New Turn in American Labour Movement.

SECOND EDITION

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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LENIN'S REPORT AT TENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY.

Candid Admissions and Bold Criticism.

A Speech, much commented upon in the Bourgeois Press, given in full.

After the speeches of the Fraternal Delegates the election of the Presidium at the First ting of the Congress, reports were taken of work of the Central Executive Committee. mrade Lenin reported on the political activities the Central Committee. On rising to speak, was greeted with loud and prolonged applause.

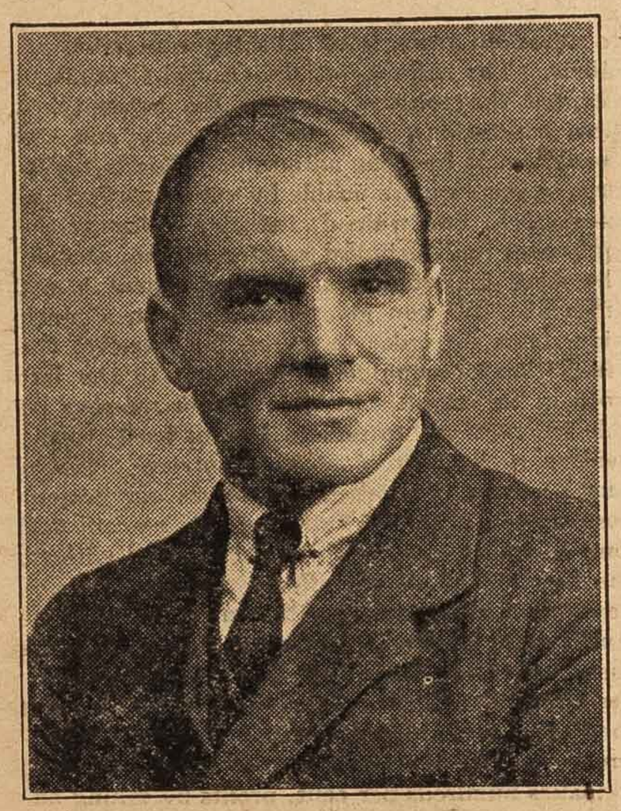
"Comrades, in my opinion, the most imrtant question of the day deserving our closest tention, is that of the transition from war to ace. Probably all of you, at least most of you, ll remember that we have attempted this transon several times during the last three and a lf years; but at no time did we complete it, cause the vital interests of international pitalism are bound up with our failure. I member that in April 1918, three years ago, had occasion to speak at the All-Russian Cenl Executive Committee, on the tasks confront- us then as if the civil war had practically me to an end when, as a matter of fact, it had ly just begun. You will all remember, that the last Party Conference, we based all our lculations on this transition to peaceful conruction, assuming that the enormous concesns that we made would secure for peace. But that very April, the Polish bourgeoisie, in njunction with imperialist and capitalist untries, interpreting our desire for peace as a n of weakness, commenced their offensive for hich, however, they had to pay very dear, in at they had to accept a less advantageous peace an if they had accepted our earlier proposals. e, however, did not secure the possibility of nsferring to peace construction, and we again d to concentrate our attention to the war with land and the subsequent liquidation of rangel. This is what our work for the st year consisted of. Again the whole of our rk was devoted to the tasks of war.

The transition from war to peace began again hen we had succeeded in clearing every soldier hostile armies from the territory of the Soviet epublic. This transition caused a shock, the ll effects of which we have not calculated.

The Difficulties of Demobilisation.

"The Demobilisation of the Army, which we d to carry out in the country and which carried th it untold difficulties, has raised problems hich are considerably underestimated. Here, a very large degree, are the sources of the onomic and social crises. Already, at the end last year, I had occasion to point out that one the greatest difficulties that would confront in the spring would be in connection with the mobilisation of the Army. I must say that that time we hardly realised the full extent of ese difficulties. We did not yet see to what exnt the misfortune which had fallen upon the untry already during the previous imperialist r, and later during the civil war, would tell ring the demobilisation. The country for veral years concentrated its efforts exclusively r war purposes, and sacrificed everything for it, d only now, at the conclusion of the war, do see the real extent of poverty and ruin which, r a long period, will compel us to devote our ergies merely to the healing of our wounds.

"Undoutedly, the Central Committee erred that it did not correctly estimate the diffilties of this demobilisation, but it must be said, at there was no basis for this calculation, for e civil war was so difficult, that the only rule s: 'all for victory on the civil war front.' nly the observation of this rule and the incdible concentration of effort which the Red Army displayed in the struggle with Koltchak. Yudenitch and others, could we have achieved the victory over the invading imperialists.



W. GALLACHER.
Now serving three months.

Errors in Calculation.

"From this basic fact, which determines a number of other errors in the growing crises I would like to pass over to the fact, that in the work of the Party, there were revealed a number of other instances of inappropriate and incorrect calculations and plans. Let us summarise our experiences in such varying fields as the progress of our Polish war and questions of food and fuel.

"There is no question that we erred in our too rapid advance on Warsaw. I will not discuss at this moment whether that was a strategical or a political error; that would involve us into a too long discussion. In any case there was an error, and this arose from our over-estimating the superiority of our forces. To what extent this superiority of forces depended on economic conditions, or on the fact that the Polish war aroused the patriotism of even the petty-bourgeois elements, who do not sympathise with Communism, and certainly do not support the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a question too complicated to be discussed now. The fact is that we committed errors in the Polish war.

"If we take such sphere of work as food, we will see here analogous errors. With regard to the corn requisitions and the gathering of the corn duties, last year was much more successful than the previous year. Last year the amount of corn gathered reached 250 million poods. Up to February 1st, it was calculated that we had gathered 235 million poods, when for the whole of the previous year we gathered 210 million poods, which means that for a much shorter period, we exceeded the amount of corn gathered for the whole of the previous year. It turned out, however, that of this 235 million poods, 155 million poods were used up in the first half of the year, that is, on an average of 25 million poods a month. Generally, we have to confess that we were not able properly to distribute our resources when they proved to be better than those of the previous year. We were unable correctly to estimate the extent of the approaching spring crisis, and lent ourselves naturally to the desire to increase the rations of the hungry workers.

"It must be said, however, that even here we had no proper basis for calculation. In all capitalist states, in spite of disorder, in spite of the chaos peculiar to capitalism, there is a basis for calculation in the decades of experience, by which the capitalist states, similar in their economic construction, and varying only in details, could be guided. The investigation and comparison of experiences reveals an actual scientific law. We did not have and could not have had a basis for our calculations, and, naturally, as soon as we were able to give the hungry workers an increase of food, we were not able to establish the proper scale. It is clear that we should have only moderately increased the rations and have stored up a reserve for the rainy day that would and did come in the spring. This was an error, the kind of error that is peculiar to all our work, an error which shows that the transition from war to peace would create such difficult problems, for the overcoming of which we had neither the experience or material to go upon. As a result the crisis became more acute.

"Something analogous to this took place with regard to fuel. This is the fundamental question of our economic policy. The transition from peace to war, that transition and economic construction about which we spoke at the previous conference of the Party, and which comprised the main part of our work during the preceding year, could not but be based upon the supply and proper distribution of fuel. Without that, there can be no talk of overcoming difficulties or of re-establishing industry. The conditions in this connection were better this year than last there is no doubt. Previously we had been cut off from the oil and coal regions. After the victory of the Red Army, we secured oil and coal. At all events, the extent of our fuel resources were increased. We know that the fuel resources at our disposal were greater this year than last. But on the basis of this increase we committed our error, in consuming fuel to such an extent that we exhausted our fuel reserves.

"From what we have experienced, we should say that all these errors are connected with our rapid transition from war to peace. It turned out that this transition is a much slower process than we imagined. A much greater preparation was required and a much slower pace.

"Undoubtedly, the crisis was rendered more acute by the failure of the harvest. I pointed out that our work in the food department during last year gave us incomparably larger stocks than the previous year, but this, in fact, was one of the greatest causes of the crisis, because, owing to the failure of the harvest, resulting in an extreme shortage of fodder, which in its turn caused a great mortality among cattle and a deterioration of stock. The food requisition was concentrated in these places where the reserves of corn were not large. These reserves are largest in the various border republics in Siberia and North Caucasus. But it is precisely in those places that the Soviet apparatus works less smoothly, where the Soviet power is less stable, and where transport is very difficult. It follows, therefore, that we secured an increase of our food stocks from those districts which had suffered from bad harvests, and this led to the agricultural crisis becoming more acute.

" Here again we see that we made no proper calculations, but, on the other hand, we were in such a difficult position that we had no choice. A country which had gone through such a destructive imperialist war and a prolonged civil war, could not have acted otherwise than take the food stocks from the peasantry, even without giving them compensation in any form. We said to the peasants: ' Of course, you are giving your corn on loan to the Labour Peasant State, but you really have no other way of saving your State from the landlords and the capitalists.' We could not have acted otherwise under the conditions which the capitalists and imperialists, by their war, imposed upon us. But these circumstances, owing to the prolongation of the war, led to such a deterioration of our agriculture, that the bad harvest was caused by the diminution of the area cultivated, the deterioration of the means of production, diminution of fertility, and reduction of labour power, etc. The failure of the harvest was tremendous, ye it was better than we expected. The gathering of the food, however, was accompanied by an acute crisis. We must carefully examine this circumstance in analysing our experiences of the past year, and the political tasks we should undertake in the new year.

