Marching Orders for Trade Union Leaders!

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VIII. No. 19. SATURDAY, JULY 23RD, 1921. [WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

CRAINQUEBILLE.

A Proletarian Story.

By ANATOLE FRANCE.

III.

Crainquebille before the Magistrate.

President Bourriche consecrated fully six minutes to the examination of Crainquebille. This examination would have shed more light if the accused had replied to the questions put to him, but Crainquebille was not accustomed to discussion, and in such a company respect and fear kept his mouth closed. Therefore he remained silent, and the magistrate himself made the responses.

He concluded:

— In short you admit having said "*Mort aux vaches!*"

— I said "*Mort aux vaches!*" because the officer said "*Mort aux vaches!*" Therefore, I said "*Mort aux vaches!*"

He wished to make it known that, astonished by this most unexpected imputation, he had repeated in his stupifaction the strong words that were falsely attributed to him and which he had certainly not pronounced. He had said: "*Mort aux vaches!*" meaning to say: "I make an insulting remark? How could you think it?"

The magistrate, Mr. Bourriche, did not take Crainquebille's explanation like that.

— So you pretend, he said, that the officer was the first to say it?

Crainquebille renounced further explanations. It was too difficult.

— You do not insist. You are right not to do so, said the president.

He called for the witnesses.

Officer 64, whose name was Bastien Matra, swore to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Then he testified in these terms:

— Being on duty the 20th of October, at midday, I saw in the Rue Montmatre, an individual who seemed to me an itinerant hawker, and who kept his barrow standing unduly opposite to No. 328, which occasioned a congestion of traffic. I gave him the order to move on three times, and he refused to obey. When I notified him that I was going to report him, he answered me by shouting, "*Mort aux vaches!*" which I regarded as an insult.

This firm and measured testimony was heard by the Court with evident favour. The defence had called Madam Bayard, shoemaker, and Mr. David Matthieu, physician-in-chief of the Ambroise-Paré Hospital and Officer of the Legion of Honour. Madam Bayard had seen and heard nothing. Mr. Matthieu had been in the crowd gathered round the officer who summoned the hawker to move on. His testimony caused a sensation.

— I was witness of the scene, said he, I observed that the officer was mistaken: he had not been insulted. I approached him and made this observation to him. The officer retained the hawker under arrest, and invited me to follow him to the police station. I did so, and repeated my declaration before the sergeant-in-charge there.

— You may be seated, said the president. Usher, recall the witness Matra.—Matra, when you were arresting the accused, did Dr. Matthieu observe to you that you were mistaken?

— I should say, your worship, that he insulted me.

— What did he say?

— He said: "*Mort aux vaches!*"

A whispering and the sound of laughter arose in the public seats.

— You can withdraw, said the magistrate, hastily.

And he warned the public that if these indecent manifestations were repeated, he would have the Court cleared. Meanwhile, counsel for the defence triumphantly shook the sleeves of his gown. It was believed at the moment that Crainquebille would be acquitted.

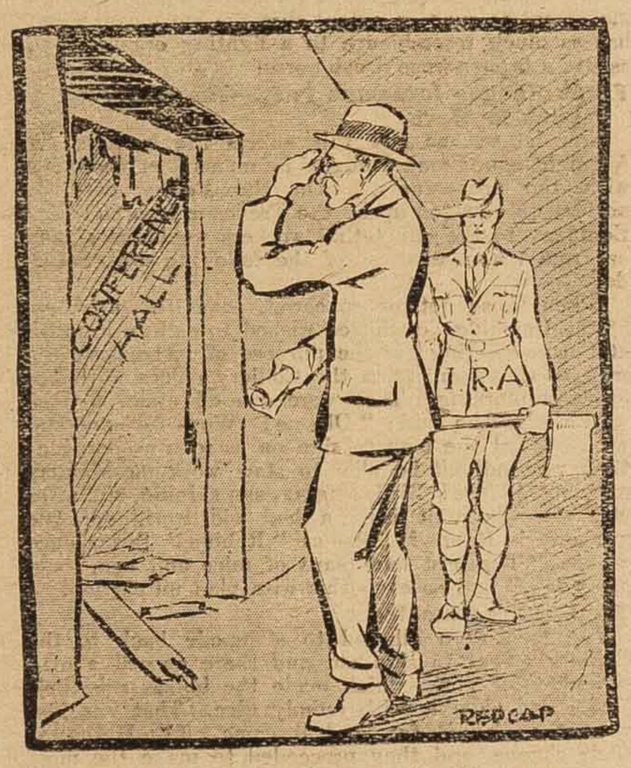
Quiet was established. Mr. Lelmerle rose. He commenced his speech for the defence by a eulogy of the police force, "those servants of society who for a paltry wage endure long hours of work and face incessant dangers, and practice daily heroisms. They have been soldiers, they remain soldiers. Soldiers, this word says all . . . "

Mr. Lemerle raised himself without effort to an exalted discussion of military virtues. He was one of those, he said, who "will not permit anyone to speak against the Army, the national Army to which he was "proud to belong."

The President bowed assent.

Mr. Lemerle was, in fact, Lieutenant in the Reserve. He was also Nationalist Candidate in the Vieilles-Handriettes division.

He continued:



BY FORCE THEY DID IT.

— No, indeed, I do not misrepresent the modest and precious services that are rendered daily by these guardians of the peace and of the gallant population of Paris. I should not have consented, Sir, to lay before you Crainquebille's defence if I had seen in him the insulter of an old soldier. My client is accused of saying: "*Mort aux vaches!*" There is no doubt about the meaning of that phrase. If you turn to the pages of the dictionary of slang you will read there: "*Vachard,* lazy malingerer, which means lazy as a cow instead of working.—Cow, one who sells himself to the police; police spy. The expression, "*Mort aux vaches,*" is used amongst certain people. But the whole question is this: How has Crainquebille used it? And even more, has he used it? Permit me, Sir, to doubt it.

I do not suspect Constable Matra of a single malicious thought. But he accomplishes, as we have agreed, a difficult duty. He is sometimes tired, wearied, overworked. On that account he might have had a sort of hallucination of the hearing. And when he tells you, Sir, that Dr. David Matthieu, Officer of the Legion of Honour, physician-in-chief to the Ambroise-Paré Hospital, a prince of science and a man of the world, has shouted: "*Mort aux vaches!*" we are absolutely forced to recognise that Matra is a prey to the malady of obsession, and if the term is not too strong to a frenzy of persecution.

Moreover, even if Crainquebille had cried: "*Mort aux vaches!*" it is necessary to know whether this word, in his mouth, presents the character of a misdemeanour. Crainquebille is the illegitimate child of an itinerant hawker degraded by misconduct and drink; he was born alcoholic. You see him brutalised by sixty years of misery. Sir, you will decide that he is "not responsible."

Mr. Lemerle seated himself, and the magistrate, Mr. Bourriche, read between his teeth a sentence which condemned Jerome Crainquebille to a fortnight's imprisonment and a fine of fifty francs. The Bench had based its conviction on the testimony of Constable Matra.

Lead through the long dark passages of the Court Crainquebille felt an immense need of sympathy. He turned towards the city policeman who conducted him and called him three times:

— Bobby, bobby; hi, Bobby!

He sighed:

— If one had told me a fortnight ago that what has happened to me would happen . . . !

Then he made this observation:

— They speak too fast, these gentlemen. They speak well, but they speak too fast. One cannot explain things to them. Bobby, don't you think they speak too fast?

But the officer walked on without response, and did not even turn his head.

Crainquebille asked him:

— Why don't you answer me?

The officer remained silent, and Crainquebille said to him bitterly:

— One speaks even to a dog. Why don't you speak to me? You never open your mouth. Are you afraid that it stinks?

IV.

Apology for President Bourriche.

Some curious people and two or three barristers quitted the Court after the sentence had been announced, and the clerk was already calling another case. Those who left did not speak of the Crainquebille case, which had not interested them in the least, and of which they thought no more. Only Mr. Jean Lermite, the engraver, who had come to Paris by chance, meditated on what he had heard and seen.

He passed his arm round the shoulders of the barrister, Mr. Joseph Aubassée:

— What Magistrate Bourriche must be praised for, said he, is that he has known how to protect himself from the vain curiosity of the mind and to guard himself from the intellectual pride that wishes to know all. Had he compared the contradictory testimony of Constable Matra and Dr. Matthieu, the magistrate would have entered a path where nothing but doubt and uncertainty were to be met. The method which consists in examining the facts according to the laws of criticism is irreconcileable with the proper administration of justice. If a magistrate were imprudent enough to follow such a method his judgments would depend upon his personal sagacity, which is generally small and upon human fallibility which is perpetual. What would become of authority? One cannot deny that the historic method is altogether incapable of assuring to him the certainties he needs. It suffices to recall the adventure of Walter Raleigh.

"One day that Walter Raleigh, during his imprisonment in the Tower of London, was working according to his custom at the second part of his *History of the World,* a quarrel broke out under his window. He went to look at the people who were quarrelling, and when he returned to his work, he thought he had observed what passed very thoroughly. But the following day, having spoken of the affair to one of his friends, who had been present and had even taken part in the row, he was contradicted by this friend on every point. Reflecting, therefore, on the difficulty of recognising the truth in distant events, when it had been possible for him to be mistaken on what happened under his eyes, he threw the manuscript of his history in the fire.

"If the judges had the same scruples as Sir Walter Raleigh they would throw into the fire all the evidence before them. They have no right to do that. It would be a denial of justice and a crime on their part. It is necessary to renounce knowledge, but one must not renounce judgment. Some people wish that the sentences of the Courts should be founded on methodical researches, but facts are dangerous sophists and perfidious enemies of civil and military justice. Mr. Bourriche has too judicial a spirit to make his sentences depend on reason and on science, the conclusions of which are the subject of eternal dispute. He founds his sentences on dogmas and enthrones them on tradition, so that his judgments equal in authority the commandments of the church. His sentences are canonic. I hear him draw from them a certain number of sacred canons. Notice, for example, that he classes the testimony, not according to the uncertain and misleading characteristics of human truth, but according to intrinsic, permanent and manifest characteristics. He weighs them according to the weight of the weapons. Is there anything at once more simple and more wise? He holds as irrefutable the testimony of a guardian of the peace, whose humanity has been made an abstraction, and

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SOUTH WALES NOTES

By WILFRED RISDEN.

A great deal of indignation was felt here at the action of the Executive members in advising acceptance of the terms. Some of the lodges have passed resolutions asking for their resignation.

Indignation has at present been turned against the colliery officials for the high-handed manner adopted by some of them towards the workmen. Some colliery officials say they have the whip now and intend to use it. If they continue to do as they have begun there is likely to be more "trouble in my native land." The human worker, like his fellow worker the ass, is patient and long suffering, but may give a nasty kick sometimes when least expected.

