observation. It is said that he was accordingly watched by agents of the Cheka, but this may be a joke.

In the first days of their arrival, the British Labour delegates declared that they wanted to have just the same rations as the ordinary workers. "No, no," they were told, "you are not used to such a plain diet. You could not stand it; one has to come down to it gradually."

But the delegates persisted, and finally had their way—at one meal only. That was enough; they made no more requests to live like other people!

As to the decoration said to have been granted to Robert Williams for "service for direct action on the home front," Moscow gossip says that this was not the "Order of the Red Flag," but a simple badge that anyone may wear.

George Lansbury's first telegram to England from Soviet Russia was received by Revolutionary Russia with amazement. It is regarded as extraordinary that a man who is supposed to be a leader of British progress and enlightenment, should single out as the first matter for rejoicing, the fact that, though bread may be lacking, there is still gold on the domes of the churches, and poor people are still held by chains of ignorance and superstition under the influence of the reactionary church.

When Lansbury, in addressing a proletarian audience, appealed for the display of brotherly love towards all men, the interpreter transformed the utterance to a call for class-solidarity in fighting the counter-revolution. When the change was explained to him, Lansbury took it in good part.

The young Russian Communists say of Lansbury: "He does not understand; his mind is old." But they regard him as a sincere man.

CHAPTER XVIII.
A Fire in the Train.

During the night journey between Moscow and Petrograd, I was thinking sleepily: "I am going to have a sore eye; what a nuisance!" The fellow passenger jumped down from an upper berth, crying out:

"There's a fire in the train! The smoke would have suffocated me if I'd stayed there much longer!"

A shower of sparks and glowing charcoal swept past the windows on either hand, and as the door of our compartment was opened the smoke came pouring in. We gasped for breath, our eyes streamed with tears and smarted horribly. We struggled to find our clothes. The train rushed on for a few seconds and then stopped. People with bundles in their arms dashed past us and jumped down on to the line. We stood on the stones and grass beside the track for half an hour whilst a hose-pipe sprayed water on the train, and one carriage was removed. It had become impossible to dress; the smoke was too suffocating and painful: one was lucky if one managed to put on a coat and a pair of shoes. It was not pleasant. It might have meant getting one's death of cold in mid-winter. As it was, I got a chill from it, which kept me in bed for several days.

A common occurrence this, in Soviet Russia. Owing to shortage of lubricating oil, the bearings become red-hot, causing the wooden carriages to ignite. This is another effect of the capitalist blockade which makes it dangerous to undertake a Russian train, no small consideration in a country of such long journeys.

Later, when we were travelling back to Murmansk, the white metal in the bearings of the engine, again, for lack of lubricating oil, grew molten hot and spurted out. The bearings then had to be packed with cotton waste, which resulted in constant stoppages and much delay. We passed in the night, many forest fires which had been started by the big sparks and burning charcoal flying from the engines constructed for burning, not wood but oil or coal; another effect of the blockade and the counter-revolutionary war.

I found "Red" Petrograd hungrier than on my first visit.

"This is the worst month of the year," people told me. I felt that wish was father to the thought that September would prove the hungriest month.

The shortage of medicine was brought home to me. Kind Mrs. Pelman, at the Hotel International, sent for the doctor (whose services cost nothing). and it transpired, incidentally, that the stock of medicine at the hotel was near at an end. "Hot milk would do you good," said Mrs. Pelman, "but I can't get any for you."

CHAPTER XIX.
What and where is the Shortage.

From Murmansk to Petrograd, from Petrograd to Moscow, and in the surrounding country, I was constantly impressed by the healthy and happy appearance of the people, especially the young. Their carriage was upright, their eyes shone, and they displayed a strong steady patience under any sort of delay or discomfort. The goods wagons of passing trains were crowded with people whose legs hung dangling over the sides. Men, women, and youngsters sat on the steps of the passenger carriages, singing and waving merrily. There was talk of the food shortage but one saw little sign of it in the people. The physical condition was infinitely superior to that of the Germans as I saw them in Berlin, Frankfort and Stuttgart in December, 1919, and January 1920. The German workers looked pale and tired, hopeless and discontented. An expression of weary peevishness and despair was common amongst the faces I met by the way and

massed together in public meetings. There was nothing strange to me in such faces. In Germany they were at that time more general; but they abound also in British cities. They are everywhere about me in the East End of London. When I take the 'bus in the morning and look down on the women in the crowded market streets, I can seldom discover one of them who is not marred by gnawing anxiety, chronic under-nourishment and lack of health. When I chanced on a crowd of Frankfort children going into school, I was shocked to see at least a third of them seriously deformed by rickets, and hardly a child unblemished by mal-nutrition. It was a procession of twisted and shrunken limbs; of pale pinched faces and bulging foreheads. Rickety, wasting babies are one of the commonest sights of East London, but I was not used to seeing such a large proportion of older children so cruelly deformed.