The Prospects of International Revolution.

" Help from the Western European countries is coming. It is not coming as fast as we should like, but it is undoubtedly coming. I have already said that one of the greatest factors of the preceding period was the Second Congress of the Communist International. In comparison with last year, the international revolution has made considerable progress. Certainly the Communist International at its first Congress was nothing more than a " proclamation," but now it exists as an independent party in every country, and not only as the advance party. Communism has become the central question of the labour movement as a whole. In Germany, France and Italy, the Communist International has become the centre, not only of the Labour movement, but of the whole political life of the whole country. It was impossible to pick up a German or French newspaper last autumn without seeing discussions on Moscow and the Bolsheviki, and how the 21 conditions of entry into the Third International became the central question of the political life of these countries. This is our gain of which no one can deprive us. The international revolution is growing parallel with the growing acuteness of the economic crisis in Europe. But if we were to suggest that in a short time help were coming from that quarter in the shape of a proletarian revolution, we should be mad, and I am sure that nobody in this hall would make such a suggestion. We have learned to understand during the last three years that basing ourselves on an international revolution does no mean calculating on a definite date, and that the increasing rapidity of development may bring a revolution in the spring, or may not.

" For that reason, we must be able to base our activities in accordance with the class relations in our country and in other countries, in order to retain the dictatorship of the proletariat for a prolonged period, and in order, if only gradually, to extricate ourselves from the misfortune and crises which have come upon us. Only such an attitude can be sensible and correct.

Foreign Relations.

" I will now deal with the question of foreign relations. Up to the Ninth Congress of the Party, all our attention and all our efforts were directed towards securing a transition from a state of war with the capitalist countries, to relations of peace and trade. For that purpose we took various diplomatic measures, and proved victorious against undoubtedly great diplomats. When for example, the representatives of America or of the League of Nations proposed that we should, on certain conditions, cease military operations against Denikin and Koltchak, they thought they would place us in a difficult situation. They were deceived, however, and were compelled to withdraw their conditions, a fact which later was exposed in the diplomatic press and literature of the whole world. But we could not be satisfied merely with diplomatic victories. We must have real trading relations. But only during last year were things approaching to a point where commercial relations were beginning to some extent to develop. The question of trading relations with England arose, but the war with Poland threw us back for a long period. England was already prepared to sign a trading agreement. The British bourgeoisie desired this agreement, but English Court circles were opposed to it and hampered it. The war with Poland postponed the agreement, with the result that the question has, even up till now, not been settled.

" In this connection, there is is the question of concessions. During the past year we devoted more attention to this question than previously. On November 23rd, a decree was published by the Council of People's Commissaries, dealing with the question of concessions in a form most acceptable to foreign capitalists. By this decree we advanced towards establishing concession relations. The majority of the Central Committee accepted the point of view of the necessity of these concessions, and we will ask you to strengthen it by your authority. This is necessary, because we are unable by our own efforts to re-establish our ruined industry without the equipment and technical assistance from abroad. The mere importation of this equipment is not sufficient. We can give concessions on a much wider basis, in order to secure for ourselves the installation of equipment according to the last word in technique. In this manner we may be able to catch up, to some extent at least, to the modern production of other countries. Not a single person who soberly examines our present position can doubt that without this we will find ourselves in a very difficult position, and without the exertion of all our efforts, we cannot make headway. Negotiations with some of the largest trusts have already been commenced. Of course, these trusts, on their part, are not merely rendering us a service. They are doing this only for the sake of colossal profits. Modern Capitalism is not like the Capitalism of normal periods. I makes hundreds per cent. profits by taking advantage of its monopolist position in the world market. Of course, we shall have to pay very dearly. But we must improve our technique.

On February 1st, 1921, the Council of People's Commissaries decided to purchase abroad 18,500,000 poods of coal, and at that time our fuel crisis was already looming. We shall have to make yet greater concessions for the purpose of buying articles of use for the peasantry.

The Proletariat and the Peasantry.

" We must realise that in these critical conditions we cannot exist otherwise than by appealing to the village and get it to help the city population and to strengthen itself. We must remember that the bourgeoisie is making efforts to arouse the peasantry against the workers. Here we are facing political difficulties requiring that the ruling Communist Party and the leading elements of the proletariat should take the proper course.

" Then we must consider the economic questions involved. What is the meaning of the slogan of freedom of trade, which is now advanced by the petty-bourgeois elements? It is an indication of the fact that there are some difficulties in the relations between the proletariat and the small landowner, which we have not yet overcome. I refer to the attitude of the proletariat to the small property-holders in a country where the proletariat has been victorious and the proletarian revolution is developing, but where the proletariat makes up the minority of the population, and the majority s made up of petty-bourgeois elements In a country like that, the proletariat must take upon itself the leading *rôle* in the transition of these petty property-holders into social, collective, and Communal labour. This is theoretically beyond any dispute, and, on this ground, we based a number of our legislative acts. But we know that legislative acts by themselves are not sufficient, that only actual achievements count, and that these achievements cannot be secured unless we have industry carried on on a large scale, and this industry affords such advantages as would make the small producer realise its advantages over individual production.

" This is the position which all Marxians and Socialists always occupied in dealing with the Social Revolution and the problems resulting from it. The feature which is peculiar to Russia is, to the highest degree, is that we have here a proletariat making up the minority, and a considerable minority at that, of the population, while the overwhelming majority consists of the peasantry. Besides, the conditions under which we had to defend our revolution were of such a nature as to have made the solution of our problem extremely difficult. We were not in a position to demonstrate the advantages of large industry for that industry was ruined and dragging on a very precarious existence, and it could not be reconstructed without imposing various sacrifices on these very small farmers. We must increase production and so we need fuel, but for fuel we must resort to wood, and that means that we must count upon the peasant's horses. In critical times when there is a shortage of fodder, resulting in diminution of cattle, the peasant is compelled to render assistance to the Soviet Government for the sake of that large industry which as yet has given him nothing. This is the source of the economic difficulties we are in, and this is what compels us to give consideration to this period of transition from war to peaceful pursuits. During the war we had to say to the peasant: ' You must loan your corn to the Workers' and Peasants' Government,' in order to enable it to extricate itself from the difficult position.' Now, in directing all our attention to work of reconstruction, we must bear in mind that we have to deal with the small farmer, the small property-owner, the small producer, who is working for the market, and will continue to do so till large industry has been established and has achieved a complete victory. But this triumph of large industry is impossible on the old basis. This is a matter which will take decades, and considering our lack of economic cohesion, perhaps ever more. Till that time we will have to do business with this small producer as such, and the slogan of free trade will inevitably come to the front. Prompted by these considerations, the Central Committee decided to raise discussion on the question of substituting the corn requisitions by a definite tax and to place the question before the Congress to-day for your approval.

Corn Tax or Requisition.

" The question of tax or requisition came up in our legislation as early as the end of 1918. The tax law of December 30th, 1918, imposed upon the peasants, tax in kind, which was, however, not carried out. The law was accompanied by a number of instructions, but it was not applied. The conditions of war made it imperative that we take from the peasant all they could spare; but this measure is not at all suitable to peaceful conditions of agriculture. The peasant must have assurance that after having delivered a certain amount of grain to the State, he will have the rest left for his own household needs.

" The whole of our industry was saturated with the conditions of war.

" Taking this into consideration, we had to undertake the collection of a definite quantity of food without taking into consideration the effect it may have upon our industry as a whole. Now that we are transferring from questions of war to questions of peace, we begin to regard the tax in kind differently. We regard it now not only from the point of view of maintaining the State. but also from the point of view of maintaining the small farmers. We must strive to do the utmost in this direction. This is the most important question for us. We must give the peasant the possibility of a certain freedom in local trade, substitute requisitions by a tax in order that the peasant may be better able to calculate his output in accordance with the tax. Of course, amidst the conditions which surround us, this thing is very difficult to realise, but we make the maximum of concession to provide the small producer with the opportunity of revealing his power. Up till now, we adapted ourselves to conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves to conditions of peace. This question came up before the Central Committee, and is closely connected with that of concessions—it is the question of transferring to a tax in kind under

Continued on page three.

THE CRISIS IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

By Eugene Varga

In the capitalist world there is an unprecedented economic crisis. Its intensity is explained by the fact that the normal periodical crisis of capitalist production in those countries where Capitalism is still going strong, coincides with the permanent state of crisis in those countries where Capitalism is already breaking up.

When we take a bird's-eye view of world economics, we can easily discern certain groups of countries which are in quite different stages of economic development (or stages of decay). These fall into the following groups:—

I.—Russia.

Here, Capitalism, althought not entirely overcome, is yet, in any case, already mastered. It still exists in the form of smuggling, and in the form of peasant trading, but above all in the ideology of the majority of the narrow-minded mass. Yet the essence of Capitalism, the immediate exploitation of the workers through private ownership of the means of production, is stamped out. In the same way, anarchy in production is, generally speaking, overcome, although production according to plan has not, as a matter of fact, been realised as yet.

II.—Those countries on the Continent of Europe which took part in the War.

