# Labour Fakirs attack Unemployed.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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## SHOULD SYNDICALISTS JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

### By A COMMUNIST DOCTOR.

*("La Vie Ouvrière," weekly organ of the organised revolutionary minority in the French General Confederation of Labour, has been conducting a correspondence on the above question. This article has been translated from one of those contributed to "La Vie Ouvrière." We invite our readers also to express their views on this question.)*

One reply, signed "Albert Lemoine," interested me, especially by its clear-cut character, above all, in the following declaration:—

"Either the Communist Party will admit only workers, in which case it will uselessly duplicate the Labour Unions, or it will admit members, regardless of their class, and then the class-struggle it preaches becomes an absurdity or a lie."

In other words, Lemoine, like many active revolutionists wants a revolution made by the workers against all the other elements of the population, and he has more faith in the Labour Unions than in a political party.

Now, "working class" and "Labour Unions" are not identical, and both terms will stand a little closer examination.

I know an industrial city where there is a political group and a Union of metal workers.

The political organisation does not ask its members whether they work in iron, steel, literature, wood or leather. It asks them: "Do you stand for a Communist Social Revolution?" And the advocates of such a revolution are admitted to membership.

The Labour Union, on the other hand, does not question applicants as to their opinions. It merely asks them: "Do you work in the iron or steel industry?" And the metal workers join the Union without necessarily being partisans of the Social Revolution.

But lo and behold! the revolutionary Unionists scorn the revolutionary party (whose members come from different trades and callings, but are all of the same economic and political opinion) and they expect the Revolution to be achieved by the Labour Union, which draws its members from a particular trade, without reference to their opinions—an arrangement which makes it possible for anti-revolutionists to join and to feel perfectly at home—and even, at times, to constitute a majority.

Apparently, an organisation cannot do effective work for the Revolution unless it is composed of members who are not required to be revolutionists, but merely to prove that they can cut steel, tan lather, or saw wood!

And yet Lemoine is one of the railway workers who were discharged for their activity in the 1920 strike. He must have seen and learned many things. Has he forgotten certain "fellow workers," to whom he is partly indebted for the loss of his job? Jack, for example, who took part in the strike only in order to do his work as stool-pigeon for the company? Or Jim, a member of the Union, who said that, since the strike seemed to him to have a political object which went beyond the proper limits of a Labour Union, he refused to take part in it? Or George, who, timid, spineless, nagged by his wife, quit the strike the very first day?

And that is not all, for Lemoine does not speak merely of the Unions, but, more broadly, of "the working class." Well, do not Tom, Dick, and Harry also belong to the working class?—Tom, a member of the "scab" Union, and Dick and Harry, of the Catholic Railwaymen's Union, all of whom worked like beavers to help break the strike? And what about the X local, which voted to strike, but not one of its members went out? Or the Y local, which likewise voted to strike, but only one man went out—and he got fired!

Nevertheless, as between members of the working class and an "intellectual," Lemoine does not hesitate for a instant. Hatred of the intellectual is the fashion just now. It is hard to say where the intellectual begins and ends. A worker in blue overalls, who stands watch all day over the running of delicate, gigantic machines, and takes the readings of countless meters and registers, is not clased as an intellectual. But the doctor, who handles knife and forceps, and climbs fifty flights of stairs a day, is dubbed by this opprobrious term, for it is an opprobrious term to-day; Lemoine's attitude on this point is becoming more and more general.

The Revolution, it would seem, is to be directed principally against the intellectuals. This promises some interesting consequences!

Of course, Lemoine assures us that he does not share in this hatred of the intellectual. He merely classes him, as well as the technician, with the rich man, the policeman and the judge, among the "ruling class," all of whom, with a wave of the hand, he would send to see how things are going on in the other world. Beyond that, he wishes them no harm: oh, no! none at all!

Now I have known some pure "intellectuals," by which I mean men who were not obliged to make any physical effort in their daily work. Some of them, as university professors, drew their salary from the Government: some lived on the sale of their books: others, favoured by fortune, "capitalist exploiters," luckily had enough to live on and to carry on scientific investigations which brought in no money, but caused them heavy expense.