From Russia, on the other hand, I brought away with me a prevailing memory of beautiful, well-grown children and healthy people.

It appears that a happy contentment and buoyant, confident enthusiasm is radiating from the active makers of the revolution and builders of the proletarian State, to wider and wider sections of people. Though some sections have been little touched by it, it seems that all have been influenced more or less, when one compares even the outermost fringe with the poor of other countries.

If it is not the exaltation of revolutionary fervour which produces this evident mental and physical well-being, it must be the freedom from individual anxiety, which the absolute assurance of even a low minimum scale of food, clothing and other necessaries provides. Perhaps both these things operate together.

It is constantly said that clothing is scarce in Russia, but people, in the mass, appear much better clad than in other countries. Most people are well-dressed, with a refreshing, graceful simplicity. At the great theatre meeting in Moscow, which celebrated the close of the Third International Congress, almost all the men and women wore *Russian blouses of bright-coloured cotton* stuff. Hardly a woman had a hat. No one was ragged or untidy; no one was dirty. The rationing of clothes, and the supply of half the ration in ready-made garments, has certainly produced an effect that any artist would welcome. Moreover, the rationing is wiping out class distinctions in dress. Some women, even Communists, still wear fussy, unpractical garments, and unserviceable, foot-deforming shoes with high heels and exaggerately pointed or crumpled toes. Under Communism, there will be probably always a public opinion against making things to wear that are unserviceable or entail the expenditure of an extravagant amount of labour. At present, necessity compels that factory-made clothes shall be simple.

Private trading in clothing, as in many other commodities, still continues. Goods that were hidden away in the early days of the revolution are still being produced for sale. Probably, too, there has been smuggling by counter-revolutionaries to counter-revolutionaries across the frontiers.

At the summer theatre when Chaliapine, who supports the revolution, sang in "Boris Goudenov," an audience of people in Russian blouses packed to hear him. Ploletarian boys and girls left their seats and ran to the front of the auditorium to applaud him at the close of every act. On Monday night at the ballet, in which the dancers were said to be revolutionary, members of the old bourgeoisie half-filled the theatre, the women gorgeously dressed and in the latest styles. One sees people riding into Moscow from the country on farmers' carts, with worn shoes and shabby clothing; one also sees people shabbily dressed, who live in Moscow and Petrograd; bark shoes are still worn in the country, and canvas shoes with wooden soles are used to substitute leather; but the general impression left by all the numerous crowds that passed before my eyes, of a people, in the main, comfortably clad.

The harrowing pictures of poverty and famine the others tell of I did not see; but I am left with the opinion that there is undoubtedly an uncomfortable shortage of some things in some places.

Petrograd was certainly short of food; Moscow, Murmansk, and the Northern villages were short of some kinds of food. In some districts, however, food was abundant.

Shortage of transport is one of Russia's main difficulties now that the Red Army has won back the rich territories which were cut off from her by the native and foreign counter-revolutionaries. The transport difficulties are at once patent to anyone who visits Russia. The fact that Russia is a vast agricultural country that hitherto has only developed industrialism on a small scale and is cut off from the manufactured products of other countries, is the greatest cause of shortage, and incidentally includes the transport difficulty also. The fact that Russia's production, both agricultural and industrial, has hitherto been remarkably low, having regard to her size, population and resources, must be borne in mind.

J. Larin, the well-known Soviet economist, estimates that the output of manufactured goods in Soviet Russia in the year 1919-1920 was only 20 per cent. of the pre-war average. His estimate of the agricultural production is also low.

I find it exceedingly difficult to accept statistical estimates regarding Russia, especially in regard to agricultural production, because exact statistics were not a feature of Russian life before the Revolution, and even yet it seems impossible that exact statistics can be obtained about Russia's agricultural production. It is notorious that the peasants conceal a considerable proportion of their produce. Larin himself admits it in his articles. The cruel terrorism of the old landlord and tax collector was undoubtedly able to force more from the peasants than the Government of the Peasants' and Workers' Soviets could or would do. The peasants, who are the vast majority of the Russian people, be it remembered, have enormously benefited by the Russian Revolution.