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody good." This attitude towards the worker may help to dispel the old idea held by some of the rank and file, and by many of our labour leaders, that the interests of Labour and Capital are identical, and may bring the realities of the class struggle home to the individual worker.

At a meeting of the Caeran Colliery Lodge last week Vernon Hartshorn, M.P., after a rather heated discussion, was nominated for the position of Treasurer for the S.W.M.F., a position rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Alfred Onions. Hartshorn intimated that he would like Mr. Evan Williams (Sub-Agent) to be his successor on the S.W. Executive if he obtained the position of Treasurer. He also deplored the philosophy of a certain section of members who want the leaders to be "nothing but advisors." This section was responsible, he said, for the position of the miners at the present day. This should teach the rank and file that Hartshorn is not the man for them.

He also mentioned that the owners wanted to reduce the wages of the cokemen by 5s. per day, their contention being that the cokemen did not come in for a share of the £10,000,000.

We have, of course, an "unemployed" Committee here, which we took some trouble to inaugurate, as all the old local wiseheads and Trade Union officials were out against anything of so revolutionary a character; but of course *we won*. What happened then?

George Davies behind the Times.

We have in this valley a working class much divided against itself. The old "die-hards" and "blow-hards" are still out busily preaching "orthodoxy." The small, but energetic party of rebels is making the best of every opportunity to spread the doctrines of "Divine Discontent," and now, if ever, is the time for us to propagate these doctrines.

The roughest thing we, as miners, are up against, is the fact that our "Miners' Agent," Mr. George Davies is hopelessly inadequate. Economics with him are a minus quantity, and if he was ever, in past days, possessed of a fighting spirit, it has been long since relegated to the background. The officers of the Tredegar Combine Lodge (S.W.M.F.) are also local "Labour" stalwarts.

Snowed under by the Big-Wigs.

Throughout the district we are snowed under by "Labour" Councillors, "Labour" Guardians, "Labour" Trade Union officials, and even "Labour" bourgeoisie, who have formed unto themselves a "Labour group," and thereby claimed affiliation to the Trades and "Labour" Council, to which body they were admitted (after a struggle put up by the few rebels we have here), on the plea, advanced for them by one of the old froth-consumers, that we want *brains* in the Trade and Labour Council"!

We quite agree with the speaker, and he himself made the fact clearly apparent in his own case, by his assumption that importing the leading profiteers of the town would be synonymous with importing "brains." He evidently was speaking about an unknown quantity. But we are hedged about with people like him in our Trade Union meetings. They are riding on the movement to such an extent that the movement itself has as much resemblance to a fighting organisation, as has a broken-knee'd cab-horse.

Frank Hodges Infamous Pact.—The Stampede back to Work.

Now let us see how this affects the workers. A fortnight ago, Frank Hodges' infamous pact was made with the coal-owners. On the Friday evening, notices were posted up by the Tredegar Iron and Coal Company to the effect that workers would be signed on from 7 a.m. onwards of the following day, Saturday.

When these notices appeared, some few members of the Combine Committee wished to call an immediate mass meeting for the purpose of instructing the men to stay away from the Colliery offices until the Monday morning. They were snowed under by the wise-heads, who said: "Oh, no! Work we want and we must get the men to sign on as soon as possible; then we shall *all* be able to start work on Monday morning." Yes! Birds singing, sun shining, and after all, you know, it isn't a bad old world for the workers, is it now? But as "Rabbie" Burns once wrote: "The best laid plans of mice and men gang aft agley," and so even this wise plan miscarried.

The Bosses Chuckled.

The men were allowed to stampede back to the Colliery offices to sign on, and there ensued a mad scramble for work, which made the bosses rub their hands and chuckle with unholy glee. That was just what they hoped for, and it came off! Here was their chance, and they proceeded to make the most of it.

Only Twenty per cent. got work.

Instead of us *all* being able to start together on Monday, only roughly 20 per cent. were able to start. Those who were taken back are still working under slavery conditions; the remainder are still walking about. "Not a bad old world for the workers," eh?

Now, one would think, was the time for the agent and Committee-men to get moving. Oh, no; not at all. "You people are in too much of a hurry," we were told when, on the following Tuesday, we asked whether any steps had been taken in the matter. "You must have patience. Give us time and everything will come right in the end." The optimism displayed by some people, whose salaries are going on all the time, is remarkable. But we had no such optimism and pressed further to know what steps were to be taken to organise those who were not working. "Well, really, you know, we haven't considered that yet," we were told; "but we will get you on to that as soon as possible."

The Officials do nothing.

That was a fortnight ago, and meantime the Committee-men have done nothing. They called a Committee meeting and discussed the matter gravely and sagely. They were, in fact, getting along quite nicely, until the agent, George Robey—beg pardon, I meant Davies, not Robey—woke them up by delivering an ultimatum; they were to have nothing to do with this business; if they interfered, he would wash his hands of the whole affair.

The Bolshevik Bogey.

Here was a poser for them. "The agent would not agree to it, eh? There must be more in this than meets the eye!" Visions of Sinn Fein and Bolshevik intrigue followed. "Aha! you damned extremists, we've tumbled your game! Don't you think we're clever?" There the matter rested, as far as the officials were concerned.

The Left Wing Retaliates.

But we had anticipated this, and moved through other channels. We called a mass meeting of all workers, employed and unemployed, to consider the question of organisation. From this meeting a Committee of ten was selected to act in conjunction with Pit Committees, in the interests of the unemployed. The Committee-men, of course, have turned this down, as we anticipated.

The Dismissal of Executive Demanded.

Our next step is a manifesto to demand that the Committee-men shall be kicked out and a new Committee elected to replace them. When we have attained that end, maybe we shall be able to get a move on.

Hungry Men and Angry Men.

Meantime, we have a great fight before us, in which we have no other backing save sheer pluck. All who are fighting this point are, like myself, penniless and unemployed; but hungry men are said to be angry men, and on that factor I am relying for keeping them in line.

We fight against heavy odds, but we have no cause for dejection. Though our advance is but slow, nevertheless it *is* an advance. We are pressing forward steadily to that goal of social revolution, which is in itself the *raison d'être* of our Party and of every individual member of our Party.

"Live Soviet Russia and the World Revolution!"

NEWS FROM SOVRUSSIA.

Leasing Industrial Undertakings.

A decree of the Soviet government published to-day empowers Co-operatives and private persons to lease industrial concerns. Small industries can be leased from the local economic authorities. The lessees are obliged to observe all Soviet laws and trade union regulations concerning conditions of labour, safety and protection of workers in the same way as the socialised industries. The contract can only be revoked by a People's Court. The lessee may accept private orders, but for these he receives no government subsidy either in money or raw material. On the other hand, the lessee is allowed after receiving a license from the Central Economic Council and observing the conditions laid down to import machinery from abroad.

Raising a Warship.

After wearisome preparatory work the sunken warship "Perejaslavel" has been successfully raised. This is a great success for the Russian workers, for the whole work was carried out without the assistance of any foreign specialists.

War Material for Poland.

It is reported from Danzig that a French steamer has arrived with a cargo of war material including 38 cannons and 608 tons of artillery munition.

Trade Unions Relieve Suffering Provinces.

The Moscow Trade Unions have formed a special commission for giving relief to the suffering provinces. Each large Union will send one representative to this commission.

Eastern University.

The University of the People of the East which was opened a short time ago, has now 500 students. Among the students are Tartars, Tchuvats, Khirgisians, Tcheremyssians, Bashkirs, Sarts, Aserbeidchans, Kurds, Turks, Usbeks, Syrians, Burjats, Ossetians, Grusians, Armenians, Persians, Koreans, Turkomen, Mari, Wotjaks, and Mordwinians. The University has accommodation for 1,800 students.

Population of Moscow.

According to statistics of the Moscow Soviet the population of Moscow amounts to one and a quarter million. The death rate is 28 per thousand against 23 per thousand before the war. This increase is due to influenza and typhus, which, however, have greatly decreased in comparison with the previous year. The bread consumption is increasing, and has already exceeded that of before the war. In 1919 the food supply was 2,100 calories per person, and in 1920 it had increased to 2,500 calories per person.

Privileges for the Co-operatives.

The all-Russian Executive has freed the Co-operatives from the previous finance control, and has given them the right to dispose freely of the credits which they hold, and to have their own cash account.

Oriental Languages.

The Council of Commissaries has voted the Commissariat for Nationalities a credit of 196 million roubles for the maintenance of schools in Oriental languages in Moscow and Petrograd.

In the Far East.

The English papers of Pekin say that the time has come for Japan to give an answer as to its attitude in the Vladivostock question, for no one believes the statement of Japan that it had no share in the setting up of the White Guard government.

Travel in Soviet Georgia.

A single tariff has been introduced on all the railways in Georgia and the use of the first and second class will be reserved exclusively for women, children and sick. It is intended to make railway travel free of charge at a later date.

Improving the Condition of the Workers.

"Trud," the daily organ of the trade unions, publishes the decree of the Moscow Trade Union Council abolishing night work also for newspapers. Henceforth "Isvestia," "Pravda" and "Ekonomitscheskaja Schisn" will be set and printed in two shifts. The first shift works from 8 a.m. till 3 p.m., and the second shift from 3 p.m. till 10 p.m.

Abolution of Limitations upon Money Transactions.

According to an Order of the Council of Commissaries all limitations in the handling of money have been abolished. Private persons and organisations have the right to make deposits in current accounts in all institutions of the Commissariat for Finance and in the co-operative banks. Sums deposited in these institutions must be paid out upon demand.

Foreign Workers in Russia.

As a result of the great economic crisis in the capitalist lands a large immigration of foreign workers to Soviet Russia has begun recently. Many of these workers have made the trip to Russia without the permission of the foreign representative of Soviet Russia, and were generally unskilled labourers of which there is no shortage in Russia, and who merely contribute to the food and housing shortage in the country. From America alone there have been 8,534 workers return to their old home. There is a great shortage of skilled workers in Russia and the Soviet government is taking measures now that only such workers shall be permitted to move to Russia. Several groups have already arrived, chiefly from Germany. These workers are placed in the model factories and contribute very much to the increasing of production.

Anti-Religious Propaganda.

A conference on anti-religious propaganda took place in the Moscow Party committee. It was stated that religious prejudices are still very widespread, especially in the country and among women. The reason for the retention of religious convictions is to be found in the general backwardness of culture and through the increase of education the religious prejudices would also be put aside. The anti-religious propaganda shall be directed by specially educated propagandists who are to criticise all religious actions with the help of the circulation of natural scientific knowledge as well as general culture.

Summer Work of the Students.

The students of the technical universities of Petrograd are passing their vacations at work in the various factories. They are studying especially the practical measures which are taken for the safety of labour.

A "Water Supply Week" in Moscow.