Well, let me tell you, some of these "intellectuals" have given liberally of their time, strength, and money to the revolutionary movement (while the proletarian mass remained indifferent) and have been arrested and prosecuted, and their homes searched.

We are called upon to choose between such men and the Toms, Dicks and Harrys mentioned above. Lemoine's choice is quickly made. He will begin by dynamiting the intellectual, in order to get rid of this troublesome individual and teach him to mind his own business. Then he will throw himself into the arms of Tom, Dick and Harry, BECAUSE THEY BELONG TO HIS CLASS, AND THAT IS THE ONLY THING THAT COUNTS FOR HIM.

As for men like Elisée Reclus—away with them!

Well, every man to his taste. I am not a working man, but if I were, I would prefer Elisée Reclus.

Let me touch, in passing, on one question that is important, although something of a side-issue here—the general fear of "introducing politics into the Labour Unions." We lose our heads over phrases, without bothering to look into their meaning. Let me ask you, yes or no, does a Social Revolution have a political side to it? If you want the world to "change its basis of life," is that a change which affects organised society, the "polis," or community—in short, partly a political change?

What a ridiculous contradiction of terms, for revolutionists to cry: "No politics!" This position is so clearly absurb, that it can be turned right againt them. "No politics in the Labour Unions" can mean only one thing—that the Union confines itself strictly to trade questions—which, in my opinion, is its proper field, for the simple reason that it is an industrial group, composed of people who have the same trade, but not necessarily the same opinions.

One word more. Lemoine criticises the Communists for admitting bourgeois intellectuals, on the ground that many of them turn traitor. Coming from a Syndicalist, at a time when the French Syndicalist movement is being betrayed by its own leaders, this criticism is a bit simple minded. Let the Syndicalists first get the traitors out of their own ranks!

I should think that revolutionists of the working class ought to join hands with revolutionists of other classes, sooner than with members of their own class, who have so often left them in the lurch and always will do so, except, perhaps, when victory seems certain. But revolutionists of different classes cannot combine in a Labour Union, but only in a political party.

The way in which a Union recruits members makes it a purely industrial organisation. As such, it cannot normally play a political rôle and cannot, therefore, be revolutionary, since one cannot speak of revolution without entering into politics.

I believe that there can be revolutionary Syndicalists, but not revolutionary Syndicalism, except for brief periods.

In closing, let me make my position perfectly clear. I wish that the power of the Unions might be in the hands of the revolutionists, but I maintain that their efforts, their activity, their propaganda, can bring this about only occasionally and in spite of the method of recruiting members—a method which is inevitable, because it forms, so to speak, part of the very definition of a Labour Union, and which will always tend to bring the Union back to what it really is by its nature, namely, a purely professional trade group.

P.S.—As I was finishing this letter, I had an opportunity to talk with two working men, as bitter as the bourgeois against any strike or revolutionary movement. They declared that they would not give any help, or even a crust of bread, to a striker, or to any of the men who lost their jobs in the 1920 strike. Now go and make a revolution with the help of these congenial working-class brothers against those damned intellectuals!

—*Translated by* FREDERICK A. BLOSSOM.

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# MAX HAVELAAR.

## A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

Edward Dowes Dekker, who used the pen name of "Multatuli," was Assistant Resident of the Dutch Government in Java during the 'fifties.

He agitated against the monstrous extortions and tyrannies of which the natives were victims, and sacrificed his position in a vain effort to secure reform.

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

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

*Characters in the Story.*

MAX HAVELAAR, who, on coming to take up the post of Assistant Resident in Lebak, discovers that the natives are cruelly and illegally exploited by the Regent, a native functionary, and other native chiefs, and that his predecessor, Mr. Slotering, has many times complained in vain to:

MR. SLYMERING, the Resident of Bantam, the principle representative of the Dutch Government in an administrative area of which Lebak is a part, and the superior to whom the Assistant Residents, like Havelaar, must look for guidance and instructions.