Here, Capitalism is not in a position to recover from the effects of the war, and displays signs of rapid decay. Here, the bourgeoisis is incapable of assuring his wage-slaves an existence in the framework of the old system. The position is this: the bourgeoisie is no longer being supported by the workers, but it is still forced to support the workers. Europeam workers are, however by no means inclined to be content with that kind of life. They react by sabotage, by continuous strikes, which certainly, though not leading to an improvement in their position, yet tend to hasten the end of Capitalism.

III.—England and the Neutral Countries of Europe.

Here the economic break-up is not yet so clearly seen; but everywhere there are signs of weakness. A rare symptom of feebleness is the fact that Britain, for centuries the " ruler of the waves," is tacitly admitting that the United States and Japan, in three or four years' time, will have bigger fleets at their disposal than herself.

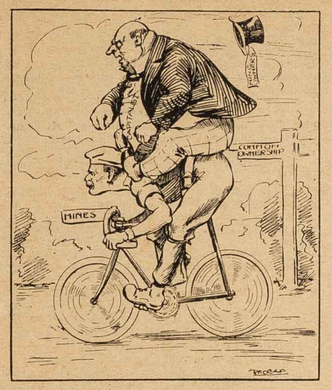
IV.—The United States of America and Japan.

These countries are experiencing the full flush of imperialism, great export of manufactures, investment of capital abroad, rivalry in armaments, powerful colonial policy, serious preparations for the new World War.

V.—Border Countries of the World Economic System; South America, South Africa, Australia and some parts of Asia.

At the time of the war, thanks to transport difficulties, these countries were freed from the competition of West European industry and quickly developed their own industry, entering then on the stage of Big Capital without, however, attaining as yet the stage of imperialism.

Corresponding to the law of capitalist production, the varying economic position expresses itself most prominently in the standard of values. The once ruling English £ sterling has given place to the American dollar, and in connection with this, points to a significant disruption of the rate of exchange in European values.



IF HE WANTS TO STOP—DROP HIM !

The present crisis is characterised by the fact that the normal crisis of over-production in those countries where Capitalism is still " healthy," coincide with the permanent crisis of the capitalist disruption in the countries of the second group. The crisis began in that country which had reached the highest capitalist development, namely, the United States of America. Already in the middle of last year, news began to come through that in that country there were vast stocks of unsaleable goods, etc. In the course of the last decade the United States were changing from an agrarian into an industrial country. The war helped that process enormously. From America the crisis spread to England, where its first symptoms were seen as early as the August of last year. From there it spread over the neutral states of Europe, thence to France, and developed itself side by side with the permanent crisis of Central Europe, into an unexampled world crisis. The deeper causes of this must be sought in the contradictions of the capitalist system of production. The crisis of Capitalism as an order of society consists in the fact that the proletariat is not able or willing to be contented with its present position in life which, through the wastage of the war, has been pressed down to the lowest level. This forms the foundation of the Revolutionary movement in the broad proletarian masses. The latter could only be weakened through improvement in the position of the proletariat, but that, on the other hand, is only possible by way of raising production (the same problem as in Russia). For that reason, the capitalists, supported by the Social Democrats and Trade Union leaders, have raised the cry: " More Production."

In the countries of the second group, the breaking up of Capitalism and the revolutionising of the masses is already so far progressed that the raising of production is a failure. If, after long negotiations, the workers agree to do overtime and production accordingly increases, then there is a block owing to lack of coal, waggons, etc., or the achieved result is cancelled by another big strike.

In the groups III and IV, they have succeeded, as a matter of fact, in raising production; the result, however, is no improvement in the position of the workers, but a terrible unemployment and closing down of works.

The apostles of the Raising of Production have here, once more, fallen into the error of applying to *capitalist production* that principle which would be " in general," correct. " In general," it is quite right that the raising of production must have as result the improvement of the position of the workers, and of all members of society. That is literally correct for the present-day Russia; but applied to anarchistic capitalist economics, this principle means over-production, economic crisis, unemployment. In capitalist society, an increase of production means nothing more than that each producer or producing group increases the output of their own products, without in the least inquiring whether these products are in demand.

The economic crisis, going out from America and spreading over the countries of Group III, is sharpened more than usually because:—

1. Russia has nearly ceased to come in as a buyer;
2. Even the countries of Group II do not come in as buyers, owing to their low rate of exchange which prevents them from satisfying the capitalists of Groups III and IV. The dollar costs in Poland 700 Polish marks; an English £ sterling, over 3,000 marks.

After the war, the strong groups, Groups III and IV, strove to raise the purchasing power of the Group II countries by loans, yet the sums placed at their disposal in this way were simply wasted, because the break-up of their system had already gone too far for them to be assisted in this way.

Finally, the countries of Group V, the border lands of the world economic system, are still less inclined to be buyers, for the simple reason that they are developing their own industry.

Thus the campaign for more production ends in a terrible economic crisis, and nothing characterises the position better than the coal crisis in England. All the capitalist-inspired Press at the time of the miners' strike, took the greatest trouble to move the workers to an agreement which should make the rate of pay depend on output. They succeeded, and in December, the output of coal had increased greatly; yet by January already, the coal pits were being closed down one after another. As might have been foreseen, too much coal had been produced.

Organised capital is striving to throw the whole burden of the crisis on to the working class. The fall in prices is only nominal, famous concerns are going bankrupt all the time, yet for that very reason unemployment is growing day by day. This crisis will therefore sharpen the feeling amongst the proletariat and will bring the economic crash from Central Europe to the neutral countries and to England.

LENIN'S REPORT AT TENTH CONGRESS.

Continued from page 2.

proletarian government. The proletarian government, by means of concessions, may secure for itself an alliance with the capitalist governments of the advanced countries. The improvement of our industry depends upon these alliances, without which we will not be able to proceed along the path towards Communism. On the other hand,, in the transitional period, in a country with a predominance of peasantry, we must be able to give the maximum maintenance to the peasantry. We must secure the possibility for them to work freely. Our revolution is surrounded by capitalist countries. As long as we are in that position, we are compelled to make extremely complicated relations. Crushed by the war, we could not concentrate our attention to establishing economic relations between a proletarian State which has large industry, incredibly ruined, in its hands, and the small farmers who, for the time being have remained the same, and who cannot exist without small farming being supported by a certain amount of trade. I consider this one of the most important questions of economics and politics for the Soviet Government at the present moment. I consider that this question politically summarises our work from the time we concluded the war period and transferred last year to a state of peace. This period is so closely connected with difficulties which are so clearly reflected in the petty-bourgeois movement, that one must examine it soberly . If we regard all these events from the point of view of the class-struggle—and we shall never be mistaken with regard to the relations between the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie—we see it is a most difficult question, which, in order to be solved and to secure the victory of the proletariat, demands complicated measures, or, to be correct, a whole system of complicated transitional measures. The fact that at the end of 1918 we issued a decree on a tax in kind, shows that this is a matter that engages the minds of Communists, but that, owing to the war, we were not able to carry it out. Under the condition of war we had to resort to war measures, but we would be committing a great error if we drew the conclusion that only such measures are possible. In the transition from war to peace amidst conditions of economic crisis, we must remember that it is easier to carry out the work of constructing a proletarian state in a country where large production prevails than in a country where small production prevails. We must recognise the necessity for concessions to buy machinery and appliances for agriculture, in order that, in exchanging them for corn, we can establish such relations between the proletariat and the peasantry which will secure their maintenance under peace conditions."

Turkish papers published in Constantinople have to pass a triple censure—the English, the French, and the Italian.

THE FOOLISH FIFTY.

If fifty men did all the work
And gave the price to five,
And let those five make all the rules,
You'd say the fifty men were fools
Unfit to be alive.

And if you heard complaining cries
From fifty brawny men,
Blaming the five for graft and greed,
Injustice, cruelty, indeed—
What would you call them then ?

Not by their own superior force
Do five on fifty live,
But by election and assent,
And privilege and government—
Powers that fifty give.

If fifty men are really fools,
And five have all the brains,
The five must rule as now, we find ;
But if the fifty have the mind—
Why don't they take the reins ?

CHARLOTTE STETSON.

The Italian Communists will soon start the publication of a daily controlled by the E.C. of the Party. It will be called the " Quotidiano " (the " Daily ").

OUR COMPETITION.

The closing date of our Pamphlet Competition has been postponed until April 30th.

Workers' Dreadnought

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THE STRIKE.

By the time this paper is out of the press, there will be hardly a house where the news had not penetrated; so momentous is the decision.

Comments are not needed: the watchword should be: Solidarity.

STRIKE DATE FIXED.
10 P.M. FRIDAY.

The Railwaymen and Transport Workers strike at 10 P.M. *on Friday.*

Mr. Thomas, in making the announcement, said:—

"Many other Unions have sent applications to join in the strike."

A WARNING.

Jaded Dame Rumour is about town, giving vent to men's individual fancies and forebodings.

We hear stories about this leader and that. Of things happening that a sensible man would know could never occur. Therefore: don't talk, don't 'spout"; don't let yourself be "pumped." Don't listen to what the other fellows in the bar have got to say. Why, you know it already.

As the old woman said: "Put the washing out, and do the thinking job at home."

Solidarity, not "gas"!

IN THE "LONDON."

Under a fitful cover—oh, those wicked artists!—in the January issue of the *London Magazine*, a well-connected monthly, with, we believe, a wide circulation, Mrs. Philip Snowden has an article subtitled: "The Tyranny of Communism."