The Moscow Trade Union Council has decided to mobilise a number of its members for work in connection with the "Water Supply Week." During this week, water pipes will be repaired and cleaned and new wells dug.

NEXT WEEK

A great series of drawings of Delegates to the Comintern: Lenin, Trotsky, Zetkin, Lazzari and a crowd of others from all lands.

Order extra copies to avoid disappointment.

WAGE REDUCTION.

ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

By JOHN BROWN

That wages have gone down already in some trades, and that they will be lowered shortly in several others, is a fact only too well-known in many homes. Not so the reason why this fact is so general, and so even more pronounced in certain countries than in others.

For the purpose of this inquiry it is well to examine rapidly a few basic economics truths.

First let us ask: What is money? Official economists in the schools and in the press tell us that money is a means of exchange, and the measure by which we arrive at the value of things.

In point of fact money is neither the standard of value, nor the instrument of exchange. If anything, the reverse is the truth; money is measured by the value of things privately possessed, and it is only in small retail transactions that money is used, as a token to assist the exchange of commodities.

Ninety per cent. of the big transfers of commodities from one nation to another, from one industry to another, are effected by cheque, by documents, or by credit given and accepted by one set of persons possessing certain goods, against the credit of another set of persons possessing certain other goods.

Money, on the contrary, whether coined gold or Treasury currency guaranteed by reserve of gold is that instrument by which the State, as the expression of the legal will of the possessing class, gives the seal of its authority over the non-possessing class.

Without the State there could not be any money. The State defends jealously its money.

A private individual can no more coin a gold sovereign, although its intrinsic value—as measured by the utility of gold—be equal to his face value, than he can print notes, although their paper and printing value is but a fraction of a penny. Both notes and sovereigns bear on their face the symbol of the State. The value of money is determined by the power of the armed forces of the State. Destroy the British Navy, or otherwise sap the authority of the State, and the value of British money—as compared with that of another State—rapidly declines. Defeated Germany and dismembered Austria saw the international value of their currency rapidly decline.

Money is of no utility to persons possessing the necessaries of life. A peasant household having free access to the natural riches, that is to say, owning fields from which food is obtained, and owning cattle and sheep, may live without using money. Money will be unnecessary in a Communist state of society.

On the other hand, money is essentially a wages-paying instrument. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is only actually owned by those who are dispossessed of the means by which wealth and commodities are produced.

The State defends private property. Mr. A., who possesses textile mills, Mr. B., who own broad acres, express the value of their possessions, not in money—actual, tangible notes or coins—but in figures of a certain value-standard. Thus Mr. A. is worth so many of these £ value-standard, Mr. B. so many £ value-standard. Both are really rich because they possess means of production or sources of wealth.

On the contrary, Mr. C., who works for Messrs. A. or B. possesses neither means of production nor natural sources of wealth: he possesses only a small quantity of these State-stamped tokens we call notes or coins. These he has only in small quantities: given him for the work he has given to Mr. A. or Mr. C.; for the labour he has given to extract goods or wealth from the machine, the field or the mine, in order to be able to buy from the shop those things necessary for his maintenance and the continuity of his manual or mental worth.

When Mr. A. and Mr. B., who jointly control the State, aye, who form the State, need more continuous services, or services more rapidly given to them by Mr. C., they induce the State to issue more State-stamped tokens, thereby luring Mr. C. to produce more. Such is the case, always, when a State is at war with another.

Currency then is inflated, as the economists says. Once the armed danger of a competing State is passed, the need of the services of Mr. C., either on the battle-field or in the munition factory, are no longer so urgent.

The State finds itself confronted with a difficulty of its own making.

Under the stress of a momentary danger it has let pass from its hands a greater quantity than is advisable of that instrument of domination we term money.

Having decreed that these State-stamped tokens have a certain buying power for small commodities and are interchangeable with tokens of higher denomination (two 10s. notes being considered equal to one pound note), the State finds it has depreciated the value of the machine, of the land, of the mine, owned by the few.

The State-stamped tokens can be taken abroad and held by a competing set of foreign owners in another country; can be held in reserve by Mr. C., the workman, who has acquired by the possession of them a greater economic freedom than before, however temporary that economic freedom may be.

Two courses are open to the State, that is, to the possessing class. Either the State may declare that these State-stamped tokens are worth less, or they may be taken back from the workers by lock-outs, or by wages reductions. For the State to declare that a 10s. note is henceforward only worth 5s. is to lessen its authority, to create a panic in the international credit market. Such a procedure is only adopted when all others fail. But somehow the money must be got back from the pocket of Mr. C. into the hands of the State as a measure of security.

Hence lock-outs and wages reductions in order that the rich shall remain rich and the poor shall remain poor.

Then, asks our argumentative friend, if reductions in wages could be resisted, the workers would be in a better position and nearer to their emancipation, being in possession of an instrument so hotly defended by the master-class?

That would be so, if money were actual wealth, were an intrinsic means of exchange; whereas actually it has only value at the pleasure of the State. As it is, when the worker possesses money he only has something of a fictional value, a State-determined value.

The process of lock-outs and of wages reductions is but one of the defences open to the State, and only a preliminary one.

Assume for a moment that all round there should be solidarity amongst the workers sufficient to resist effectively any and all wages reductions. Assume further, that the workers should be able to force an upward wage movement in order to acquire many more State-stamped tokens, and consequently that they should be able to get into their hands, for a while, such a portion of this instrument of domination we call money, as to depreciate so greatly the ledger value of the possessions of the master-class, that the money held by workers could buy up these possessions. Then, if this were possible, the State having failed in the wages cutting campaign, would resort to other forms of defence, many of which could be enumerated: such as increased taxation, monopolies, legal restrictions, etc.; all open to the State because it has force at his command.

The fight against wages reductions is only useful in that it trains the workers to acts of solidarity, and makes more manifest to them the class conflict.

Wages, by their nature, are an essential part of capitalist production, and cannot be brought higher, cannot remain higher than the subsistence level of the worker. This is the iron law first enunciated by Marx.

To secure better wages, we must do without wages, and to do without wages we must do without the State.

LENIN TO THE COMMINTERN.

At the Comintern Congress in Moscow on July 8th, Lenin described the balance which has come into existence as the result of a number of conditions of political and economic character, and which has not allowed the international bourgeois to pass over to an open attack upon Soviet Russia. Russian Communists are using this breathing space to develop the Soviet regime domestically. But they do not forget for a moment that the open fight can begin again from one day to another.

"When we made the revolution," said Lenin, "we counted upon either the coming of the world revolution or upon our historical task being merely that of pacemaker for the coming world revolution. However, Russia lives within a ring of capitalist States. That is possible, because the evolution of the revolutionary consciousness of the mass of the workers of the world has not reached the measure that we had hoped for, but it is already so strong that it did not permit the bourgeois of all lands to attack Soviet Russia.

"We must make use of this breathing space to prepare the revolution in the capitalist lands with the greatest care. The more organised the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries is, the more carefully must the revolution be prepared. One must always remember that the one support of the world bourgeoisie, to which it still owes thanks for its rule over the proletariat, is the Second and the Second-and-a-half International. A very favourable factor for the evolution of the world revolution is the awakening of millions of human beings in the Colonies and the semi-Colonies. This fact places us before an important task, which consists in leading this huge mass along the road of revolution, in spite of the great cultural backwardness in which it finds itself.

As to the Class Struggle in Soviet Russia, the Russian social revolution has cleared away the capitalists and the landowners. Their remains are grouped in a few foreign cities with the foreign bourgeoisie, and they are incited by the latter to all sorts of actions against Soviet Russia, in which they find the warmest support from the Menshevists. Their tactical and strategical combinations are not of interest to the Russian Communists alone . . ."

"After the social revolution the Russian proletariat had the task of regulating its relations with the peasantry. There could be no question of either expropriation or expulsion.

"On the basis of our analysis and our many years' experience, the peasantry, owing to its very character, can only exist under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, or under the leadership of the proletariat. The original alliance between peasant and worker bore purely the character of a war measure. In this relation the peasantry met the Russian proletariat gladly, for they saw how the old landowners always rose up behind the backs of the White Guards.

"The proletariat had given the peasants all the land and had helped them against the landowners, and for this, the peasant was under the obligation to deliver food. In this respect we made many mistakes, for the Soviet Government was forced to solve the food question at any price.

"Now, however, the war has ended. The peasants whose farms had been destroyed by a seven year war, and who had suffered by bad harvests, shortage of seed and other circumstances, were in a very difficult situation. The proletariat had a new task: that of helping the peasantry at any price. Thus came a change of direction in our economic policy, which found its expression, above all, in the Produce Tax.

"The proletariat has had the least result of the revolution. The greatest want and suffering has to be borne always by the class that makes the revolution. The progressive classes of the Russian proletariat who have made the greatest sacrifices for three-and-a-half years, and who have endured the greatest want, now see quite clearly that the Soviet power cannot exist without an alliance with the peasants For this reason, the proletariat must make concessions so that the alliance can be brought about, that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be strengthened, and that we may maintain the Soviet Government, this landmark of the Socialist State.

"The question of Concessions is closely bound up with our economic policy. The condition of things forces us to pay a certain tribute for our backwardness, for, cost what it may, we must re-erect our great industry; that is, we must electrify the land, for without electrification, the reconstruction of our industry cannot take place. In this respect we must be prepared to make every sacrifice to put into effect, before all, that plan of electrification which has been worked out by two hundred specialists. That is the only means of drawing the land out of its economic crisis, and it is also capable of freeing the peasantry from hunger and want. Already the little that we have been able to perform in this field has shown the peasantry a world of labour, which is quite new to them; labour that is not only for them, but for the welfare of society.

"In spite of there being no military actions on at present, we consider ourselves to be always in a state of war, and act as is customary in war. The dictatorship of the proletariat is in a state of war, and therefore we cannot talk to anyone about liberty and democracy. All the counter-revolutionary elements are now crowding to the banner of democracy. The whole world now sees, as though it were a stage play, how the capitalist party called the "Kadets," let the Menshevists and Social Revolutionaries prepare the Thesis: 'Soviets, but without Communists.

"The crafty bourgeois know quite well that the Soviets of the Menshevists and Social Revolutionaries would be a very temporary firm* which would lead the way for the return of the capitalists and landowners. Out of this arises the necessity of a pitiless war against Menshevists and Social Revolutionaries. To the peasants, however, we say that they must go with the proletariat, who are prepared to give them the greatest possible concessions, or that they must take the road to civil war. Anything else is nonsense and demagogy."