THE REGENT, a native functionary whose native title is Radeen Adhipatti and whose name is Karta Natta Negara. A Regent is a native official appointed by the Dutch Government always belonging to the high aristocracy of his country, and usually of the family of princes who formerly governed in that part of the country.

VERBRUGGE, the Controller, an official who assists, and is subordinate to the Assistant Resident.

LIEUTENANT DUCLARI, Dutch Commandant of the Garrison of Rankas-Betong.

TINE, Max Havelaar's wife.

MAX, their son, a child of three years.

MRS. SLOTERING, the half-caste widow of Havelaar's predecessor, and mother of a large family. Max Havelaar on his appointment allowed her to remain in a house at his disposal, situated in the grounds of his official residence.

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It is to be doubted if the speech Havelaar made when he came to take up his duties as Assistant Resident had made a lasting impression on the chiefs, but in all the villages the report had spread that the gentleman who had power at Rankas-Betong would do justice, and if his words were powerless to prevent crime, they had at least given the victims the courage to complain, however hesitatingly and secretly.

In the evening they crept through the ravine, and when Tine was sitting in her room, she was frightened by an unexpected noise, and saw before the open windows dark forms that sneaked shyly along. Very soon she started no more, for she knew what it meant when these forms wandered, like so many spectres, round the house, and asked protection of her Max. Then she beckoned him, and he got up to call in the complainants. Most of them came from the district of Parang-Koodjang, where one of the chiefs was a son-in-law of the Regent; and though this chief did not omit to take his part of the extortion, yet it was no secret that he generally robbed in the name of the Regent, and for his benefit. It was affecting to see how these poor men relied on the chivalry of Havelaar that he would not summon them to repeat openly what they told him in his room. This would have caused their ill-treatment and the death of many. Havelaar made notes of what they said, then sent the complainants back to their villages, promising that justice should be done. He was soon afterwards at the place where the injustice happened, if he had not been there to investigate it already. He went without informing the Regent, or even the Controller Verbrugge, for he was anxious to shield the complainants from the danger of revenge and the Regent from the shame of a public inquiry. He still hoped that the chiefs would turn from the dangerous course they had followed so long; but whenever he spoke to the Regent on such matters, it was evident to him that all promises of amendment were vain. He was deeply pained by the ill-success of his endeavours.

One afternoon Havelaar coming from his room found Tine in the fore-gallery waiting for him at the tea-table.

Madam Slotering had just left her house as though she were coming to Havelaar's. Suddenly she turned and went to the gate, with very violent gestures, sent back a man who had just entered. She remained standing till she felt sure he had gone away, then came along the grass field to Havelaar's.

"I will know what this means," said Havelaar, and when the salutation was over, he asked, jokingly, that she might not think he grudged her influence in grounds that were formerly hers:

"Now, Madam, do tell me why you always send back the men who come into the grounds. What if that man, for instance, had fowls to sell, or any other kitchen requisite?"

There was in the face of Madam Slotering a painful expression which did not escape Havelaar's observation.

"Ah," she said, "there are so many bad men."

"Certainly, that is the case everywhere; but if you are so particular, the good ones will stay away also—come now, Madam, tell me why you keep such a sharp lookout on the grounds."

The widow burst into tears, saying that her husband had been poisoned at Parang-Koodjang in the house of the district chief.

"He would do justice," Mr. Havelaar, continued the poor woman, "he wished to put an end to the oppression of the people. He exhorted and threatened the chiefs, in councils, and in writing; you must have found his letters in the archives."

That was the case. Havelaar had read those letters.

"He spoke repeatedly to the Resident, but always in vain; for as it was generally known that the extortion was for the Regent, of whom the Resident would not complain to the Government, all these conversations had no other effect than the ill-treatment of the complainants. Therefore my poor husband had said that if no alteration were made before the end of the year, he should apply direct to the Governor-General. That was in November. A few days later he made a journey of inspection, took his dinner at the house of the Demang of Peraang-Koodjang, and soon afterwards was brought home in a pitiable condition. He cried while pointing to his stomach: 'fire, fire,' and in a few hours he was dead; he who had always been remarkable for good health."