Illustrated, as the Contents Page explains, with photographs, and drawings by F. Matania. Photographs and drawings in almost equal number.

To the delight of the incompetent, who is not able to see which are the photographs and which are the drawings, we see there fashion-plate young Russian ladies frightened by well-dressed bandit soldiers, who, very unbusiness-like, are stealing sausages and jewels and watches without distinction!

"A Common Scene in Petrograd," depicts two ladies, with lovely faces, Mayfair-dressed, callously looking on a poor child laying in the snow.

The melodramatic effect is there, with utter disregard to veracity.

When Mrs. Philip Snowden was a rising member of the I.L.P., still a Socialist and schoolmistress, she taught her pupils, we are sure, that Socialism meant a certain regard and respect for truth and honesty.

To have condescended that a capitalist paper should embellish her writing with drawing purporting to represent facts which actually she did not see happening—is an action contrary to all the principles Mrs. Snowden pretends to profess.

It is an ungenerous, an un-ladylike action; not approved, we venture to say, by Mr. Snowden, and repudiated, we are sure, by all honest Socialists.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Carried forward £28 9s, Miss Burgis 3s. 6d, Mrs. Brimley 10s., Anon. 6s. 10d., Mrs. and Miss Chappelow £1, Mrs. Clarke 10s., Mr. Cornwallis 1s. 8d., Mrs. Hirst 3s. 6d.; total, £31 4s. 6d.

NEW TURN IN AMERICAN LABOUR MOVEMENT.

BY CHARLES W. WOOD.

An "Unemployment Conference" has been called for next Saturday. Eight hundred Labour Unions have been asked to send delegates. All the engineering Societies and a number of the Technical Associations have been asked to participate. What ever does or doesn't happen at this conference, a precedent has been established in the American Labour Movement which is bound to have incalculable results. Behind that call to the engineers is a story of engrossing human interest. It is the —not on the part of some captivating new leader, story of a new vision, a new hope, a new philosophy but on the part of a fast-growing group of the rank and file.

I was allowed to attend a preliminary meeting on the condition that I would not write it up. I am sure that I violate no confidence in what I am going to tell you. The conference seemed to represent four distinct points of view, points of view which this year can be detected in almost any Labour gathering, but which would not have been found last year, or the year before.

It was the fourth point of view that the whole conference took eventually. All agreed that there was unemployment. When the cash saved by the workers during war wages gave out, what would happen?

The four points of view were briefly these:—

(1) A period of business depression is a time to start up public works. The conference should bring all possible pressure upon the City Administration to begin building.

(2) Unemployment is caused by over-production. The thing to do is to curtail production. Work fewer hours, go slow on the job, making it necessary for the bosses to put on more men.

(3) Unemployment is inherent in the capitalist system, and the only cure is to overthrow the system. Seize the opportunity now and teach the workers the cause of their enslavement and prepare the way for a class-conscious revolution.

(4) We can't take any intelligent action until we find out where we are. We can't start up industry until we know how industry is run. Let us get the facts. Let us consult the industrial experts. Let us arrange a plan, if a plan can be arranged, by which the idle man-power can be applied to the idle equipment and the unemployed set to work to produce the things they want.

"How would you overthrow it?" the fourth group asked of the third; and to those who advocated lying down on the job: "Sounds like good business, but is it good sense? Can we go on getting more by producing less? This was tried in England, but unemployment is growing worse rather than better."

All these arguments led to the Technical Societies being asked to send delegates to the coming conference. The following letter was sent to the American Society of Engineers, the Chemical Engineers, the Electrical Engineers, and the State Association of Architects and other bodies:—

"Fellow Worker,—An important conference on unemployment will be held in the auditorium of the People's House, 15th Street, on Saturday, March 5th, at 3.15 p.m. It is expected that this will be attended by representatives of 8,000 Labour Unions of this city and vicinity, and it is earnestly hoped that the various technical organisations will also co-operate. Your organisation is urged to send two delegates.

"Constructive action, not mere talk, is the end sought by this conference. The Labour Movement of America is getting a new vision. Unemployment, always terrible in its consequences, is more and more seen to be absurd. We believe that the time has come when this unnecessary waste of human life can be and must be permanently stopped. But in order that it may be stopped and that industry may be co-ordinated to serve the needs of human life, it is necessary that all agencies essential to production and distribution work out a practical plan for such co-ordination.

"Therefore it is with the utmost sincerity that we address you engineers and technical men as "Fellow workers." This is not a time for any battle of opinions, but for the clearest presentation of the industrial facts. You have a special knowledge of the industrial processes. We have the labour power eager to be at work. We are told that business and financial conditions do not warrant a full resumption of industry at this particular time; but to us the problem more and more presents itself, not as one of economics but of engineering.

"Will you, we ask agani join with labour in this conference? Will you help us work out a practical plan? We appreciate that we are not giving you much time to consider such an important step, but the situation is so critical and the call so urgent that we trust you may find a way to take immediate action.

Very sincerely yours,
The Unemployed Conference.

"BUT TO US THE PROBLEM MORE AND MORE PRESENTS ITSELF NOT AS ONE OF ECONOMICS BUT OF ENGINEERING."

That is the keynote of the invitation. It is a safe guess that few people will detect anything violently radical in that statement, but behind statement looms a possible strike of the unemploy in New York City which will make the once tal of "general strike" seem tame in comparison.

In order to make the situation understandab it may be best to say at once that the suggest to call the engineers into the unemployment conf ence emanated from the I.W.W. delegates. They nothing of revolution or class-consciousness, of ploitation through ownership of the means of duction, or of the necessary overthrow of the ca talist system. They talked instead of "uninterrup production," the "co-ordination of industrial cesses," and the necessity for accurate research an exact determination of the facts. And bef they had finished they had won not only a major of the Radicals, but practically all the Conservat to their point of view.

"We've got to educate the workers," declared irrepressible Communist. "We've got to seize opportunity to teach them economics."

"Why not teach them the science of productio asked a veteran Wobbly. The words were swee reasonable, but the attitude was one of uncompro ising purpose.

"What good will it do to organise produc under capitalism?" asked a revolutionist.

"Look here," retorted the Wobbly, "if we work when the capitalist can't afford to have quit, we call it a strike, and it's the only wea we ever knew we had. But if we go to work w they can't afford to have us go to work, that's volution, and it's the weapon we've got to le how to use."

There was instantly the inevitable talk of meetings, etc., which were pooh-poohed by workers. "Did you ever hear of labour-saving chinery?" asked one. "Well, what does it mea It means, don't it, that one worker tied up to machine has ten times as much power as he in a hall. Let's get them together, but let's them together on the machines. Ten thousand in Madison Square Garden have just ten thous man-power. But ten thousand men in our facto have a million man-power."

"But the capitalists own the machines," crie disciple of Karl Marx.

"Let 'em own 'em," yelled a Wobbly. "If use 'em we should worry. What do I care owns a cigar, so long as I smoke it?"

"Do you know," I asked, "that such a plan be devised?"

"No," was the answer, "how should I? I'm a plasterer; I'm not an engineer. But if the gineering genius of America gets to work on problem, it seems that they might find a w If the thing can't be corrected, it can't be th all, and there aint any thing for us to do but lie down and starve. But we can't lose anyth can we, by trying to find out? That's why want all the industrial brains of the country to up the problem with us. They aint ever tack it yet. Whenever a crisis comes along we a lot about the working-class getting together own the industries; but what good will it do to own 'em if there aint no way for 'em to run?"

I have mentioned no names through this i view, but it is as genuine as I can make it. one man nor one group is putting over this I do not claim that anything extraordinary be done at Saturday's Conference. But it is ne most important news; for this new attitude new sort of Labour Unionist is sure to be expre It may not capture the conference. It may be fined to a small minority. But it exists. It i menting. It is gaining recruits. That it emana from the I.W.W., an organisation doubly dam by most Trade Unionists, first because it was in revolution and next because it has seemed fail, may keep the various organisations from dorsing the plan. On the other hand it may As one good old line Trade Unionist said to me

"We don't care where an idea comes fro it works. One doesn't have to be a revoluti to see the sense in getting all the technical ance we can. It's a cinch that engineering tics are not revolutionary. The engineers gener believe in business as it is. All we ask them do is to find a way out of the periodic unemp ment. If they can find a way which is consis with business traditions—very well. If on the hand these fool revolutionists are right and ness can't be resumed in the old way—well, hu beings have got to eat."

MORE COMMUNISTS ARRESTED

James Stewart, Midland organiser of the C munist Party, who was remanded without bail at verhampton on Friday, will conduct his own fence.

The hostility of the unemployed to his was so great that it was considered advisable remove him to Winson Green Prison, Birming

Men at Wolverhampton desired to take c tions on his behalf, but this was not allowed out one month's notice.

Mr. Matthews, of Manchester, who was adv ing the cause of the miners in Hyde Park on Su last, was arrested within five minutes of mo the platform. He was afterwards released on of £200.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

"You might have been shot" a Comrade said—Magnetic Lenin's modest bearing—"Please, Mr. Henderson, take the power"—The Viewpoint of Western Industrialism—Twenty-five minutes speech to a tired audience—Chairing Lenin at end of Congress.

Most of the delegates wore Russian blouses, provided freely on application, after a few days of waiting. These blouses sat less gracefully upon them than on the Russians, most of whom had grown spare and hard by long continued living on bare necessities and by strenuous toil.