After the speech of Lenin, an animated discussion took place, in which the Russian and foreign delegates took part. As the result of this discussion, the Congress unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

"The Third Congress of the world Communist International views with enthusism the four years' struggle of the Russian proletariat for the capture of political power. The Congress unanimously approves the policy of the Russian Communist Party, which has succeeded from the beginning in rightly judging the threatening danger in every situation, and found ways and means for overcoming them according to the principles of revolutionary Marxism. This Party, in its attitude to the peasant question and the question of concessions, is inspired only by the wish to reconstruct the economic life of the land, to concentrate all the force of the Russian proletariat in order to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat until the time when the proletariat of Western Europe comes to the help of their Russian brothers. The Congress expresses its conviction that Soviet Russia, the most important fortress of the world revolution, exists only, thanks to this consistent and well-planned policy of the Communist Party of Russia. At the same time, the Congress brands the treacherous policy of the Menshevist Parties, who strengthen the capitalist reaction in its struggle against Soviet Russia, by their campaign against Soviet Russia and the Russian Communist Party, and which seeks to postpone the world social revolution. The International Congress calls upon the workers of the world to place themselves unanimously on the side of the Russian workers and peasants, and to bring to pass the October days throughout the whole world."

The feelings amongst those present was most enthusiastic. Stormy applause followed both the speech of Lenin and the conclusion of the meeting.

* Note the Hungarian example.

Workers' Dreadnought
FOUNDED 1914.
Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor
Business Communications to the Manager:
Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.

SUBSCRIPTION:
THREE MONTHS (13 weeks) ... Post Free 3/3
SIX MONTHS (26 weeks) ... „ „ 6/6
ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ... „ „ 13/-

Vol VIII. No. 18. Saturday, July 16, 1921.

LEFT WINGERS' FIRST PRACTICAL MOVE.

Well done, Liverpool No. 3.

Louder and louder grows the outcry against reactionary Trade Union officials; the name of those who have added their voices to the shout is legion, Robert Williams, George Lansbury, Ramsay MacDonald—to name a few of various sections, have all joined the chorus from time to time, though most of them have relapsed into whitewashing the officials with generous coats of unity whitewash.

To a little band of Red Left Wingers in the Dockers' Union is left the glory of taking the first definite step towards deposing reaction from its paralysing position in the driving seat of organised Labour.

Liverpool No. 3 Branch of the Docker's Union, with practical common-sense, has struck home at last by endeavouring to use the Union machinery to overthrow **reaction.**

In preparation for the Annual Conference, it issued a circular to delegates, asking that Congress should give a month's notice of discharge to James Sexton, on the ground that he has betrayed the working class:

1. By not supporting the miners;

2. By encouraging his members to handle blackleg coal;

3. By failure to submit the question of wage reduction to his members in a clear and straightforward manner immediately the bosses had given notice as called for by the Lord Shaw agreement.

The circuar also stated that Sexton was unable to serve the dockers, on account of his numerous other occupations.

This circular opened fire upon the old-fashioned Trade Union officials, amongst whom Sexton is one of the most extreme examples, in a clear, concise way.

Liverpool No. 3 branch also tabled this resolution for Congress:—

"That this Congress is of opinion that the payment of high wages to Trade Union officials has not been justified, and that the wage of the General Secretary shall not in future exceed £1 a week more than the maximum paid to Branch Secretaries."

It was around this resolution that discussion mainly centred. Moved by Comrade Keenan of Liverpool, who is to be congratulated on being its sponsor, it was defeated by 102 votes to 44, 16 delegates being absent and four abstaining.

The vote against the motion is a heavy one: the *Daily Herald* reported it in a headline, "Sexton's Majority"; but the old guard, who may profess to be jubilant at this vote, know only too well that the majorities recorded against them in the House of Commons, where they think it so eminently worth while to persevere, are much larger than this!

The old guard knows that the taking to practical methods of action by the discontented Reds of the rank and file is a momentous step.

We tender our earnest and hopeful congratulations to the comrades of Liverpool No. 3 branch, and in urging them to persevere, we call on the Left Wing in other Unions to follow their wise example.

A BLOW AT OFFICIALDOM IN THE ENGINEERS.

Officialdom in the Amalgamated Engineering Union must have received a surprising shock when a hundred of its members took possession of the office in Peckham Road, and obliged the officials to retire. The strength behind the revolt it is as yet impossible to determine.

The Peckham Road offices are as splendid as those of any Government Department or capitalist company's Board Room. Its great halls are panelled with carved wood; its expensive leather-covered chairs are embossed with gold. The Executive ordinarily meets twice a day in its fine Board Room, under the Chairmanship of its General Secretary. Every Executive member brings with him a pile of papers dealing with matters in dispute which he cannot dispose of without reference to the whole Executive. Every matter is speedily dealt with; then each man returns to his own office to carry out the decision affecting his department, with the aid of his own special secretary. It is a busy round of negotiation and organisation of moulding and accommodating the masses of workers covered by the Union into the capitalist fabric in which they work.

Suddenly all that quiet, unquestioning peace was invaded! It must have been like a miniature revolution.

The rebels have long been fighting the Executive for its reactionary attitude. The present blow is struck because the rebels consider that the Executive has usurped unconstitutional power by announcing the discontinuance of supplementary out-of-work benefit, thus bringing pressure to bear on members to vote in favour of the employers' demand for a 6/- reduction in wages.

The Provisional Committee is composed of A.E.U. members, most of whom are unemployed. May its temper be revolutionary and as Communist as possible!

THE IRISH PEACE CONFERENCE.

The fact that Sir James Craig has gone back to Ulster with the declaration that "the people of Northern Ireland have determined their own Parliament," and "it now merely remains for Mr. De Valera and the British people to come to terms regarding the area outside that for which I am Prime Minister," indicates that a breakdown in the peace negotiations is imminent unless Sinn Fein will compromise. As we do not believe Sinn Fein is prepared to make the great concessions demanded by British landlords and capitalists and their hangers-on, we have expected a breakdown from the first.

We regret to say that this country is as yet hardly stirred by the terrible happenings in Ireland. Most of the British advocates of peace who are so persistently invoking the heavens, are still unprepared to come out openly and say: "Give Ireland Freedom." As for the Labour Party, its proposals are purely window-dressing and would leave the real power just where it is to-day.

ATTACKING THE UNEMPLOYED.

Cutting down the unemployment benefit has not satisfied the Government's zeal for economy. The Ministry of Labour has circularised the managers of Employment Exchanges:—

"All members of the staffs are invited to make suggestions for the 'tightening up of the administration of unemployment benefit.'

"Ideas must occur to all local officers from time to time, particularly in cases where it is obvious that *certain recipients are not fairly entitled to benefits*, and that the claimants would not have qualified for such *had it been required that certain additional conditions should be fulfilled.*"

The fact is, the Government is determined to force the unemployed to look after themselves.

Our advice to them is: Do so, and do it thoroughly!

HILL v. APPLETON.

At the General Council of the General Federation of Trades, John Hill, of the Boilermakers, attacked Appleton, the reactionary Secretary. Hill complained that Appleton "believes in force." Of course Appleton believes in force; he is obliged to, the power of force is demonstrated every day, and Hill, in spite of himself, is constantly forced to recognise it and to bow to it. Hill is right to attack Appleton, but he attacks him for the wrong reason. He should denounce Appleton as a reactionary, and a dangerous enemy of the workers.

RAMSAY MACDONALD AND COMMUNISM

Ramsay MacDonald's eulogy of the "Left Wing" and appeal for new methods has misled some inexperienced people who now expect to see MacDonald joining the Communist Party.

His unmitigated opposition to the Communist International and to the Communists at home is, however, emphatically expressed in the "Scottish Forward," July 2nd, in a signed article on the Brighton Conference.

In the interests of clarity we reproduce a few salient passages:—

"The same mind was seen in the debate on the Communists. The resolution was an ostrich one, which declared that if the Communists would accept the position of the Labour Party they ought to be admitted into its fold. One can imagine Convocation or a General Assembly deciding that, as Christian unity is a goodly and a nice thing to talk about, they would admit to Holy Communion the National Secular Society if it would declare its adhesion to the Church. Some bodies were taken in for the moment by this piety of brotherly sufferance and allowed themselves to be pledged to this silly resolution. But the debate stripped the thing of its disguise and the Conference was saved. Some of us are too old birds to allow a Conference to be put in a false position on such an important matter as this."

"The 224,000 votes cast for the conditional admission of the Communists was an insignificant number, and yet it was more by a long way than the Communist vote. The Trade Union and Socialist movement is beginning to see that the Communist is but a tool of the Capitalist reaction."

This, of course, is just the sort of thing the Liberal Party used to say about the I.L.P. in the days when it was a Socialist Party. In the early days of the I.L.P. the Liberals said that it was a tool of the Tory Party, and called its candidates "Liberal smashers," declaring that they were paid by Tory gold. Keir Hardie, whom the Liberal Party had attempted ineffectually to bribe, both in money and by subtler methods, was specially assailed by such accusations.

But no one would make the mistake of calling Ramsay MacDonald a Tory tool, because the charge could deceive no one, since he is so, patently and typically a Liberal—in fact, the most Liberal of the Liberals.

NO MORE HOUSES.

In Parliament, the new Minister of Health (Sir Alfred Mond) who has taken Dr. Addison's place, was asked why the Government had decided to break its promise to make provision for 300,000 new houses as a contribution to the shortage of at least 500,000 needed to comply with the overcrowding regulations in 1919.

He answered that 176,000 houses have been built, are building, or are contained in approved tenders under the Government housing scheme for local authorities and public utility societies. 23,000 houses are built, or will be built under the subsidy scheme for private builders.

The cost to the State under the local authorities and public utilities scheme is £10,000,000 a year, and for subsidies to private builders, £5,000,000. These houses, he said, will utilise all available labour for at least twelve months, including a considerable number of ex-Service men to be absorbed into the industry.

In view of "the present financial position of the country," the Government has decided not to assist the building of houses beyond the 176,000, and the 23,000 houses above-mentioned, to which it is already committed. It would provide an annual subsidy of £200,000 towards the deficiency on local authorities' accounts for the improvement of slum areas.

Dr. Addison, Minister of Health, then rose in the second bench below the Ministerial Gangway, instead of in his accustomed place, and read his letter to the Prime Minister, resigning his office. He pointed out that already the Government scheme applied to less than half the houses the local authorities had asked for the year; but even this number was to be cut down. Sir A. Mond had not clearly explained the fact that the Cabinet had decided "in no event shall the number of houses built by local authorities exceed 176,000," this figure "to be reduced to the utmost possible extent." No subsidies to be given to private builders who commenced building after June 1st though on that very day the Royal Assent had been given to a Bill extending the period for earning the subsidy to June, 1922.

The assistance to be given for improving slum areas would merely reduce the number of houses arranged for under existing contracts. There are 180,000 inhabited houses, he said, that are unfit for human habitation and cannot be made fit.

The Speaker attempted to prevent Dr. Addison from proceeding, but Asquith protested that a Minister is always entitled to state his reasons for resigning to the House.