"Did you send for the Serang doctor?"

"Yes, but my husband died soon after his arrival. I did not dare to tell the doctor my suspicion, because I foresaw that I should not soon be able to leave this place, and I feared revenge. I have heard that you, like my husband, oppose the abuses which reign here, and, therefore, I have not a moment's peace. I would have concealed all this from you to avoid frightening you and Madam Havelaar, and so I only watched the grounds to prevent strangers from entering the kitchen."

Now it was clear to Tine why Madam Slotering had kept her own household, and would not even make use of the kitchen, which was so large. Havelaar sent for the Controller. Meanwhile he sent a request to the physician at Serang, to make a statement of the symptoms attending the death of Slotering. The reply he received was not in accordance with the widow's suspicions. According to the doctor Slotering had died of an "abscess in the liver." Yet Madam Slotering had said that her husband was always healthy, and could a person who dies of an abscess in the liver to-day ride on horseback yesterday to inspect a mountainous country some eighty miles in extent?

The doctor who treated Slotering may have been a skilful physician, and yet have been mistaken in his judgment of the symptoms of the disease, unprepared as he was to suspect crime. However this may be, I cannot prove that Havelaar's predecessor was poisoned, because Havelaar was not allowed to clear up the matter; but I can prove that everyone believed in the poisoning, and that this was suspected on account of his desire to oppose injustice.

The Controller Verbrugge entered Havelaar's room; the latter asked abruptly:—

"What did Mr. Slotering die of?"

"I don't know."

"Was he poisoned?"

"I don't know; but ——."

"Speak plainly, Verbrugge."

"But he endeavoured to oppose the abuses as you do, . . . and he would certainly have been poisoned if he had remained here longer."

"Write that down!"

Verbrugge wrote it.

"To proceed, it is *true*, or untrue, that much extortion is committed in Lebak?"

Verbrugge made no reply.

"Answer me, Verbrugge!"

"I dare not."

"Write down that you dare not."

Verbrugge wrote it down.

"Well, to proceed, you dare not answer the last question. You told me lately, when there was a question about *poisoning*, that you were the only support of our sisters at Batavia—is that the reason of your fear of what I always call your *halfness*?"

"Yes"

Verbrugge wrote it down.

"That will do," said Havelaar, "I know enough."

Verbrugge left. Havelaar went out and played with little Max, whom he kissed very fervently. When Madam Slotering was gone, he sent away the child, and called in Tine.

"Dear Tine! I have a favour to ask you. I should like you and Max to go to Batavia—to-day I accuse the Regent."

She fell on his neck, for the first time opposed to his wishes, and cried, sobbing:—

"No, Max; no, Max, I will not go . . . I will not go; we eat and drink together."

*To be continued.*


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# A NEW REPUBLIC.

By S. SOBER.

Two brothers were Socialists; but one, Jim Barker, was a quiet fellow, a very quiet fellow for a Yankee, and took little more than the part of a silent earnest observer in the movement. The other, Joe Barker, was a well-known orator, on the stump almost every evening in the week and twice on Sundays, beside attending innumerable committees somehow. He was several times candidate for the City Government, for the State Legislature, for Congress and the Presidency; indeed, he was an indefatigable candidate.

There came a time after the Great War when trade depression was a blight on the Labour movement, when those who had been its active adherents were all out of work, a dozen men were waiting outside for every man's job, and the funds and membership of every working-class organisation were so low, that propaganda was almost extinguished. The section of the movement with which Joe Barker was associated turned bitterly away from all candidatures and all leaders, and dropped into a slow, carping apathy.

Then it was that Joe Barker, being a man of enterprising temperament, set off to found a new Republic somewhere in the far East. Jim, such a quiet, sluggish fellow, stayed at home in his rut, continued his labours to earn his daily crust and his small economies to spare a portion of his earnings to give to the workers' movement.