Each delegate was supplied on application with 5,000 roubles to spend.

The Soviet paper money is printed in various bright colours with the Soviet Arms—the sickle and hammer in the light of the rising sun, surrounded by a wreath of wheat. It bears in six languages the motto: "Proletarians of All Lands Unite!" 5,000 roubles will buy only a carriage ride or two, or a few pounds of green apples from the street pedlars.

Delegates were also supplied daily with cigarettes, matches, and cheroots. Russian tobacco for the pipe, which everyone reviles, and is a light greenish colour, was served out every few days. There were all sorts of attempts to get a little more than one's due of these small privileges and much competition for theatre tickets and motor cars.

All this, and even the Conference itself, seemed like a vapourous mist through which one must peer to discover the real life of Soviet Russia.

One night, escaping from the perpetual stream of humourous anecdote which fell on one's ears at the Djelavoi Dvor, I went off down the banks of the Moscow river with Borodine, the translator of Lenin's "Infantile Sickness of Leftism."

Big comets with long tails of light, and frequent shooting stars entrapped half my attention. Borodine talked of his long exile in London, and compared the dull visionless life of a British worker, mentlly starved, though perhaps comparatively well-fed, with the desperate, hungry struggle, lit by tremendous hopes and dreams that has brought Soviet Russia where it is.

In the great, panelled dining-hall of a millionaire's mansion, now occupied by Communist workers, Borodine's meagre supper, a little piece of cold meat and a spoonful of rice, had been left waiting.

CHAPTER V.

The Congress in the Kremlin.

But all this was in the yet uncovered future, when, almost immediately after my arrival at the Djelavoi Dvor, a message came: "Lenin has sent for you to come at once to the Kremlin."

The Commandant wrote out a little pink *probusk*. The motor car took me over the cobbles to the walls of the Kremlin. The Red Guards, five or six of them, checked the car to examine my *probusk*, and three times afterwards I was obliged to display it before I reached my destination. Once, later on, when I walked to the Kremlin to keep an appointment with Lenin, I was stopped for twenty minutes at the gate, because I had only the pass issued by the Conference, which was by that time out of date. Unable to understand the reason why I was being held up, I ran past the guards with their rifles and fixed bayonets, through the open archway to the telephone on the other side.

"You might have been shot," a comrade told me later.

"What would be the use of shooting me; I could not do any harm?"

"It was a woman who shot Lenin!"

Passing the Czar's big bell, which lay on the ground with a piece chipped out of it, the road led to the private apartments of the Czar and the Throne Room where the Congress was held. Looking at the great entrance, one sees a mighty staircase. To-day it was all hung with long red flags blazoned with the sickle and corn-sheaf, and at the end, a painting of "Labour," huge and naked, breaking the chains that bind the earth, hideous and ill-proportioned, but having a certain effective vigour. The walls of the corridors and antechambers were lined with photographs, posters and literature. The Russian Communists are indeed great propagandists!

Lenin.

In the innermost of the private apartments of the Czar's, Lenin, with smiling face, came quickly forward from a group of men waiting to get a word with him.

He seems more vividly vital and energetic, more wholly alive than other people.

At first sight one feels as though one has always known him, and one is amazed and delighted by a sense of pleasant familiarity in watching him. It is not that one has seen so many of his photographs, for the photographs are not like him; they represent an altogether heavier, darker and more ponderous man, instead of this magnetic and mobile being:

Rather short, rather broadly built, he is quick and nimble in every action, just as he is in thought and speech. He does not wear a picturesque Russian blouse, but ordinary European clothes that sit loosely upon him. His brown hair is closely shaved, his beard lightish brown, his lips are red, and his rather bright complexion looks sandy, because it is tanned and freckled by the hot sun. The skin of the face and head seem drawn rather tightly. There seems to be no waste material to spare. Every inch of his face is expressive. He is essentially Russian with a Tartar strain. His bearing is frank and modest. He appears wholly unconscious of himself, and he met us all as a simple comrade. His brown eyes often twinkle with kindly amusement, but change suddenly to a cold, hard stare, as though he would pierce one's innermost thoughts. He disconcerts his interviewers by suddenly shutting one eye and fixing the other sharply, almost fiercely, upon them.

I had been sent for to take part in the Commission on English affairs, which had been set up by the Third International.

We sat at a round table in the Czar's bedroom. Lenin was on my right hand, and on my left, Wynkoop of Holland, who was translating the German speeches into English. Lenin has a complete knowledge of English: he more than once humorously pulled up Wynkoop for misinterpreting the speakers.

Bukharin, Radek, Zinoviev, Trotsky.

Bukharin, Editor of the *Pravda*, and one of the leaders of the Left in the Russian Communist Party, regarded the excited debaters from other countries with laughing blue eyes. Young and vigorous, he had the expression of one to whom life is full of enjoyment. In brown holland blouse with sleeves rolled up to the elbows, he looked like a painter who has just laid down his brushes. During Committee meetings he is continually drawing caricatures of the delegates, but no important point in the discussion escapes him. To-day he drew Wynkoop as a solemn, pompous owl.

Radek, who was going to the Polish front in a few days, was also smiling and cheerful, with a detached, dreamy air. One is constantly impressed by the absence of strain or excitement amongst the Russians. These men, standing against a world of enemies, appear to face the situation with perfect calm and much humour.

Zinoviev is of another type: the controversy seemed to bore him. He was a little impatient with the opposition, and criticised, with a tinge of contempt which he doubtless regarded as salutary for the Communist Parties which had not yet learnt how to appeal successfully to the masses. One of the American delegates said of Zinoviev that he always talks to one as though he were taking a bath.

During an interview he seems generally bent on hurrying away to another appointment. An indefatigable pamphleteer, he was probably, even then, composing another Thesis; but he was ready to enter vigorously into the discussion and to speak at considerable length when his turn came.

His voice is not musical, but he is evidently a very popular orator.

At the great meeting in Moscow's biggest theatre, which was the final demonstration of the Congress, Zinoviev and Trotsky were the principal speakers. Trotsky received by far the greater reception. Coming from the Polish front, with the fall of Warsaw to the Red Army daily anticipated, he was naturally the hero of the occasion. He spoke without effort, without any shouting, breatless excitement, but with perfect control and ease. Outwardly well-groomed, he had evidently an excellent mental equipment. He proceeded slowly and leisurely up and down the platform, with an ever varied flow of tone and gesture. The still audience listened eagerly, but he spoke so long that at length he tired them, in spite of their great interest and admiration.

Zinoviev, on the other hand, held the people to the last and finished amid a brisk round of cheers.

At the Commission on private affairs in the Czar's bed-room, Zinoviev sat a little apart from the table. He leaned back comfortably on a soft lounge. Beside him was Levf, of the German K.P.D. The French, the Austrians and others were also represented on the Commission. The Italians, characteristically, were unrepresented because they could not agree on which of their number should represent them. They were nevertheless present in force and took part in the discussion, Bordiga even presenting a Thesis for discussion against Parliamentary action

Obviously Lenin enjoys an argument, even though the subject may not seem to him of first class importance, and though the adversaries may be unskilled. At present he was in a bantering mood, and dealt playfully with the British delegates. The majority of them were objectors to certain passages in a Thesis now under discussion, written by Lenin himself, on the tasks of the Communist Party.

Lenin and the British Labour Party.

The passages in dispute dealt with the British Communist Parties and declared that they should affiliate to the British Labour Party and make use of Parliamentary action. Lenin evidently does not regard either of these questions as fundamental. Indeed, he considers that they are not questions of principle at all, but of tactics, which may be employed advantageously in some phases of the changing situation and discarded with advantage in others. Neither question, in his opinion, is important enough to cause a split in the Communist ranks. I am even inclined to suspect that he has not been uninfluenced by the belief that the course he has chosen is that which will appeal to the majority of Communists, and will therefore cement the largest number of

them in united action. As to the question of affiliation to the Labour Party (a question that may presently arise in similar form for decision by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States), Lenin says:—

"Millions of backward members are enrolled in the Labour Party, therefore Communists should be present to do propaganda amongst them, provided Communist freedom of action and propaganda is not thereby limited."

When, afterwards, in the Kremlin, I argued with Lenin privately that the disadvantages of affiliation outweighed those of dis-affiliation, he dismissed the subject as unimportant, saying that the Labour Party would probably refuse to accept the Communist Party's affiliation, and that, in any case, the decision could be altered next year.

Lenin and Parliamentarism.

So too with Parliamentarism; he dismissed it as unimportant, saying that if the decision to employ Parliamentary action is a mistake, it can be altered at next year's Congress.

When, however, it is argued that Communists should not go into reformist Labour Parties or bourgeois Parliaments because they may be affected by the environment and lose the purity of their Communist faith and fervour, Lenin replies that after the proletarian conquest of power, the temptation to weaken in principle will be much greater. He argues that those who cannot withstand all tests before the Revolution, will certainly not do so later.

He is for attacking every such difficulty, not for avoiding it: he is for dragging Communist controversy out into the market-place, not closeting it amongst selected circles of enthusiasts.

He does not fear that Communism will be postponed or submerged by the advent to power of reformists. Convinced that reforms cannot cure or substantially palliate the capitalist system, he is impatient for the rise to power of the Reformists in order that their importance may be demonstrated. When I talked wih him in the Kremlin, he urged that British Communists should say to the leaders of the Labour Party:—

Lenin on Henderson.