Addison proceeded with his letter which declared the Government's decision:

"Violates the plain intentions of Acts of Parliament, and 'will widely, and I think rightly, be regarded as a breach of faith . . . the local authorities have entered into all sorts of commitments from which they must now extricate themselves as best they may. . . .'

"The arrest of this endeavour, which thus occupies with such unfortunate significance the first place in the search for economy, is largely the consequence of great expenditure in other directions. You are aware that, in respect of some of them, I have consistently objected, but I must accept responsibility for concurring in them, so long as they did not jeopardise some vital interests. Perhaps my loyalty to yourself and to the Coalition has made me more ready to compromise in such matters than I ought to have been."

In that paragraph, all the best and worst of Addison and others like him were summed up. He shut his eyes to the evil done by the Government, because of the little good it did by its housing scheme, and because it allowed him to be the instrument of that good, to win, thereby, congratulatory self-esteem and call the kudos paid by a host of amateur and professional social reformers. Now that his own little sphere of social reform has been snatched away, he finds the Government too evil a company to stay in. Addison is a better man than most of the rest! It is but a poor recommendation, but the best we can give him.

WAS BEVIN ALSO AT THE CHEQUERS?

Ernest Bevin, asked why the dockers did not prevent foreign coal being brought in to defeat the miners, is reported by the *Daily Herald* as replying that "it was called off because it was not complete and effective. For a few weeks, however, the embargo did much good."

Why not have made it effective? Those who stopped it played the capitalists' game.

The Trade Union officials concerned should be called upon to answer for this.

GERMAN WORKERS TEACH US A LESSON

The miners were defeated because British organised Labour had not learnt to practice solidarity. The German joiners who refused to repair two British ships which put in for repair at Bremen because British shipyard joiners are on strike, showed that war and the race hatred stirred up by the capitalist Press and Governments, have not weakened their class solidarity.

The Clyde shipyard joiners have been on strike since December. Their fellow-workers in other trades in this country, have left them, like the miners, to fight and starve alone.

SPECIAL NEXT WEEK.

How the M.F.G.B. can use its Rules to expel Reactionary Leaders.

By a Trade Unionist.

You will need Extra Copies of the Paper.

Continued from page 1.

is conceived metaphysically, as much as is a registered number, according to the order of ideal police. Not that Matra (Bastien), born at Cinto-Monte (Corsica), appear incapable of error to him. He has never thought Bastien Matra endowed with a great talent for observation, nor that he applies an exact and rigorous method to the examination of facts. To tell the truth, he does not consider Bastien Matra, but officer 64.

A man is fallible, thinks he. Peter and Paul can be misled. Descartes and Gassendi, Leibnitz and Newton, Bichat and Claud Bernard could make mistakes. We are all mistaken at some time or other. Our reasons for error are innumerable. The perceptions of the senses and the judgments of the mind are sources of illusion and causes of incertitude. One must not put one's trust in the testimony of a man: *Testis unus, testis nullus* (single testimony is no testimony). But one may have faith in a number. Bastien Matra, of Cinto-Monte, is fallible. But great 64, abstraction made out of Matra's human clay, does not fall into error. He is an entity. An entity has nothing in it of that which is in men, and which troubles, corrupts and deceives them. An entity is pure, unalterable and unmixed. Therefore the Court has had no hesitation whatever in setting aside the testimony of Dr. Matthieu, who is only a man, in order to accept that of officer 64, who is an ideal, pure and like a ray of God descending upon the Bench.

In proceeding thus, Magistrate Bourriche is assured of a kind of infallibility, the only kind to which a judge can pretend. When the man who testifies is armed with a sabre, it is the sabre to which he must attend, and not the man. The man is contemptible and may be wrong. The sabre is by no means that, and is always right. Magistrate Bourriche has deeply penetrated into the spirit of the law. Society rests upon force, and force must be respected as the august foundation of societies. Justice is the administration of force. Magistrate Bourriche knows that officer 64 is a part of the Prince. The Prince resides in everyone of his officers. To destroy the authority of officer 64 is to enfeeble the State. To eat one of the leaves of the artichoke is to eat the artichoke, as Bossuet in his sublime words said. (Political principles deduced from the Gospels.)

All the swords of the State are turned in the same direction. In opposing them, one against the others, one would enfeeble the republic. That is why the guilty Crainquebille was justly condemned to a fortnight's imprisonment, and a fine of fifty francs on the testimony of officer 64. I imagine I hear Magistrate Bourriche himself explaining the lofty and beautiful reasons which inspired his sentence. I imagine I hear him say:

"I have judged this individual in conformity with officer 64, because officer 64 is a part of the police force. For the comprehension of my wisdom it will suffice for you to imagine that I had taken the opposite course. You will immediately see that that would be absurd, for if I decide against the power of force my decisions will not be executed. You should observe, gentlemen, that judges are not obeyed unless they have the power of force on their side. Without the police the magistrate would be nothing but a poor dreamer. I should negate myself if I decided against the policeman. Moreover, the spirit of the law is opposed to it. To disarm the strong and to arm the feeble would be to change the social order, which it is my mission to conserve. Justice is the sanction for the established injustices. One never sees her opposed to the conquerors and against the usurpers. When an illegitimate power arises Justice has only to know it to render it legitimate. It is all a matter of form; there is nothing between crime and innocence but the thickness of a piece of stamped paper. You should have been stronger, Crainquebille. If after you had shouted: "*Mort aux vaches!*" you had proclaimed yourself emperor, dictator, president of the Republic, or, at least Municipal Councillor, I assure you, you would not then have been sentenced to fifteen days imprisonment and a fine of fifty francs. I should have held you quit of all penalty. You may believe me when I say this.

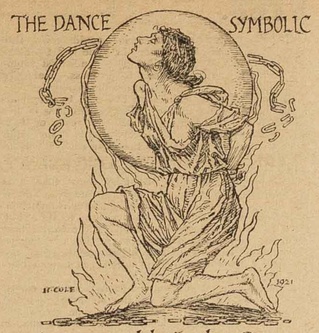
Thus without doubt Magistrate Bourriche would have spoken, for he has the judicial mind and he knows what a magistrate owes to society. He defends its principles with order and regularity. Justice is social. Only evil persons desire it to be human and sensible. One administers it by fixed rules and not with the caverings of the flesh and the lights of the intelligence. Above all, do not demand that a judge be just, he has no need to be that because he is justice. I even insist that the idea of a just justice could only germinate in the head of an anarchist. It is true that Judge Magnaud gives equitable sentences, but they are annulled and that is justice. The true judge weighs the testimony by the weight of the arms. That was shown in the Crainquebille case and in others more celebrated.

Thus spoke Mr. Jean Lermite in passing from one end to the other of the hall of Lost Steps.

Mr. Joseph Aubarrée, who knew the Court, replied to him, scratching his nose:

—If you want my opinion I do not think Mr. Bourriche can be raised to such a metaphysical height. To my mind in accepting the testimony of officer 64 as the expression of the truth, he simply did what he had always seen done. It is in imitation that one must search the reason of the majority of human actions. In conforming to custom one will always pass for an honest man. One describes as good people those who do as others.

(*Translated from the French—To be continued.*)



As expressed by Isadora Duncan

Behind her back her hands seem bound,
Within her eyes broods misery,
She bites the dust, her raven locks
Tossed o'er the face lie kissing earth.
No thought of Heaven stirs her breast.
Kneeling she broods, downward her stare.
She shakes her fettered limbs and moans;
But agony has sharpened sense
And sight and light burst through her brain.
Rising, she trembles on one limb
Which halts and shivers, firmer grown
She fries the other and her head
Thrown partly back, the dazed look fades
And Comprehension takes its place.
Now conscious of bent form, bound arms,
She shudders, struggles fiercer still,
Then rights her aching back, to find
Imagination, tied the hands.
The fingers one by one she tries,
The arms by painful jerks shoot out,
She cups her hands and gazes in,
To find, Oh! ecstasy, she holds
The Universe within her grasp,
Life! Happiness! within her clasp.

* * *

Light as the air she rises up,
Again both hands curved like a cup,
Her limbs with joyous grace set free
Now dance, her eyes are dancing, see!
The gaze late earthward blindly turned,
Now upward glows for bondage spurned.
It flames and sparkles as of fire,
Sees Man and Art rise from the mire.
Behold! Man's Fate and Fortune stand
Within the hollow of his hand!

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

UNREST.

SCENE: A THIRD-RATE TAVERN.

There are rough wooden forms and a sawdust-covered floor. Glasses, half-filled, are littered about the place on tables and ledges. The atmosphere reeks of stale beer and tobacco-smoke. A motley collection of men and women, battered by toil, are congregated together, enjoying the life and warmth of the place. A buzz of conversation goes on. Occasionally a laugh or a harsh oath rises above the hum.

At the far end of the counter are grouped three men, two of them are civilians and one a soldier. The tallest of the three, a young man, leans his elbows on the counter and speaks to the others, in between meditative draws at his pipe. He has a thoughtful face and the eyes of a dreamer, oblivious of his surroundings. His voice goes on evenly:

"To lay stone on stone; brick on brick—to build, that is a fine thing to do. Yet I cannot build."

The other civilian spoke:

"How do you mean, that you cannot build?"

"There is an unrest in my life always. I break things up; I split things open, I upheave everything. I question and question my questions, but I do not build. In my mind there is nothing to bind things together; no constructive principle, only a dissolvent."

"But that may be your part. The clods of earth have to be broken up before things will grow. It is not necessary to know the whole plan in order to build. The foundation may be hidden and the end a mystery. No one can know exactly what will come. A man is happy enough if he knows what to do next, at the moment. He can place his brick then."

"Yes, it may be there is a place for unrest. But there are two unrests. One is a desolate despairing kind, a groping in the dark with nothing to find; a longing without satisfaction; a scrambling without foothold. Yet good work has been done by those who have the courage to go on, even without hope. Most of those who seek, have to pass through this stage.

"The other unrest is an unrest of growth, a ploughing up of the furrows of life, ready for the seed. A breaking of the hard surface of indifference as the seed germinates and the new life forces its way up. This is happier and more wholesome than the first unrest. There is satisfaction in it, though all the time it is seeking, working and striving; never lapsing into dull complacency.

"The first unrest is terrible. It is a cry of agony in the night, which dies away without heed or help from humanity; it is a flash of lightning playing for an instant fitfully upon the grim, bare, jagged, endless rocks and then flickering out, leaving none the wiser or better for it. It is pessimism.

"The second is creative and human. The future of the world is with this. We trace the flicker of a human thought across the ages and see it grow in power, purpose and volume with the progress of time."