Larin further says, that between 1908 and 1916, the daily average food standard for an adult working-man in Russia was 3,289 calories, and that, at the beginning of 1920 the workman's daily average of food calories was 2,980. Happily, Soviet Russia's supplies of food and raw material are now greatly increasing; but still, I cannot accept Larin's estimate as anything but a rough comparative guess. The sources of supply from the private trader and from relatives in the country, now open to the Russian worker, are probably underrated in the estimate. They cannot possibly be checked exactly.

Comrade Fineberg, who left London for Russia during the Revolution, told me when I saw him in Moscow that one of the things which impressed him most about life in Russian cities was that most of the proletarian families there had friends in the country who sent them regular supplies of food. I do not know whether, in judging that the Russian workman before the war had an average of 3,280 calories, allowance was made for the periods at which, through sickness, unemployment. or short time, his wages were reduced, and with it the amount of his daily calories. I do not know whether any allowance was made for the burden cast upon the worker of supporting sick, aged or unemployed relatives, and the consequent reduction in his food.

The great boon which the Soviets have brought to the Russian workers is the security that whatever food and clothing Russia has, they will have a share of it.

The fact that all the children's food is free is in itself a wonderful thing to have brought into the world. Free feeding for the children of Petrograd began in May, 1918, at first for the children up to fourteen years, and later, for those up to sixteen. By June 16th, 1919, 80 per cent of the Petrograd children were taking free meals in the Petrograd restaurants.

Nursing mothers still work in the Russian factories, but they are liberated on full pay for eight weeks before and eight weeks after child-birth. They have an additional grant to the value of a fortnight's minimum pay at the time of the confinement, and their pay is increased by one-fourth during the nursing period of nine months.

Invalids are entitled to free cure and maintenance at full pay during illness. During disablement they are entitled to the full average minimum pay of the district for a 60 per cent. disablement; to a three-quarter's pay for a 45 to 60 per cent. disablement; half pay for a 30 to 45 per cent. disablement. The family of a deceased worker is entitled to pension. One dependent gets 60 per cent. of the worker's minimum pay, two dependants get 75 per cent., and three or more get 100 per cent.

Soldiers' pensions are on the same basis as those of the industrial workers; widows and children of the soldiers get the same pension as the Red soldiers.

Victims of the counter-revolution are also compensated.

CHAPTER XX.
The Polish War.

Soviet Russia thrilled with confident expectation that Warsaw would fall to the Red Army, that the Polish workers and peasants would rally to the Red flag, and a Polish Soviet Government would be established straight away. Communist Poland would then form both the link with Communist Russia and the bulwark against attack by Entente Capitalism, which were necessary to secure a successful Communist revolution in Germany and Austria. Revolutions in Italy and the Balkan States would immediately follow, and with the greater part of Europe already submerged by the Red tide, the world proletarian revolution would go marching forward.

This was the news which greeted me when I reached Russia in the first days of August, 1920. Already, on July 31st, a revolutionary committee had been set up in Poland. Its members were as familiar and popular in Soviet Russia as in their native land. Its president was Marchlevsky (Karsky), an old colleague of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Yogehes, the story of whose lives he recently wrote for the Moscow "Communist International." Marchlevsky had actually spoken in Moscow a few days ago at the Second Congress of the Third International, he and the other Polish delegates had now hastened away to Poland, leaving the Congress still in session. Other members of the Polish Revolutionary Committee were Dzerjinsky, organiser and president of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combatting the Counter-Revolution, Unschlicht, a famous Commissary of Food in Soviet Russia, and Felix Kohn, one of the most learned Polish Communists, and a leader of the Left Socialist Party called the "Levitsa."

The Russian Red Army was advancing through Poland with the watchword: "*For our Freedom and Yours!*"

The Polish Revolutionary Committee.

The Polish Revolutionary Committee issued a manifesto hailing the advance, announcing the fulfilment of the dreams of those Polish Revolutionary heroes who threw themselves into the struggle against Russian Czarism, to free, not merely the Polish people, but the Russians also.