Years passed, and occasionally news came from Joe, appeals for funds, for donations to fight famine and pestilence in his new country, appeals to invest in loans to the Government of his new Republic, accounts of the splendid things he was doing in the Republic; the proclamations of freedom and brotherhood issued; the great equalities instituted. Sometimes Jim had thought of going to seek the New Republic, but he was absorbed by his work and his rut, and a strange, quiet faithfulness made him reluctant to desert the old movement, those masses of sleepy exploited workers, and those few class-conscious comrades who were carrying on the old struggle, so feebly, so blunderingly, and with so remote a hope.

At last came the expected, the longed for—a general strike. It failed utterly; for the time being; the movement was wholly crushed. Jim, drawn from his rut to take some more or less active, responsible part in it, because the active and responsible were so few, was a marked man; he must either wear out long years in prison, or become a hunted fugitive. He was tired, embittered and despairing, not from the failure of the attempt, but wounded more deeply by many defections and even some treacheries of comrades. So, as to a light of hope shining before him, he set out to find Joe and the New Republic.

He left America as a stowaway: begged his way through Europe, crossing the frontiers passportless by night with the help of peasants who pitied his pleading, and passing over the mountains by precarious goat tracks, to avoid the sentries. Jim was a weakling, feeble in body, unaccustomed to walking, giddy and nervous of heights, insufficiently clad and with cheap thin shoes soon broken. He suffered incredibly, but still he persevered, holding on at last only dully and by instinct to the quest for his goal—Joe's New Republic.

Jim came at last to a deserted country with a barren, red sandy soil, parched and blighted and falling away into great pits and gullies. For countless hungry days he had met never a human creature, till he chanced at last upon a little log house, at the door of which was a mumbling imbecile, apparently stone deaf. Bedridden within was an old American traveller. He was stranded here by illness, on his way to the New Republic. He had brought with him a company of servants, but, when he had grown too ill to travel, they had all deserted him in their haste to reach the promised land he had described to them. Only the idiot who could not hear his stories of the New Republic had remained to care for him.

The fever under which the old man had collapsed was over, but he was still too weak to stand upright. He showed Jim a pressing invitation to visit the New Republic which he had received from Joe, and many testimonials of appreciation for the large sums of money and consignments of goods which he had collected for the Republic over a period of years. Jim was too modest to claim the great Joe as his brother, but he humbly tended the American till he was strong enough to continue the journey, leaning upon Jim's arm and with the aid of a stick.

Very slow indeed was the progress made by the two wayfarers, though Jim's timidity grew less when he had another to care for, and his feeble strength was capable of bigger efforts for the sake of the old man. At last they came upon a steep mountain side that sloped down before them to the edge of a great ravine, bridged only by slender tree trunks placed end to end and precariously attached. Jim quivered with fright and he sank down on his hands and knees, overcome by dizziness, dug his fingers into the earth, clutching the scanty tufts of grass on the mountain side. The old man, who clung to him always, sank down with him and crawled on to his back. Oppressed by the weight of the old man's body and the grip of his twining arms and bony shins, Jim lay for some time, speechless with mental agony. Then he begged the old man to unloose his hold, and let him go forward alone to the New Republic, only a few hours' distant now, promising to return in haste with a band of Joe's stalwart Republicans to fetch him.

The elder consented, and Jim, almost choked with fear and horror, somehow managed to cross the deep ravine by the slender tree trunks, clinging to them with arms and legs and body, swarming desperately along them, as though he were climbing a rope.

That night he arrived, in the dark, at Joe's headquarters; a large wooden blockhouse, dimly lit and heavy with the smoke of many pipes. It was thronged with men: Joe's closest associates, dressed brightly and richly, but rather shabbily, in an odd and unfamiliar dress. The talk was loud, the bottles circulated freely; the remains of a huge supper were on the table. Joe, stouter and older, but otherwise little changed, sat in the centre.