"Please Mr. Henderson, take the power. You, to-day, represent the opinions of the majority of British workers; we know that, as yet we do not; therefore we cannot at present take the power. But you, who represent the opinions of the masses, you should take the power."

In those days news had come that Councils of Action had been set up to stop Britain declaring war on Soviet Russia in support of Poland.

Lenin declared that we should inform Henderson that he must no longer scruple to seize power by Revolution, since he and his Party had already committed themselves to that by setting up a Council of Action charged with the work of bringing about a general strike in the event of further war measures by Britain against Russia. Such a strike, as Henderson, Clynes and their colleagues had frequently themselves declared, would be a revolutionary act. The Labour Party was now committed to it.

Lenin said that the creation of the Councils of Action were due to a wave of revolutionary sentiment in the British masses, which had forced their Labour leaders to take some sort of action. That the declarations of the Council of Action failed to satisfy Communists, and that the Council was inactive, merely meant that the wave of mass feeling had not yet gone very far and had largely subsided.

The feeling of the masses rises and falls, he argued, in irregular tides; it does not remain at high-water mak.

"We in Russia," he said, "seized the power at the moment the masses had risen. When they receded from us, we were obliged to hold on till the next wave of feeling brought them back to us."

Lenin argued, that in order to explode the futility of reformism and to bring Communism to pass, the Labour Party must have a trial in office. Therefore British Communists should affiliate their Party to the Labour Party and come to arrangements with it for the formation of a joint Parliamentary block and the mutual sharing out of constituencies. In addition to the Thesis under debate, Lenin had prepared and had translated, ready for the Conference, a book called "The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism." This book was intended to confound and convert those of us who disagree with its author, and who assert that the Labour Party will in any case come to power, and the British Communist Party cannot dissociate itself too early and too clearly from the Labour Party's reformist policy, and must by no means enter into alliances or arrangements with it. We also assert that Communists can best wean the masses masses from faith in bourgeois Parliamentarism by refusal to participate in it.

Lenin and Trade Unionism.

The passages in Lenin's Thesis on Trade and Industrial Unionism, and Zinoviev's Thesis on Unionism were also the subject of hot debate.

Lenin and the other Russians of his school, regard the Unions primarily as agglomerations of workers providing opportunities for Communists to win the masses for Communism. The dissentients, who belong to the highly industrialised Western bourgeois democracies, are unable to detach themselves from the view that an industrial organisation is an organisation for fighting the capitalist employer. Moreover, they are most of them influenced by the view that, if the industrial organisations the workers are developing for themslves under Capitalism do not actually become the organisations which will administer industry under Communism, they are at least a training ground for preparing the workers in the shops to administer Communist indusries on Soviet lines.

Russian Communists and Western Industrialism.

The Western industrialists engaged in the daily struggle for existence under Capitalism, feeling the constant pressure of rising prices and the perpetual encroachments and demands of the employing class, regard the old Craft Unions as out of date and inefficient for the task of protecting the workers' interests, and are impatient with the Trade Union bureaucrats who think on the old sectional and palliative lines. The Western industrialists strive to substitute Industrial Unions for Trade Unions, and Shop Committees and government by the rank and file for the Union bureaucrats.

All this seems of small moment to the Russian Communists. They have abolished the capitalist employer in Russia; and they wish to see him abolished throughout the world. To them there is little merit in securing improved conditions for the workers under Capitalism. They are only interested in the Shop Committees and extra Union organisations, in so far as it can be demonstrated that these organisms develop a revolutionary consciousness amongst the workers. As for the Trade Unions, the concern of the Russian Communists is to make revolutionaries of the Trade Union members, rather than to carry on a fight with them to set up a newer form of industrial organisation which may be more efficient in making the conditions of capitalist wage-slavery less intolerable.

The Russians have sounded the depths of the proletarian democracy, towards which the Western industrialists are striving. The Western Industrialists also have discovered that because a man has been a worker in the factory, he does not necessarily remain a democrat when he leaves the bench and becomes a Member of Parliament or a Trade Union official. But they proceed on the theory, in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that a man must be filled with disinterested and intelligent proletarian solidarity if he has been elected by a shop Committee. The Russian Communists who have lived through the Revolution and know how frail a plant is opinion, which depends purely on environment, regard the vague unconscious proletarian solidarity on which the Western industrialists stake their faith, not as a driving force, but as material which the forces of conscious Communists may drive and manipulate. The material provided by the rank and file organisation may be more responsive to Communist manipulation than that of the old Trade Unions, because the workers therein are more energetic and politically conscious. But the workers in Trade Unions are also part of the proletariat, and they are more numerous than those in the workers' committee movement.

The Russians insist that the members of Trade Unions must also be won for Communism, for making the Revolution and for building Communism after the Revolution is made.

The Russians urge that one cannot wait to begin making Communists of the Trade Union members till they have joined the I.W.W. or the Shop Stewards' Movement. Therefore they urge the Communists to remain in the Unions.

The Russian Communists are realists; they develop their theories out of their experiences. In their revolutionary struggle, they have had to use and to contend with great masses of people. Revolutionaries in countries far from the Revolution are apt to underrate the magnitude of the task of breaking down the established order of society and building upone that is new.

The Western industrialists contend that the Russians are unable to judge the old bureaucratic Trade Union of Western countries, and that they fail to understand how it is interwoven and allied with the capitalist system. Moreover, the British Shop Stewards and the American "Wobbly's" are obsessed by another idea; they distrust the politician who wears a black coat, however Red may be his Communism. Their distrust of the theorist, the scientist, the administrator is only less than their distrust of the capitalist. They insist on control by the manual worker at the bench; they will tolerate no talk of waiting till he is cultured, and they do not believe anyone is to be trusted even under Communism, who is not strictly controlled by the rank and file. The Russian Communists who have stuck unswervingly to their posts and their theories, at times in spite of the fickle and impulsive swaying to and fro of mass opinion, are mainly concerned with converting the masses to Communism and securing that the mechanism of Society shall be under Communist control. They know that unconscious unawakened masses cannot exercise effective control, therefore the masses must be awakened.

Whatever the merits of the rival contentions might be, the Theses of Lenin and Zinoviev, and indeed all the Theses and resolutions coming from the Russian Communist leaders, because of their great achievements, were certain to be adopted at this first anniversary of the founding of the Third International.

The Russians, although the 60 delegates of their Party had between them but five votes, like the British, could steam-roller anything they chose through the Congress.

We, who were in opposition on certain matters, nevertheless argued our case in spite of the hopelessness of the task, and Lenin argued against us, as though our defeat had not been a foregone conclusion.

The Congress meeting in the Czar's Throne Room the following evening, allowed me to extend to twenty-five minutes, the allotted five minutes in which I had to accomplish the stupendous task of replying to a Thesis and book of Lenin and innumerable speeches.

The Congress had lasted a month. As the speeches were delivered in various languages and translated, delegates streamed restlessly in and out to an adjoining room, where tables were loaded with slices of bread and butter and sardines, caviare, preserved meats and cheese, and saucers filled with sweets wrapped in coloured papers. Glasses of hot tea were always on hand there. Angelica Balabanova often had to complain that very few auditors were present to hear her translation. Giving but a cursory sketch of rambling speeches, empty of real matter, Balabanova always rendered well and fully the words of those who had anything to say, though she was ill and very tired.

Artists sat amongst the delegates, making drawings of them or roamed about looking for models. Balabanova protested, as she always does, against such portraiture.

On the defeat of the English amendments and the unanimous adoption of Lenin's Thesis, with which, in the main, I am in complete agreement, the Congress ended. The delegates sprang up singing "The International," the Editor of the Italian Socialist paper *Avanti!* led the singing of the "Carmanol." John Reed and others caught Lenin, and though he resisted, hoisted him upon their shoulders. He looked like a happy father amongst his sons. *(To be continued)*

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INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

The Slaves' Revolt.

The country, as I write, is on the verge of the biggest industrial upheaval in its history. A vast number of the slaves are in revolt against the attempt of their masters to reduce them to a bare subsistence level. The particular section of slaves known as railwaymen and transport workers have in large numbers voted to support the mine-slaves. It remains to be seen whether the Triple Alliance will adhere to its decision to fight together, or whether, now that the testing time has come, they will be demoralised by the lies of the Press.

The need for solidarity among the workers was never greater. Upon the victory of the miners depends the whole future of Trade Unionism in this country. If they are beaten—and unless their allies in the Triple Alliance stand united they will be—there will have been delivered to Trade Unionism in this country a knockout blow from the effects of which it will not recover for many a long year. Indeed, whether they win or not, it is plain that from now onwards the old idea of Trade Unionism will have to go. The workers of this country will have to decide between two alternatives, namely, whether Trade Unionism is to become totally emasculated and innocuous—a kind of funeral and out-of-work benefit society—utterly unable to maintain even a subsistence fodder level for the workers in the fiercer and fiercer commercial competitive era now beginning, or whether they will take on a new role whose aim is the complete emancipation of the working class.

A Fools' Paradise.