The manifesto proceeded:—

"A secure peace is only possible between a Communist Russia and a Communist Poland governed by Workers' Councils. The factories and mines must be wrenched from the hands of capitalist speculators and usurers, and handed over to Workers' Committees. The land and the forests must also be owned and administered by the people. The landlords must be expelled, and their estates administered by committees of agricultural workers, whilst the soil of the peasants who work their own land shall remain untouched. In the cities the power is already passing into the hands of the workers' delegates; in the villages, provisional councils of workers are being formed. As soon as the Government which plunged the country into this criminal war has been overthrown, the Councils of workers' delegates from the villages and the towns will establish in all Poland a Communist Soviet Republic."

"Soviet Russia as I saw it in 1920," by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, is copyrighted in accordance with the regulations of the Copyright Act, 1911 (1 and 2 Geo. 5, Ch. 46). American copyright has been applied for. Provided acknowledgement is made to the "Workers' Dreadnought," Communist and Labour papers can reproduce for the purposes of propaganda any part of this book.

A FURTHER REPLY TO WARD NEWTON.

To the Editor.

I see our Comrade Ward Newton in his "Industrial ...tings" of May 7th replies to my letter in the ...Dreadnought" of April 30th. His point is much ...re clear to me now. Our Comrade's contention is ...t industrial unions make for strength, and craft ...ons tend towards weakness. I would agree with ...n were it not for the fact that I have some ...ring instances in my mind of the much-vaunted ...ty being unity in theory only. When the time ...nes for unity and solidarity we generally find ...unity among many of the industrial unions. To ...e an instance: In July, 1919, there was an unoffi...l strike upon the N.E.R. system against an un...t eyesight test which affected the whole of the ...lway workers upon this particular system, but ...re especially the locomotive fraternity. I was ...member of the all-grades union at that time. ...hat was the position? I found that the fight ...s being waged by a gallant little body of about ...00 members of the locomotive fraternity with ...tle or no assistance from the other grades, in ...ite of the fact that all were in the same or...nisation (N.U.R.). In spite of the fact that the ...her grades were directly affected by the unjust test ...ey remained at work. However, the fight ended ...ccessfully for the workers, and remains as an ...stance of what a few determined men can do ...against a mass of workers who were at log...rheads with one another.

I could go on relating many similar cases affect...g other big unions, but I think our Comrade ...ill agree with me in this case at any rate that ...e much-vaunted unity was a delusion and a snare, ...d was the means of a great many of the locomotive ...aternity turning over to the A.S.L.E. and F. But, ...s I said, I have been in the past a member of ...e all-grades union, and I can assure our Comrade ...at, as a Trade Unionist and as a Communist, ...had many good reasons for leaving it. I would ...uch prefer to be among a body of strong, deter...ined Trade Unionists that remain in an organisa...on, the member of which are driven about willy ...illy by selfishness and blind, implicit faith in ...-called leaders.

As to our Comrade's remark, re "narrow deter...ination to manage its own business," by the ...S.L.E. and F., I must say to him that the best ...rson to manage Ward Newton's business is Ward ...wton, and the same applies to the A.S.L.E. and ...They do the best for themselves, and surely ...up to other organisations to do the same. If ...organisations made themselves as power...ge A.S.L.E. and F., they could, acting in ...nction with one another, force the issue any ...me they desired. As to Comrade Ward Newton's ...emarks re "craft consciousness and individual su...eriority," I may say that the A.S.L.E. and F. ...o not think themselves superior to the workers ...any other industry. They are workers before ...nything, and they are CLASS-CONSCIOUS. They ...ve never yet, to my knowledge, refused assistance ...any organisation in distress, and circumstances ...now taking place which will probably place the ...L.E. and F. first in the field in support of ...miners. But as long as the workers of all ...nisations strive their utmost to overthrow the ...alist class which oppress us, then I do not ...why we should have any resentment or preju...by one organisation towards another.

"ASSOCIATED."

...D TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

To the Editor.