Jim eagerly told his tale of the old American left alone on the mountain, and showed the old man's letter of invitation from Joe, and his packet of testimonials for services rendered; but no one rose to go to his assistance, and when Jim pressed excitedly for something to be done, Joe curtly motioned him to be silent and went on talking with his companions in a language that Jim could not understand.

Jim sat all night near to Joe's feet, on a box with a broken lid, listening to the talk and watching the bottles circulate, till he fell asleep.

In the morning he was wakened by a great noise of shouting and tramping and the beating of gongs. Joe told Jim there was to be a great festival; he was dressing himself in a strange beaded head-dress and a long robe shaped like a dressing gown, but made of bright-coloured striped silk, and thickly wadded, so that it stuck out stiffly and made Joe look as stiff and as artificial as a china figure.

Joe strutted out of the house and Jim followed. Now it was daylight Jim saw that he was in the midst of a wretched village of poor little huts built of earth and wood; the sandy road was unpaved, and the people, with matted hair and clad in filthy rags, went barefoot. They were haggard and emaciated. Some children fought over a bone they had found lying by the door of Joe's house, gnawing together at the bits of it visible between their clutching hands.

A procession was forming, headed by Joe's friends whom Jim had seen the night before, and a dozen men in gorgeous embroidered robes, chanting and swinging incense burners: before them went naked men, chained together by the neck and tossing up coloured balls, or beating gongs.

It was like a Roman Catholic procession, combined with something ruder and more primitive.

Jim caught Joe's robe:

"What is it all about?" he gasped, dumbfounded.

"This is a religious festival: those are the Councillors, the priests, and the slaves the Republic has taken in battle. The people still have religious cravings; they are still impressed by ceremonials; we are obliged to organise these functions to impress them; otherwise they would cease to obey us."

Jim was filled with a great despair: words which he had often heard Joe utter from the platform came to his mind, and he repeated them mechanically:

"Religion is the opiate of the people: bring down the Kings from the thrones and the gods from the skies; set mankind free from every domination and all forms of superstition.

"Education and economic equality are the birthright of all.

"Call no man master and no man slave.

"Socialism will banish all slavery, all oppression, and all war."

"Oh, that," said Joe; "but it will be fifty years at least before people will begin to be Socialists."

The procession moved off: Jim did not follow. He fell fainting on the ground, and the dust of the marching feet covered him.

When he at last staggered to his feet, he set off doggedly, though painfully, to return whence he had started, telling himself that there are no short and easy cuts to progress: that the Social Revolution is a harsh and toilsome business, an affair of patient hardship and constant sacrifice, but the only thing that could satisfy him, the only thing in which he could manage to believe.

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## ANOTHER WOMAN IN PARLIAMENT

The undiscriminating feminists are rejoicing, of course, that another woman has entered Parliament. Now, they hope, we may be on the high road to the millenium: that is to say, those of them who are spirited enough to desire a millenium: so many of them want only to introduce women into the old political scramble without changing it!

Some of them who are discriminating enough to notice that Lady Astor has not cut an imposing figure in Parliament, are taking the cue given by certain Liberal newspapers, in saying that Lady Astor has been handicapped in radiating the power of a woman's influence, by the fact that she is a Coalition M.P. and a Unionist.

Mrs. Wintringham is also, however, a capitalist party hack, though her party happens to be out of office and of a slightly different complexion from that of Lady Astor. In office Mrs. Wintringham's party would be much the same as Lady Astor's; indeed, have we not Mr. Lloyd George, who comes from Mrs. Wintringham's party, at the head of Lady Astor's Government? Really, there is little to choose between the leading-strings in which these two ladies are held—both their parties are out to maintain the capitalist system as it is.

Both these ladies desire to put bandages on the sores that fester upon the social system. They both supported the war; they both follow the conventional ruts of social work and politics that open out before women of their respective positions in regard to their class and their matrimonial connections.

No more than a man can a woman exercise a beneficient influence and bring about reforms in the social system, unless she is possessed of ideas and a policy combined with the courage to break away from the restraints of old convention.

Mrs. Wintringham appears as little likely as Lady Astor to make any difference in politics, though it is hardly possible that a second woman will prove so glaringly inconsistent as the first woman Member of Parliament has shown herself to be.