During the past few years many Trade Unionists have been living in a fool's paradise. They have been hypnotised into believing that the Trade Unions were such sound institutions that even their masters had at last come to look upon them as an admittedly legitimate factor in industry. The leaders have been flattered, and banquetted, and pampered with ministerial posts; their decisions and opinions have been listened to by even their opponents with a kind of respect, that has led many workers to believe that it only needed a few more years before labour would be taken over as partners in the industry of the country. "Labour," they have thought, "is coming into its own, and will shortly be given a real share in the government of the country." There never was a greater mistake. The flattery of labour leaders and the apparent respect tendered their opinions has only been a means of emasculating and weakening them for the purpose of getting them to coquette with the ideas of co-partnership, profit-sharing, bonus schemes and the like, the result of which has been to pervert their original ideas regarding the emancipation of the workers into a milk and water reformism. The ultimate object behind this has been to render Trade Unionism harmless once and for all. And if the miners are beaten through the weakness, hesitancy and compromising tactics of the present Labour leaders, the defeat and demoralisation of the other big Trade Unions is only a matter of months.

An Internal Danger to Trade Unionism.

One of the gravest dangers to the Trade Union movement is the existence of sectionalism such as that which manifests itself in the separation of the A.S.L.E. and F. This union, although it has decided to assist the miners by a conditional use of the trains, is really a menace to the whole Triple Alliance. Its refusal to come out wholeheartedly on the side of the miners will have a baneful effect on the weaker members of the N.U.R. The fact that a large body of men—railway workers like themselves—are only nominally siding with the miners will act as a very bad example to these weaker unionists. It is time that the A.E.L.E. and F. combined with the N.U.R. against the common enemy.

The real responsibility of the Miners' actions lies with the Government, who by another breach of faith in 1919, failed to honour the promise given that they would loyally abide by the findings of the Sankey Commission. Now, after having deliberately sacrificed the well-being of the community for the benefit of the class they represent, they are hypocritically howling about national well-being and security. And yet the whole system which they are desirous of perpetuating is based on the insecurity and misery of the vast majority of the nation. Whether that insecurity and misery is to be prolonged indefinitely or whether a new era is to open—offering as its outcome the emancipation of the workers—depends upon the result of this fight.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Far East and the English Treaty.

A telegram has come from Chita to the All-Russian Central Executive in which the first meeting of the Co-operatives in the territory of the Far East expresses their wishes of success to the Russian Government on the occasion of the signing of the commercial treaty with England and express the hope that all other lands will shortly follow the example of England.

New Uses for Prisons.

On March 21st the Central Penal Department of the Tartar Republic, whose capital is Kasan, decided that all prisons in the Republic should be at once changed partly into workshops, and partly into theatres, libraries, and similar institutions.

Bonuses in Kind.

The food department of the province of Tambov has decided that each peasant who has delivered more than 50 per cent. of his contingent should receive as premium a ration of six months' salt, petroleum, and manufactured goods.

Goods for Soviet Russia.

The Greek steamer Marietta has arrived in Odessa with a cargo of coal and manufactured goods for Soviet Russia. An Italian steamer has arrived in Novorossisk with a cargo of copper.

"Machovik" reports that in the territory of the Far East there are stores of tea estimated at about 120,000 pood, which do not cost more than 50 Soviet roubles a pound. The present crisis in China is partially responsible for the impossibility of exporting tea to Russia. A representative of Soviet Russia has left for the Far East in order to take charge of the tea trade.

"Isvestia" reports that the Military Quartermasters' Department has sent 5,000 unskilled workers and responsible officials to Siberia for work in the food supply.

The Commissariat of Health has sent a group of doctors and sanitary officials to Buchara in order to use their medical knowledge for the benefit of the native inhabitants.

End of Martial Law in Petrograd.

In consideration of the ending of the Kronstadt adventure the state of siege in Petrograd and the Province has been raised. Free traffic in the streets is once more permitted until 1 a.m. The theatres and all other functions have resumed their normal course.

Trial of the Kronstadt Mutineers.

The trial of the conspirators who did not succeed in escaping has begun before the Kronstadt Jury of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the district of Petrograd. Proceedings are taking place only against those actual leaders who refused to surrender and who spurned the proffered amnesty of the Soviet authorities. Everything has been forgiven and forgotten for their misled supporters.

Agreement in Georgia.

An agreement between the former Georgian Government and the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia was concluded on March 18th. According to this agreement all hostilities are to be stopped. The former Georgian Government resigns the portion of Georgian territory occupied by them to the Revolutionary Committee, and the troops of the latter occupy Batum. On their part the Revolutionary Committee proclaims a general amnesty for the followers of the former Georgian Government, whose army must surrender all its aims and war material to the Revolutionary Committee. The agreement is signed by the delegate of the Revolutionary Committee, Orachelaschwili, the delegate of the former Georgian Government, Londkipanidze, and the extraordinary delegate of the R.S.F.S.R., Enukidze.

Methods of Payment.

In the "Ekonomitscheskaja Schisn," Stein writes on the question of payment for the goods which Russia receives from abroad, and he proposes that Russia shall give certificates for the future delivery of certain commodities which Russia is in the position to deliver. In this way Russia would be able to import at once without having to export all her gold. In any case, this gold would not be of any great use to the European countries who received it.

Trade with Soviet Russia.

The first English ship with a cargo of 4,500 tons of merchandise for Soviet Russia has arrived in Riga.

The Norwegian Minister of Commerce, Brunn, declares that the signing of the Commercial Treaty between Russia and England has destroyed the last hindrance to the completion of a similar treaty on the part of Norway.

One hundred and two tons of different goods, including saws, telephone material, motors, etc., have left for Reval on the steamer "Heimdahl," from Stockholm, to be sent on to Soviet Russia. The shipment has a value of about 430,000 Swedish crowns.

The Composition of the Russian Communist Party

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has collected details for presentation to the Congress dealing with the social and party standing of the members of the Russian Communist Party. The information concerns 92,902 members of the Party, of which 82,797 or 89 per cent. are men and 10,105 or 11 per cent. women.

The following groups in percentages represent the social standing of the above number of party members: Workers 44 per cent., craftsmen and those employed in home industries 5 per cent., peasants 15 per cent., intellectuals 6 per cent., clerks and similar occupations 22 per cent., various (including such where occupation is not stated) 8 per cent.

Thus workers, craftsmen, and those employed in home industries form altogether 64 per cent. of the party.

The sex division of the same groups gives somewhat different results. Of working men there are 46 per cent., craftsmen 6 per cent., peasants 15 per cent., altogether 67 per cent. The percentage of women is as follows: Working women 36 per cent., peasantry and crafts 9 per cent., making a total of 45 per cent. On the other hand, where intellectuals are concerned, the figures are reversed: here we have 5 per cent. of men and 14 per cent. of women, and 21 per cent. of men and 27 per cent. of women in the case of clerks and similar occupation.

Party Standing.—Of the total number of members 12 per cent. joined the Russian Communist Party prior to the October revolution of 1917, 36 per cent. during the period from November 1917 to August 1919, 30 per cent. during the party week at the end of 1919, 21 per cent. in August 1920 and 1 per cent. unknown. The corresponding figures for men and women are as follows: 14 and 10, 32 and 41, 31 and 28, 22 and 20.

The figures for those who were members of the Party prior to the Bolshevist revolution were: Prior to 1905, 1 per cent.; during 1905—1907 1 per cent.; during 1908—1916 1 per cent.; and the remaining 9 per cent. in 1917.

RED YOUTH NOTES.

Our Maxim No. 3.

Thou shalt not usurp the right of any man or woman, nor shall you claim for yourself any natural advantage over your fellows, for every man and woman has an equal right to an equal share in the product of their collective labour.

The Trouble.

The defect of old age is its reluctance to make way for its predestined successor. It clings to its privileges and its prestige. It prolongs its reign in the teeth of revolt. But the world is weary of old men with outworn prejudices, and clamours for youth with its audacity, its resources, and its enterprise. The young men are not despondent and downhearted. They are not daunted by difficulties and fettered by precedents. They are eager for quick decisions and swift advances. The essence of old age is INACTION; the essence of youth is ACTION. Youth may be rash, but at least it knows how to make up its mind, whereas the besetting sin of old age is the practice of postponement and the organising of delay. Youth cuts knots over which old age fumbles with trembling fingers. Youth, in short, is the hope of the world! Our battle-cry is: "Ours is the World, Despite All!"

Youth in Red Russia.

An important question that has been treated of late is the military education of young people, and sports and physical education in young people's organisations. According to a proposal of the Central Committee, the scout system, which was applied until only a short time ago in the military education before the time of service, has been given up, being a pure bourgeois system of education, impressed with old military tendencies. The Young Communist League will participate in the military education of the soldiers of the Red Army. By advice of the Soviet Board for military education, courses have been founded, each for 150—200 auditors, where teachers for the military education before the time of service are formed. Towards summer the work of the young people is chiefly removed to the country. Young auxiliary troops for agricultural labour are formed in order to assist families of mobilised, and to work in public enterprises.

Norway.

The Young Communist League of Norway is getting ready to hold several demonstrations and meetings throughout Norway on May Day. What does the Youth of Britain intend doing?

The Fakirs.