The soldier, a well-built man, with a firm, hard, weather-beaten face, had stood listening to the two talking, and now spoke:

"You get beyond me with your talk about unrest. I cannot discuss all that. I just live. I have been with men in many parts of the world, and have seen them live and die. It is hard to spend one's life marching over a burning desert or rotting in a muddy trench. But it all calls for endurance and effort. There is a fierce joy in it, even if the effort is misdirected. I just go on living, seeing, hearing and travelling. I join in with the rough, hard life of men who talk, smoke and swear while they go on nonchalantly with the struggle. I hear the women whisper and laugh, scornfully or tenderly. And life slips by. Why question it? We must all live and die."

The tall young civilian replied:

"But with it all you must go on too. You have unrest in your soul. Just getting up and going back to dress would not satisfy you. You must have adventures and new people. Unrest always drives people forward to do something new and different. You take life easily. You enter and float with it. On the contrary, I always question. Why do I live? What have I to make of my life? Why do people think and speak as they do? Why does it bore them to discuss the things which seem most important to me? What is the reason behind it all? Why? . . . What for?

"I want to tear the veil which shrouds reality, to lay bare the motive forces of thought and action; to dig even beneath these."

The tall man gravely knocked his pipe out upon the counter, filled it slowly and methodically, lit it and puffed with deliberate satisfaction. All around under the canopy of smoke, men and women buzzed excitedly, talking, gesticulating, laughing and drinking. A tiny knot of unrestful, striving, chafing, swarming humanity, typical of the whole. And all the time life swirled on.

—LIBERATOR.

THE PRAGMATIST.

He sits in his high balcony above the noisy street
And listens to the ceaseless tramp of scores of passing feet,
The tread of human armies, in advance and in retreat.

He wonders idly whence they come and whence they must return,
And how they serve and where they serve and what perchance they earn,
And whether in these many hearts the old proud passions burn.

He views the world in Pity's glass and guides his path apart;
He deals with life as though it were but produce in the mart,
And ponders on the uselessless of love and song and art.

—JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

South Casco, Maine, U.S.A.

SPICE.

Henderson's funny sayings:

"Is there any man present who believes that Macdonald, Snowden, or Smillie are Bolsheviks?

Had the Labour Party been content to serve Mr. Lloyd George's ends, nothing would have been heard about Bolshevism or Socialism."

Does Henderson repudiate Socialism also?

* * * *

Labour Party leaflet:—

"The vote is a safety match: it strikes only on the ballot-box."

Quite so. Good anti-Parliamentary propaganda.

* * * *

The Bishop of London says the teaching in Socialist Sunday Schools is "devilish."

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

THE MINERS' FINAL STEP.

The miners' final step: what is it to be?

We have heard the first step discussed, and seen it operate; the next we have also heard and seen, but the final step has not yet come to light.

The revolutionists among the miners are still wrestling with the next step.

So far as the miners' organisation goes, its fighting spirit has been the result of hard and unremitting toil on the part of the South Walians, who are Syndicalists in the original sense of the word, and while that toil has shaken the miners' organisation to the foundation and considerably convulsed the Trade Union world, it has not approached its final objective; for it seems to have either missed the path, or (as one surmises) it has mistaken a blind alley for the road to emancipation.

Over and over again have the revolutionary band of South Walians hammered hard and long on the Syndicalist path to make it seem a beaten road for the workers to traverse, but more and more do they make that road muddy and impassible to progress.

The S.W.M.F. has borne the fruits of ten or twelve years' unrelenting toil; that is, it has approached to the ideal of Syndicalism, and has, to a certain pitch, voiced the opinion of the rank and file; but to a far greater pitch has it voiced the ideas of the band of coldly-calculating Syndicalists (that is, men who believe that the Trade Unions as Trade Unions can be made the revolutionary weapon, provided that those men permeate the Trade Unions and capture the official positions), who say that they have examined the scientific Industrial Union, but found it inapplicable to the miners. That there are results, is obvious; for if a number of Socialist miners get together—men of the calibre who dominate the S.W.M.F.—and persistently hammer for ten or twelve years, something has got to stir.

Something did stir; but it has not moved in a revolutionary way yet; for after all the toil expended, the S.W.M.F. was found to be an oasis in the M.F.G.B., where revolutionaries could rest. But what was the use of the oasis when one had to travel into the desert after a while? The Syndicalist found the desert a stumbling block to progress. Not only a stumbling block, but an impassible barrier.

To work then, to make easy the path to progress!

One has to stand in awe at the cheerfulness of the South Walians; when, after all the years of toil, they make up their minds that the oasis is not large enough and they must plant the trees of Syndicalism all over the desert. In other words, "to work Socialist miners to permeate the M.F.G.B.!"

This is their decision, and they know that it is necessary to complete their work as workers. This is the spirit they bring into the Workers' Committee Movement as a miners' section. Truth to tell, they have become machines dominated by the brains that fathered them, and they seem to be working as machines. Is there no other hope for the Industrial struggle than more decades of hard battering along the same old path?

Skimming over the situation to-day, we see chaos, black, dreary chaos, out of the struggle that the miners have recently gone through. The revolutionaries, even, are feebly beating their hands against the blackened ruins of BLACK FRIDAY.

The Triple Alliance was a weapon designed for use, not for the issuing of manifestoes; and it would have been an organisation in line with the Syndicalist plan (in theory), could it have been permeated in time. But what an age! Fortunately it broke down before it caused more assiduous straining at the elastic bands of Syndicalism. Surely it has become apparent that the Trade Union weapon—even permeated by revolutionary officials—is useless; and an Alliance of four or five of these monstrous growths of early Capitalism is worse than useless, it is dangerous.

Tinkering and tampering, patching here and patching there, is wasted energy, and that energy would be well spent in clearing the way for a scientific organisation. What is the object, to permeate the M.F.G.B. and then stand in isolated splendour like little Eric: "Look what we have done; now you go and do likewise"?

If the Socialist miners have had sense to see that the Rhondda is not the world, surely they can look further ahead and see that the Coalpit is not the Class Struggle.

Is it fair to say that "we have straightened our industry out, and that is our work"? The sphere is wider than that. The Triple Alliance broke down because the rank and file did not understand each other, and the two-thirds who were most backward need enlightenment and encouragement.

The Seamen and Firemen—indeed, all the Marine Transport Industry—are vainly searching for a way out; they are pleading for knowledge and support, and they are *crying for the ONE BIG UNION*. Is this the miners' FINAL STEP? Should the vibrant energy of the Syndicalist miners be turned into this channel? Their organisation is as useless as was the Western Federation of Miners of America; as useless as the United Mineworkers of America. The Western Federation collapsed because the members saw the light of the One Big Union shining. The United Mineworkers have just been sold as the M.F.G.B. has been sold, although its members are counted as Reds.

The voice of the Marine Transport Industry is growing to a roar for the O.B.U. Will the Syndicalist miners leave the path of trampled mud and hopes and take up the propaganda of the SCIENTIFIC One Big Union? It only requires clear thinking on the present situation to see the necessity of the One Big Union, and if the Marine Transport Industrial Union becomes an existant fighting organisation without the Mining Industrial Union, then SHAME on the Socialist miners.

WOBBLY.

THE GRIEF AND GLORY OF RUSSIA.

By HENRY SARA

In the early part of January of this year, I left London for Soviet Russia.

For a very long time I had thought of going.

Whilst I was watching the workers and trying to understand things under the Soviets, I realised that one must grasp the Grief of that land of Freedom, in order to appreciate fully the Glory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

It is so easy to sneer at the time a train journey takes; to write sarcastically about the difficulties of moving about without a "pass"; to talk about the streets being knee-deep in mud, as Mr. Shinwell did at the Brighton Conference of the Labour Party; but the A.B.C. of everyday life tells us that if a railway engine runs on coal or oil, and the supply stops, the engine will not run; that if an attempt is made to get over the difficulty by the use of wood, it is not the fault of the workers on the train if there is a reduction in the speed of the engine. Fault! fault! why they have earned our deep admiraton for the effort they make to overcome these grave obstacles!

Then the "probusk" (pass) difficulty of which so many complain: if a Constitution is adopted by the people, in which it is stated simply and plainly that the working class alone is entitled to rights and privileges, the self-constituted dominant class has an interest in protecting itself. Therefore, all and sundry are not to be admitted just where all and sundry choose to go. The pass system is annoying at times, but the conditions demand that precautions be taken so long as Soviet Russia is the one country in the world where the capitalist class does not dominate. Moreover, the complaints are often not justified. On one occasion, a party of us went to an hotel in Moscow to obtain a view from the roof because the building was an exceedingly high one. Half-a-dozen of us walked through the building, up the stairs and out on the roof, where we enjoyed the delightful view for about three-quarters of an hour. We left without a word being said to us by any official. Some days later we proposed to go up again to the top of the tall hotel. When we reached the office, the keeper of the hotel asked for our "probusks." At this, an English-speaking member of the party began to rave. Another member explained to the "caretaker" who we were and what we wanted, and permission was at once given to us to go to the top of the hotel. But our offended member still carried on about the "probusk."

When I reached Russia, it was bound in snow and ice, and I realised the hardship of the road. Then the sun came, and with it came the members of the Communist Party, and Non-Party, workers to clear the snow away. As the snow disappeared, one saw the deplorable state of the roads. Motor car travelling became unpleasant. How the cyclists managed was a mystery. Young fellows and girls sprinting along to business on bikes in the mornings dispelled the influence of the stories about "lazy Russians." The bumpy road makes one feel sorry for them. But here is a party of road-workers. You think of Oxford Street being "up." Not a bit of it! These men get down the big main street of Moscow in no time, and the wide street, beautifully straight and even, makes delightful travelling. That is the truth about the "knee-dep mud, and the streets swamped with filth."

Russia has a road problem. True. It is this: The intense cold and the ice cause great expansion during one period, and the intense heat causing contraction, reduce a wood-block road, in the course of the year, to a miniature mountain range. Years before the Revolution, civil engineers tried all sorts of things to meet the road problem, but I was assured by those interested in the subject, and anxious to cope with it, that, so far, they had found nothing ideal. The nearest thing to permanency, was cobble stones, fairly square cut; in some parts of the city where these are laid, the roads were perfect. Their fault, however, is noise, and so, where offices, schools and places where quietness is essential are situated, tarred and asphate roads are laid. These prepared roads are kept in good condition when the weather permits, but there are times when it is impossible to do anything but struggle through them. There are two courses open to you: you can swear at the Communist Party if it relieves your feelings; or you can philosophise gently over the fact that if the workers of Russia are left in peace, they will have an opportunity of attending to their roads, and the best brains on the subject will be called upon to solve the problems of fighting the extremes of climate.

* * *

Petrograd railway station presented rather a dismal appearance at 5.30 a.m. A small theatre erected towards one end of the building was covered on the outside with propaganda posters representing workers busy constructing locomotives, and the benefits resulting from their industry. A "lady" sailed up wearing a Duchess hat, yellow lace, and black satin dress. Her appearance gave me a shock. She asked me my nationality; how I had got to Petrograd; what I intended to do there, and whether I knew how dreadful things were in Russia? She introduced me to her husband, who looked well-groomed and well-clothed, explaining that they were leaving Petrograd as "there is no order here!"