Dear Editor.—Reading through your report of ...e Red Trade Union International Conference, which ...ook place at Friar's Hall on May 7th, I notice ...hat there undoubtedly exists some confusion with ...he above and the Third (Communist) International. Mr. W. J. Webb, of the E.T.U., who evidently has ...is heart in the right place (as he puts it), in se...conding the resolution calling on the Trades Union ...Congress to sever its connection with Amsterdam, ...etc., and to take immediate steps to be represented ...at the first congress of the Red Trade Union Inter...national at Moscow, on July 1st; and further ...stated that his union was holding a Rules Re...vision Conference, one of the items being affiliation ...to the THIRD International. I believe affiliation ...to the latter is exclusive to the Communist Parties ...of all countries who accept and adhere to the ...Statutes, Thesis, etc., they being the political party ...of the proletariat, through which we hope to shape ...and mould the machinery necessary to impose the ...Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The R.T.U.I., when ...its rules and policy is finally settled on July 1st, ...will organise the masses in their millions on the ...industrial field on a class-conscious basis, thereby ...creating the economic power from which the Com...munist Parties will function. Recent events vividly ...demonstrated the need for a strong industrial in...ternational as a fighting weapon for the workers, ...which in due course, in conjunction with the Third ...(Communist) International will, as Engels states: "Transport the Capitalist State into the museum ...of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the ...bronze axe. This condition of society, without the ...State, is Communism." I sincerely hope this will not ...be taken as a criticism of the London Conference ...in any way, but I, in my humble way, feel that we should be quite clear as regards the relationship between these two internationals. The E.C. of the Communist Party of Great Britain pointed out in a circular to branches a few weeks ago that "while they were working in harmony to the fullest extent, the two organisations were not one and the same." This proves that they, too, evidently wished to be quite clear on this point, as it is just possible that some who may even be delegates would have some misapprehension, and also that members of unions who affiliate may take it for granted that they automatically become members of the Communist Party (in fact, cases now could be cited), but this is not so.

Yours fraternally,

Birmingham. A. C. WEBB.

[We would refer our correspondent to items 5 and 6 on the Agenda of the Third Congress of the Communist International re relationship between the Communist International and the Red T.U. International. This matter has yet to be decided.—Ed.]

MONEY AND PLAIN TALKS (*Cont. from p. 4*).

from an orgy of Imperialism; other countries, too, where the class-struggle is to the fore.

Not casual bits of information, but a series of articles enabling the British workers to get a true perspective.

At home—the financial and political interests still playing their powerful game of chess for clique supremacy, for the enslavement of the workers, and that, in spite of many of our too-confident comrades, who lull themselves in the unfounded belief that Capitalism is tottering to its fall, of its own weakness.

A steady educational work on the need of strong Party organisation.

A fearless criticism of the present-day Trade Unions, which, whilst able to resist, and not even that in all cases, wage reductions, have not yet the prescience to organise rapidly and revolutionarily for a wageless state of society.

* * * * *

In brief lines, such is the work—educational and yet, we think, highly revolutionary—we had set out to achieve.

* * * * *

You can make mistakes whilst you are living; you can't talk after death. Pardon the utter commonplace and vulgarity of this sentence.

A paper, to improve, must live.

Live we shall, if, besides financial assistance, Comrades will give us—who are no better than they are, and are not preaching from a high pulpit, still less from an ivory tower—the assistance of their experience—their criticism—aye, their friendly criticism and sometimes of their patience.

You know the story: Some one with a liver not working properly, grumbled one day at the cumbersome title of our paper.

"Never mind," said Comrade Pankhurst, "when we go down, we'll come up once more and call it the 'Workers' Mate.'"

WELCOME TO SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All members of the Communist Party, and Comrades who wish to welcome Sylvia Pankhurst on her release from Holloway, should apply to E. Cant, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1., for tickets (free) for the Reception at the above address on Monday, May 30th, at 7.30 p.m.

A rally will be held on the same day outside Holloway Gaol at 7.45 a.m.

ITALIAN ELECTIONS.

Approximate figures at the time of going to press. The final results may vary between the two sets of figures indicated below:—

	Minimum.		Maximum.
Governmental bloc	240	...	285
Socialists	90	...	110
Popular Party (Catholics and landowners)	90	...	107
Communists	10	...	15
Republicans (capitalists)	10	...	15
Fascisti (White Guards: extreme reactionaries)	20	...	35
Ex-Servicemen	10	...	13
Slavo-Germans (from newly-conquered provinces)	10	...	11

Mr. J. H. THOMAS.

Mr. J. H. Thomas says that American Labour is 50 years behind British Labour, and yet the British workers have never given him the reception he received from the American workers. He was greeted on landing with boos and jeers because he had caused disruption in the Triple Alliance, and banners bearing such inscriptions as: "Thomas Fleeing from the Wrath of England"; "Judas Hanged Himself after Betrayal. Will Thomas Follow Suit?" He had to escape in a goods lift.