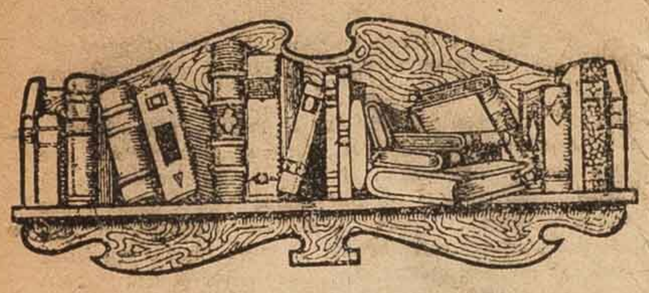
Referring to our Labour fakirs, T. Anderson says thus: "We have eight of these men in our present Government, all in the same boat, all telling the same story. They are the top-notchers, and there are thousands under them. The bourgeois has created this vast army to act as an empty-valve. During the great world-war, the bourgeois has created this army of Judases, with salaries ranging from £250 per year upwards. This, removing them from the status of the working-class, makes them "safe"—and that's what it is done for.

Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

Dear Comrade,—A conference will be held at the Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1, on Saturday, May 7th, at 3.30 p.m., to discuss matters in relation to the Red Trade Union International. Trade Union branches have been invited to send a delegate in order that they may be kepoy informed of the aims and objects, and also the activities of the Red Trade Union International.

Tom Mann has promised to take the chair, and the following prominent Trade Unionists have been asked to speak: W. J. Webb, G. Sanders, F. Thompson, and A. A. Purcell.

Credential cards and all further information can be obtained from Harry Pollitt, 85, Central Park Road, East Ham, Secretary of the London Committee.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

RUSSIA IN THE SHADOWS.

(By H. G. Wells. Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.)

This is undoubtedly a book for Communists, although a Communist, while reading it, may be kept in doubt as to Mr. Wells's real attitude towards the Bolsheviki. The great Revolution in Russia has had a very disturbing effect on the minds of many; so startling an upheaval has been too strong for certain types of advanced thinkers, and their mentality has received a staggering blow from the sheer unexpectedness of events and the bravery and audacity with which they have been tackled by the Bolshevik Government.

Reading Mr. Wells's book gives one the impression that this was the asmosphere in which he found himself; yet in spite of himself, in spite of his Western prejudices, the book on the whole is a remarkable tribute of praise to the simplicity of attitude, the creative ability and the directness and honesty of the Communist Party of Russia. So marked is this principal acknowledgement of the nobility of the ideals which are the underlying driving force of the revolution that all his criticisms may be said to resolve themselves into criticisms of minor points and side issues.

Neither is the book without some glaring contradictions and examples of small-minded carping. Mr. Wells the prophet falls out occasionally with Mr. Wells the journalist. If the Russian Revolution continues to be a success, or if it finally turns out to be a failure, he will be able to say, "I told you so," by referring to different parts of his book.

He will dilate on one page about the narrow-minded outlook of the Communists, their indifference to science, art, education and culture, and then on another he tells you of the extraordinary efforts made to salvage the art treasures (Maxim Gorky is the appointed minister for this department), the wonderful travelling libraries, the excellence of the schools and other mighty efforts to which we Communists may point with legitimate pride as things accomplished under difficulties unparalleled in history.

We do not share his tearful lament and his professional pity for the men of science in Russia to any great extent. They have been no worse treated than any other type of worker, and probably the awakened social conscience has taught the Bolsheviki that these men do *not* possess the exaggerated social value which Wells attributes to them. What, after all, have the scientific professional workers been under modern civilisation but the henchmen of the capitalist class? Have they not provided that ruling caste with its battleships, guns, bombs, and weapons of oppression and destruction? They have shown the master brewer how to make beer out of chemicals cheaper than from malt and hops; they have taught the textile boss how to make shoddy for the workers' clothing, and the wholesale food merchant how to preserve his doubtful fish and meat by doctoring it with boracic acid and other gentle poisons. Not for the good of the people, but for the profit of the money-maker, has margarine been substituted for butter by these benefactors of humanity. Therefore, some of us besides the Bolsheviki of Russia may have reflected that peasants used to make clothes to wear and food fit to eat, quite successfully, before the era of scientific manufacture. The Bolsheviki have shown so much administrative acumen that before long scientific men in Russia will be employed in real service to the community instead of serving the private interests of profiteers. It is surely colouring the picture too pathetically also when Mr. Wells speaks of the musician Glazounoff's lack of music paper as one of the woes of the professional class under the Bolshevik regime when we recollect that the great Schubert could scarcely afford paper to write down his immortal harmonies. Class sympathy will go to great lengths if he can score against real Socialism, as witness Mr. Wells's delight that Chalippin the great baritone refuses to sing unless he and his family can enjoy much greater comforts and luxuries than the average worker, artist, actor or technician. It would redound to the fame and credit of this great singer if he gave his services on the same terms as his suffering fellow-countrymen, seeing that the Bolshevik administration is doing its utmost to widen the artists' appeal by bringing the best music, opera, drama, art and literature to the whole mass of the workers. What nobler effort has ever been made towards a better and more beautiful life for all humanity?

Wells has a low opinion of the Russian peasant on account of his superstitions, his illiteracy, his worship and kissing of images. It would not be unreasonable for a Russian to retort, "Are you English any different in the mass?" "Does not your British public devour the spiritualistic articles of the Rev. Vale Owen and crowd round "haunted houses" and place "mascots" on its motor-cars?"

Wells, the investigator of education, has to admit in the latter part of his book the excellence of the schools both in quality and extent, though his earlier statements are coloured antagonistically by his prejudice against Marxism and all its devotees. He is not a humourist, but the story of his visit to a school where the children were so intimately acquainted with the great works of H. G. Wells appeals to any one with a sense of humour as a delightful instance of "leg-pulling."

When he attempts to be funny at the expense of Karl Marx's beard he is a failure. It is so obviously dislike of Marx which produces this cheap and trivial attempt at satire. Ruskin, Tolstoi, Browning, Brahms and a host of other intellectuals wore beards, and they do not seem to have annoyed Mr. Wells at all; one wonders therefore if Karl Marx's beard came in useful as a hair-mattress for padding this somewhat scanty book (the last page is 153 and blanks between the chapters are counted in this number) and the price is six shillings.

A frequent question put by the simple-minded Bolshevik is: "When will the Social Revolution begin in England?" Our author puts this to the reader as a sample of their ignorance of international affairs, but on pp. 54 and 55 occur such sentences as: "The state of affairs we have seen in Russia is only the intensification and completion of the state of affairs towards which Britain was drifting in 1918"; and "For all I know, Western Europe may still be drifting even now towards a parallel crash." "Russia fell into its present miseries through the world-war and the moral and intellectual insufficiency of its ruling and wealthy people (as our own British State—as presently even the American State—may fall)."

On pp. 76 and 77 Mr. Wells can scarcely contain himself for glee that Marx's theory of the Social Revolution is all wrong, that it should not have begun in Russia but in the more highly-developed capitalist countries like England, France and Germany. It was the clash of capitalistic interests in the West and the international character of capitalism which caused the breakdown of mutual trade and economic interdependence in which Russia shared. French and British capital had been invested in Russia to such a degree that Russia could be included in the list of Capitalist States. That the economic breakdown happened sooner in Russia is no great proof of the falsity of Marx's predictions, as on Wells's own showing a similar breakdown was on its way in England or France if the war had continued somewhat longer, or *as it may even now arrive.*

On p. 48 we are told that "In regard to the intellectual life of the community one discovers that Marxist Communism is without plans and without ideas. Marxist Communism has always been a theory of revolution, a theory not merely lacking in creative and constructive ideas, but hostile to creative and constructive ideas. Every Communist orator has been trained to contemn "Utopianism," that is to say has been trained to contemn intelligent planning."

After all this we are told what wonderful things these Marxists Communists have done, and are doing, in creative planning and intelligent reconstruction. Space forbids further quotation, but if carefully read the book will be found to be, in spite of its pages of feeble criticism, a remarkable tribute to the triumph of the Social Revolution, the truth of Marx's prophecies and the immense abilities of the Bolsheviki. Long live the Russian Revolution and its noble humanitarian ideals!

HERBERT COLE.

FORMING "DEFENCE UNITS."

In the event of a strike spreading over essential industries, evidently there is a sudden arrest in the ordinary routine of social life.

In the keenness of the struggle, those may be forgotten who are less able to protect themselves.

Simply to stop production, without taking steps to procure, for those dear to us, the elementary necessities of daily life, would be a one-sided policy, maybe, a fatal one.

The wealth-producers should form "Defence Units" for the protection of the young, of the enfeebled, of the expectant mother.

In every Metropolitan Borough and in every industrial centre, delegates from Trade Unions' Councils should assemble at the Town Hall and take steps for the allocation and the distribution of food and other necessities for the young, for the helpless women.

The formation of these "Defence Units" is o. first necessity in the present hour. The Trade Unions' Councils, although at the present without great influence, are, we are inclined to think, the working-class body best fitted for the purpose. They represent various trades, and those locally, and are in a position to know the needs of the poor better than anybody else, both from the point of view of the producer and of the consumer.

Officialism and "voluntarism" are good for certain purposes. They are, the former too slow, the latter too amateurish, in time of crisis.

If you want goods moved about, you go to the carman and the railwayman. Goods are made by the workers in the factories, not by the shareholders at their annual meetings.

It is therefore to the experts in doing things—not talking about them—that the duty comes of forming Defence Units for the protection of life, of the life of the young: a thing far more sacred than property.

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