I had read Mrs. Snowden's book, "Through Bolshevik Russia," and the emphasis she lays upon the condition of the people's clothing had impressed me considerably. I was prepared to witness large numbers of cultured people undergoing acute want, and badly clothed. I never saw those people; on the contrary, I met many folk, who were obviously of the bourgeois class, as well, or better-dressed, even, than my lady with the Duchess hat.

But the Hall filled with sailors, soldiers, women and girls, men and boys; and in the moving scene, I forgot this lofty lady and examined the "crowd." The bar had neither beer nor spirits, only "tchy" (tea). The people seemed to have an air of assurance, and they chatted and laughed with a wonderful spirit. Russia was beginning to appeal to me. The word "comrade" had such a pleasant ring. It was no longer used in a half-jocular way, nor as though it was applied by peculiar people to other peculiar people. In England we have no genuine form of address. In this railway hall I was learning at last the horrors of Russia. Just fancy a mere peasant girl calling my lady with the Duchess hat: "Comrade!"

At last my vigil came to an end; the baggage was loaded on to the car, and away we sped to the Hotel International. Shades of John Reed! His story was constantly in my mind. One saw that hanging on to a car whilst it flew down the street was a commonplace thing here; but there were no bullets flying now. The streets were in perfect order, and there were no dead horses, only live ones.

Before one could ride to Moscow, permission had to be obtained, and to that end, a little group of us were taken to the chief officer of the staff responsible for this work. At the doorway of this building—formerly a large bank, I believe—two men were standing with rifles. They were dressed in ordinary clothes and seemed to be chatting together in a free and easy way. Whilst permission was being obtained at the office, near these two men, I noticed two other men. Behind the counter, a relic of the old life, stood a machine-gun!

Dreadful! Here was bayonet rule!

In this building Zinoviev worked and lived when in Petrograd. From here instructions were issued to safeguard that part of the Soviet Republic. The building and the employees in the building were being looked after by "common workmen" of the Red Army. Later I understood why it was that these precautionary measures had to be adopted. If the Bosheviks, either by the Terror, or by the Extraordinary Commission, had really been as brutal as they were made out to be, the existing bourgeois plotters would not be as plentiful as undoubtedly they are.

During my brief stay in Petrograd I noticed piles of wood in some of the streets. Had Mr. Wells been there, no doubt he would have used his camera, with the same purpose as he took the photograph of the buiding in Petrograd, which occupies the frontispiece to his book. These piles of wood were not for barricades, but for fuel. They were stacked in readiness for working and heating, not for street-fighting!

Petrograd was covered in snow, but the city, generally, did not present the dismal aspect one reads of. Perhaps shops of goods mean more to others than to me. But the human stuff! Aye, there are real men and women in Petrograd! Red Petrograd. Miss Buchanan has written a work entitled: "The City of Trouble"; a stupid book, with a lot of talk about sunsets. Her city of trouble is Petrograd.

But then, she was was an Ambassador's daughter. If you be a proletarian, however, then Red Petrograd is lovable; for it is revolutionary.

DEATH OF ROBERT B. B. PEDDIE.

Comrades in London, especially in Hammersmith, Battersea and East Ham will hear with deep regret of the death of our old, trusted Comrade Robert Peddie, who passed away on Friday night, July 1st, at 12.30 p.m., from broncho-pneumonia, following an operation on the previous Monday. He included amongst his personal friends William Morris, Peter Kropotkin Malatesta, Madame Sorgue, and Louise Michel.

He had been ill for three months previously, and already had undergone one operation. He was a unique personality who knew no fear. For over thirty years he was an active propagandist in every part of London. He was open and courageous in his style of speaking, and his outspokenness and sterling honesty always carried conviction. His homely humour was unique, and always secured him large working-class audiences.

Comrades from Hammersmith, Battersea and Woolwich followed him to his last resting place in Chiswick Cemetery on July 7th, 1921.

We wish to take this opportunity, on behalf of his family and the West London Group, of thanking those Comrades and sympathisers who assisted him financially.

P.F.M. and J.T.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The Rent.

Will Thorne (Lab.) said that as wages and building material have gone down the increase of 10 per cent. on the rent this month is unjustifiable. The pseudo-Labour Coalitionist, Col. John Ward, falsely suggested that this would entail the repeal of the Rent Restriction Act, and make things worse for the people. Lloyd George, of course, agreed that it would be disastrous for them. Thus, fellow-workers, the rents are supposed to be raised as a benefit to you!

Bolshevik Plots.

Colonel Archer-Shee (C.U.) was again on the warpath against the Russian Trade Convention. He said that £50,000 had been paid in Berlin by the Soviet government to ferment discontent in Ireland, and that the Russian Trade Representative in Rome had said the Soviets are on excellent terms with the Indian Revolutionaries. More power to their elbow!

North-East Ulster Specials.

Mr. Devlin drew attention to many murders in North-East Ulster, and complained that this was due to the fact that, though a truce reigned elsewhere in North-East Ulster, there remained the Special Constables, who, he said, were "merely politicians and it is believed by the people that they have committed all these crimes."

The Outcrop.

Thirty-five fatal accidents occurred through the working of outcrops by miners during the lock-out.

Railway Fares.

The Minister of Transport could not promise reduced fares, although the Railway Wages Bill is reduced by £19,950,000 a year. Hundreds of men have been discharged from the London Underground railways, great numbers put on short time, and the train service much curtailed, but Geddes says: "Curtailment of services is not in itself a reason for reducing fares."

Passports.

Belgium has abolished the visa, France has offered to do so between French and British nationals. The British Government "cannot announce any decision."

Costly Additions.

The British Ambassador in Paris has a salary of £2,500 a year, and an allowance for "*Frais de représentation*" of £14,000. The British Ambassador in Washington gets £2,500 and £17,500. In addition, these Ambassadors have Embassy residences, the cost of a motor car, and an outfit allowance on appointment of £600. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland gets £20,000 and £3,000 outfit allowance, two official residences and a motor car maintained at the public expense.

Educating the Young.

With much advertisement the compulsory day continuation education for young persons was embodied in the last education Act. Now it appears that out of 145 local educational authorities only 5 are putting the scheme into practice, and in one of them, West Ham, the young people who attend the continuation schools during the hours prescribed are penalised by their employers.

Sir Reginald Blair (C.U., Bow and Bromley), who is always opposed to progress, complained that in the L.C.C. day continuation schools domestic servants are taught "dancing, stencilling and Russian literature," and asked that the education be made "vocational rather than general."

He wants the poor little slavey to spend her continuation school hours in being made a more efficient slavey, not in developing her mind. Blair also wanted the education made voluntary instead of compulsory, so that employers may forbid it if they choose.

Money! Money!

The Church of Scotland Bill went another stage. Hogge (Liberal) accused the Coalition of jobbery over the endowments, saying that the real question at issue is: "Whether you are going to continue a State Church with State endowments when the State will have no control over the church or its endowments."

Water to Cost More.

A Bill to enable the Minister of Health to allow water companies to put up the water rate was read a second time without a division. So we are squeezed!

Trade with India.

The Overseas Trade Credits and Insurance Bill was discussed, and it was complained that it is not to be applied to India. Mr. Arthur Michael Samuel explained that Manchester merchants are against it because Indians ordered goods from them when the rupee was 10 to the pound, and now that the rupee is 15 or 26 to the pound they don't want to take the goods.

Electricity: London v. Moscow.

A private Bill to enable a body of private capitalists, the London Electric Supply Company, to extend its undertaking passed its second reading by 93 votes to 53. The L.C.C. opposed it on the ground that London's electricity should be developed on behalf of the population. The Government, through Mr. Neal, of the Ministry of Transport, supported the private company, and argued that the House of Lords had approved the measure. It was also argued that the electric supply must be increased at all costs. The L.C.C. does not move fast enough.

It is only Soviet Russia that tackles electrical development on an adequate scale.

Defence Force.

12,000 troops were stationed in the coalfields. They cost £770,000.

Opening Letters.

The Home Office stated that trade union letters were not opened during the Coal Strike, but when asked: "Does that apply to the officials of the department, one of whom is stationed in the Post Office in London," the reply was: "That question ought to be addressed to the War Office!!"

Prison Labour.

Sir J. Baird (C.U., Home Office) said that the Statutory Rule is that the hours of prisoners' labour are not more than ten or les than six a day, exclusive of meals.

Outside the prison, when we speak of an eight-hour day, we include the meal-hour. Prisoners in Holloway work from 6.30 a.m. to 4 p.m., and afterwards sew in their cells till 7 p.m. This makes a 12½-hour working day.

The Labourers' 40/-

The Agricultural Wages Board proposes a 40/- flat rate, inclusive of the value of cottage and other extras, for men farm workers over 21 years. Even this is too daring it seems, as the Wages Board is being abolished!

Free Trade v. Protection.

Long speeches were delivered by Free Traders and Protectionists on the Safeguarding of Industries Bill, and many divisions were taken.

The Domestic Servant.

The Minister of Labour said there is to be a Court of Referees to decide whether domestic servants are entitled to unemployment benefit. Mr. Swan (Lab.) asked whether there was to be any regulation of hours or wages which would justify refusal of a situation and therefore entitle the applicant to continued benefit. No answer was given. Colonel Newman (C.U.) was anxious that LabourExchanges should lay down no conditions of employment.

Communist Propaganda.

Mr. G. Doyle (L.N.) asked if he can give the number of offices rented by the Communist Party, what the Party spends for rent and salaries, and what money it receives from Russia.

Sir J. Baird (C.U.) said the Communist Party does not publish accounts, but it has bought premises in London. "In the present state of the law, it is not a criminal offence to introduce money for such agitation."

Poor Law Children.

There are 60,672 children in Poor Law institutions. They should be at home with their mothers!

Old Age Pensions.

Figures for the year ending March 21st, 1921:—

Total paid in Pensions	£25,087,000
Cost of Administration:—	
Pensions Committee	£65,333
Government Departments	708,051
	£773,384

Number of Pensions paid last Friday in March, 1921:—

936,577 at 10s. rate.	
26,459 at 8s. ,,	
17,174 at 6s. ,,	
12,670 at 4s. ,,	
6,153 at 2s. ,,	
1,629 at 1s. ,,	
1,740 not yet adjusted to new rates under Old Age Pensions Act.	
Total	1,002,342

Cost of Poor Law Relief in England and Wales, 1919-20.

Average cost per person of institutional relief (other than in lunatic asylums).	28s. 10½d.
Average cost per person of domiciliary relief	6s. 5d.