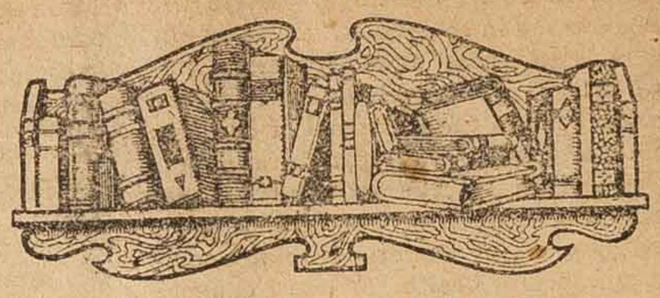
The Americans do not only pass resolutions, they are up doing!

A SUGGESTION.

Chandler says:—

"Be bold! Get out a special number at the time of Miss Pankhurst's release. Something quite out of the common, and get a splash advertisement in the *Daily Herald*. This helped *The Communist* and should help you.

"You may be surprised at the number of people who have never heard of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, and many of these, *Daily Herald* readers."



OUR BOOKSHELF.

"THE YOUNG WORKER."

(The monthly organ of the Young Workers' League. 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4. 3d.)

It is just as easy to get children to wave a red flag as a tricolour one: it is a matter of emotion, affecting us as the military brass band that set all feet a-tramping. It is another matter to instil in young minds ideas that will grow and germinate into a permanent sense of justice and a strong will to see that ideal put into daily practice.

Francisco Ferrer, a pioneer of revolutionary education, was shot years ago by the reactionary classes of Spain. In the stress and difficulty surrounding the working-class movement, he was one of the first to emphasize the need of education—free from capitalist bias—for the young generation. This work is at the same time most useful and truly difficult. It requires not only patience, but great psychological insight. It is a work of great responsibility.

Modern society, which has created the slums and their depressing moral atmosphere, has also given us the "penny 'orrible" and the "pictures," failing at the same time to give us a good and useful elementary education for the young workers.

"The Young Worker" is a praiseworthy attempt, by a group of young workers, assisted by a capable editor, to supply young workers with some good and readable educational matter.

Sixteen pages of interesting and elevating articles, in a convenient magazine size, even at 3d, should sell well, and we are looking forward with interest to the next issue for which, the whisper goes round, new interesting features are prepared.

We have received some very sympathetic and appreciative letters in response to our appeal, extracts from some of which we give below:—

"I value very much indeed the pioneer work done by the *Dreadnought* in the early days, and from time to time I see articles there which are of the greatest educational value, that I don't see in any other paper. . . . Yes, although I sometimes find very little time for reading the *Dreadnought*, if it ceased to be, I should miss it very much; but anyway, it must not be allowed to lapse, and so enclose really more than I can spare. Trust you will be successful in getting further financial support from your readers.

"I am sending this to say how deeply I regret it, but I have been out of employment for the last two months, and cannot send on any financial help as I should so much have liked to have done.

"The *Dreadnought* has been an education and an inspiration to me, and I am sure all who read it will feel a big loss, especially now, if it has to cease publication.

"We devoutly hope that the *Dreadnought* will hold out until Miss Pankhurst comes out, and we hope that a good response will result from your appeal for funds. For the coming week we will undertake to make good whatever may be short of the £30 required."

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Per E. Lagsding 10s, Mrs. Edmunds 10s, per E. Collins 2s 6d, A. J. Marriott 5s, A. Frayn 5s, E. Swift £1 5s, E. H. Fox 5s, Miss Widdicombe £1, Mrs Wyatt £3, C. Dunn 5s, J. Staples 9s, F. Dobson 2s 6d, per Mr. Pocock 12s 6d, S. A. Chandler £3, Hatfield Friends 1s 9d, M. Belkin £1, a Revolutionary 6s, L. Burgis 15s, S. N. Ghose 5s, C. Cole 5s, per S. Robinson 9s, L. Devereaux 5s, per M. Marsh 10s, G. L. Jones 5s, E. Gulland £1 1sa A. Holdsworth 10s, per A. C. Webb 6s 6d, R. C. 2s 6d, Redcap 5s, total £17 10s; grand total £81 1s 5½d.

THANKS.

We are very grateful to the comrades who have helped us this week, especially that group which has promised to make good any deficit on the £30 this week. Who will follow their example, for the next few weeks?

One comrade says he will send 10s. a week if others will promise to do the same. Do not let us lose this offer! Another comrade has promised to send 10s. a month.

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