Since it costs more than four times as much to keep poor people in institutions than to let them maintain themselves outside, it is an expensive cruelty to keep the old age pensions so low that old people cannot exist on it. But to say that 6s. 5d. per week is the average cost per head of maintaining a person at home is misleading. The average of 6s. 5d. per head was the sum paid in out-relief by the close-fisted administrators of capitalist governments: it is far below the sum required to maintain anyone in decency.

In Scotland the cost of keeping people in institutions was higher than in England and Wales, i.e., £1 2s. 0½d. per head. For keeping them at home an average of only 5s. 10½d. was given.

Number of applications for pensions rejected and on what grounds:—

Age	14,541
Poor Relief	13,624
Means	24,843
Other causes	2,290
	55,298

Number of persons in England and Wales in institutions (other than lunatic asylums) and in receipt of out-door relief on 1st January, 1901:—

	Institution Relief.	Domiciliary Relief.	Totals.
1. Total number of persons all ages - -	203031	376303	579336
2. Number of persons over 65 included in 1 -	40939	11754	52693
3. Number of old age pensions in 2 -	3311	9998	13309

Prisoners cost rather less than paupers:—

	Per head per week. £ s. d.
Convicts:	
Gross Cost	2 8 10
Net Cost after deducting value of labour and incidental receipts	2 3 7
Local prisoners:	
Gross	1 17 8
Net	1 14 3

CORRESPONDENCE.

OUR EXPOSURE OF OPPORTUNISM IN POPLAR.

A SHEFFIELD COMMENT.

A. Carford, of Sheffield, writes:—

"Your article in last week's 'Dreadnought' showing how the parliamentary policy works out in Poplar, and how the Communists there are failing to practice revolutionary destructive action on that body, has aroused a lot of interest up here, and a great deal of sympathy is expressed with the Left Wing standpoint that the Communist Party would do well to leave the Elections and the Labour fakirs alone.

"The fact that the 'Dreadnought' has exposed the matter is appreciated, and some comrades advocate a Woman's E.C. for the Communist Party with the 'Dreadnought' as an unofficial organ. What do you think of the idea?"

Though we thank Comrade Carford for telling us the paper is appreciated, we do not favour the suggestion of a Woman's E.C. for the Communist Party, and we do not see why the article he refers to should lead to any such suggestion.

The issue between ourselves and those members of the Communist Party is not a question of man versus woman. It is a question of whether the principals and tactics of the Communist International are being applied. It is a question of opportunism versus principled and consistent revolutionary Communist action. Some comrades will say that the policy of the Communist members of the Poplar Board of Guardians is the policy of Right Wing Communism, whilst our criticism expresses the policy of Left Wing Communism.

Others will say that the policy of the Poplar members of the Communist Party whom we had attacked is not even Right Wing Communism, but rank second Internationalism, and that such action must be repudiated by the Executive of the Third International in Moscow.

That is precisely our own view.

But no one can reasonably set up that there is any question of sex in this controversy. To suggest a special woman's section of the Party, because of such controversies as this would be as absurd as to have said that out of controversies between Marx and Bakunin should have arisen a German and a Russian Party, or that because of some difference of opinion on the housing question between Bernard Shaw and the Webbs should be formed an Irish and a British section of the Fabian Society.

The questions at issue between the Communist Party and the "Workers' Dreadnought" are questions of tactics and principle concerning Communism. In short, it is Left Wing Communism versus Right or III. International versus II.

THE RED INTERNATIONAL.

Dear Comrade,—I should be obliged if you would give publicity in the "Dreadnought" to a correction of one error in your leader of July 9th. Tom Mann was not advertised as a speaker at the July 3rd Demonstration.

Had the Moscow Red Trade Union International Conference started as intended on July 1st a special message for delivery from the Trafalgar Square platform would have come through according to arrangement.

This was anticipated in the "Communist" advertisement.

Yours fraternally,

F. SMITH.

C. LUCY, 8, Okenampton Road, Exeter, writes:—

"You can send me a parcel of *Dreadnoughts* and useful pamphlets to dispose of amongst my fellow-workers—railwaymen. I am requested by *Dreadnought* readers to express their appreciation of your efforts to stimulate the spirit of Communism."

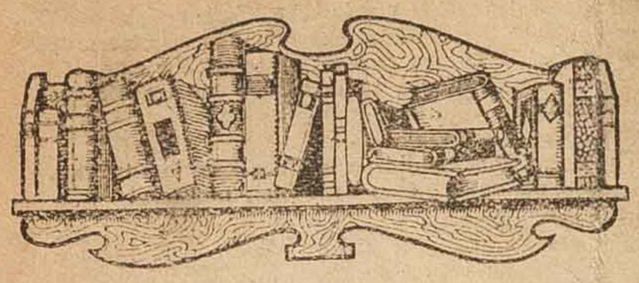
Thanks to you and Exeter readers. Your order will be attended to.

WOODFORD GARDEN PARTY.

Friends are requested to return Unsold Tickets, with the amounts due, to the Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

THE HOLIDAYS.

You are thinking of your holidays. Do not forget to order copies of the "Workers' Dreadnought" to take away with you.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE NEW LABOUR MONTHLY.

The Labour Monthly, published by the recently-formed Labour Publishing Company, makes its first appearance this month. G. D. H. Cole is its guiding spirit. Its object seems to be to voice the asperations of the "Left Wing" in the trade union world, but like everything emanating from its source, it is too cautious, hesitant, and innately uncertain to do so effectively.

The unsigned editorial is heavy and verbose in phraseology, repeats established obvious commonplaces with the air of announcing an important new discovery to people who had not the least inkling of its existence. Thus in its first section it tells us lengthily that, "the situation of Labour in any country is 'part of a general international situation,' and that the old machinery of the Labour organisations is "inadequate to the task confronting labour."

In its second section it tells us that neither craft unionism nor industrial unionism is enough to meet the occasion, and that "real working class unity of action" is needed when the struggle becomes one to "*alter* the wage system."

Does that mean to abolish the wage system; to abolish capitalism? The Labour Monthly ambiguously refrains from plain terms?

Referring to French trade unionism the editorial says that the forthcoming congress of the C.G.T. will mean a split, because the Right Wing declares its intention of expelling the Communists, and if the Left wins, the Right will secede. The Labour Monthly abstains from giving its blessing to either party, merely concluding: "In either case there seems little hope for unity in the C.G.T. Evidently the editor prefers unity to definition of purpose. Referring to Left v. Right dissentions in the Norwegian Trade Union Movement the note of regret is again expressed; the editor fails to recognise these dissentions as a sign of growth and its inevitable accompaniment. He is too cautious, too undecided, to take sides and to support and encourage the side he has chosen.

The Labour Monthly cannot therefore become a leader and developer of opinion. Referring to America the editor says: "It is not too much to say that on the issue of this struggle of the 'open shop' in America depends the future of Labour in the Western world." This is enormously and absurdly to magnify a temporary issue. The editor should recall his own words, "The situation of labour" is "part of a general international situation." He actually said: "has become," but we substitute "is"; for this fact is not a fugitive, but an essential one.

A long dissertion by G. D. H. Cole on "Black Friday," whatever may be the author's intention, fails to convey without doubtfulness, that the "horrible collapse," as he terms it, of Black Friday was not due to unreadiness of machinery, but to unwillingness of mind, and that it was not a collapse, but the repetition of a long practiced and obstinately confirmed policy.

In an article entitled "France and the Future." Henri Barbusse declares his Communist faith: Communism is not an aspect of Socialism, it is its very essence. . . . The extreme and intransigent attitude of the Communist Party is pure wisdom and shows deep knowledge of practical realities. The workers and their leaders have too long been mislead by the bogey of Unity. Unity is nothing but an empty word if it consists in collecting and holding together, by means of obscure and half-expressed terms, parties fundamentally opposed to each other, and who, as soon as they are faced with the need for action, come out in their true colours, and break away, only to end by joining the obstinate and heterogeneous ranks of the enemies of true progress. . . . The Moscow militant party was right in fighting the reformist tendency with a determination that some thought exaggerated. . . . "

Henri Barbusse, we stretch out our hands to you. You have therein pronounced the justification of the "Workers' Dreadnought."

ROSA AND KARL.

In a review of Paul Levi's "What is Broken?" by Phillips Price, which appears as a little Communistic spice in the new Labour Monthly, the reviewer quotes Paul Levi's statement:—

"Rosa Luxemburg would have broken with Liebknecht as soon as the rising of January, 1919, in Berlin had been liquidated." This may be an exaggeration, but it is undoubtedly true that there were tactical differences of opinion between Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. At the beginning of the war Liebknecht incurred Luxemburg's censure by abstaining instead of voting against the war credits. When the last struggle came, in which the two Communists lost their lives, the attitude of Luxemburg, on the other hand, was somewhat more cautious than that of Liebknecht.

Luxemburg desired to concentrate the strike, for the time being, not on the overthrow of the Scheidemann government, and the immediate establishment of Soviets, but on a number of minor though important issues.

"Away with this government of cowards," she declared, must only be a battle cry. The general strike must be for the right to elect the police president, removal of counter-revolutionary troops from Berlin, and so on. She held the masses to be as yet, mentally unprepared to fight for the establishment of Soviets. Some of those who agreed with her view have since said that had her policy been carried out, she and Liebknecht would not have been killed.

We think that a mistake. If the masses were unready at the time to make a serious fight for the Soviets, they were doubtless unprepared to fight seriously for Luxemburg's programme.

It may be that Luxemburg was right and that large masses would have fought for her programme who did not yet desire the Soviets, but we think it unlikely.

Moreover, the counter-revolution realising as clearly as Luxemburg, the paramount importance, both to the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries, of securing control of the military and police, would have struck with equal ferocity against those whom it held to be the backbone of the movement, if the strike had been declared on the Luxemburg plan. It knew as well as Luxemburg that who holds the power calls the tune.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Against Criminality. By Arthur St. John. No. 12 of Penal Reform League. 7, Dalmeny Avenue, London, N.Y.

Crime and Social Progress. By Arthur St. John. Ditto.

Seventh Report of Penal Reform League, 1914—1917. Ditto.

The Next Step. A family Basic Income. By A. B. Piddington, K.C. Macmillan & Co., Limited, Melbourne.

The A.B.C. of Communism, by N. Bucharin and E. Preobraschensky, translated by P. Lavin, S.L.P., Glasgow,

The New Dawn. Official organ of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. "Oakley," Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield, Manchester. Editor, L. Lumley.

Proletarier. Communist montly issued by the K.A.P.D. (Communist Labour Party of Germany). 1.50 marks.

Civil War in France. By K. Marx; with a historical Introduction by R. W. Postgate. Labour Classic No. 1. Labour Publishing Company, Limited, 6, Tavistock Square, W.C. 3s.

Communism. By Eden and Cedar Paul. Labour Booklet No. 3. Labour Publishing Company, Limited. 6d.

All these may be obtained from the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office.

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