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"MOSCOW."

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## THE GRIP OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA.

### Soviet Russia and the Trade Agreements with Capitalist Powers.

The reply from Berzin, of the Russian Trade Delegation, to Lord Curzon's allegation that the Third International was carrying on anti-British propaganda in India, Persia, and Afghanistan, is unpleasant reading for Communists. After refuting the accusations, Berzin says:—

"Mr. Berzin wishes to impress upon the Foreign Office that the Russian Government wishes more than ever to promote friendly and sincere relations with his Britannic Majesty's Government, and that it has given the best proof of its good intentions in taking steps immediately after the signing of the trade agreement, to cease all activity and to dissolve any organisation in the East which might be construed as likely to give offence to his Britannic Majesty's Government or to constitute a breach of the Agreement."

Offence to his Britannic Majesty's Government! All propaganda for Communism gives offence to the British Government. Is this statement to be construed to apply to the Third International? Presumably it is, since it was the Third International which Lord Curzon specifically accused of propaganda. It therefore means, in the long run, that the Third International must suspend all revolutionary propaganda where Trade Agreements between Soviet Russia and capitalist Powers have been entered into.

**Third International Barred in the East.**

For the present, the position is that the Third International in the East is absolutely suspended by these pledges, in return for a trade agreement which has been but of very small value to Soviet Russia.

In the East, at least, a new organisation must arise to take up the work of propaganda and preparation for the International Communist Revolution: either that, or the propaganda must be entirely local and unrelated to any international movement.

There are signs that it is not only in the East that the Third International is being weakened by the compromises of into which the Russian Government has thought it necessary to enter, as well as by the apportunist attitude it is adopting in many directions.

Here is the justification for the Revolutionary Left Communist organisations that met in Germany the other day, to form a new International.

Regretfully we say it, though this development was doubtless inevitable: revolutionary proletariat of the world, the day is fast dawning in which you must cease to regard the first Soviet republic as your guide and leader. Enmeshed by the tentacles of Capitalism, she is sinking backward. When will you come forward to assist her to tear herself out of the slough into which environing Capitalism is now steadily pushing her?

"A Reuter telegram from Berlin states that M. Krassin, in a reference to Lord Curzon's Note, said that he was convinced that if the agents of the Soviet authorities in Afghanistan and Persia were guilty of the charges preferred against them, they would be recalled forthwith and punished."

Punished for working for Communism! Let us hope that this message is a fabrication! Remember the splendid challenge of those declarations first issued by the Soviet Republic in the early days of its rise to power: how brilliantly inspiring was their call! How utterly they differed from the tame subserviency of these last messages.

The Trade Agreement with capitalist Powers was bound to be a source of weakness to Soviet Russia: if entered into with small neutral countries like Norway, its ill, small, effects might be counter-balanced by the value of the goods imported; but a Trade Agreement with the powerful British Empire must, of necessity, be in the interests of Britain and, therefore, opposed to the interests of Soviet Russia and Communism in general; it could not be otherwise. Should it prove otherwise, Britain would withdraw from the agreement.

**Popularising Lloyd George.**

The *Daily Herald* is now at its old task of confusing the issue: it is endeavouring to popularise the Trade Agreement and Lloyd George, by insisting that it is the work of his beneficient hands, and that now he is busy "immersed in Irish and Labour affairs at Gairloch," the wicked ogre, Lord Curzon, has chosen this moment to intrigue against both him and the Trade Agreement.

The *Daily Herald* has sounded this note many times: a flagrant instance being its story that Lloyd George and President Wilson were working for a people's peace against the wicked ogre Clemenceau. It frequently used to tell us that Lloyd George was working for peace with Russia against that wicked ogre Churchill.

This sort of thing should not blind anyone to the actual trend of events. When Lloyd George's friends think it worth while to get him whitewashed by the *Daily Herald*, something particularly iniquitous is usually afoot which has to be screened from view.

**Capitalists fight Soviets.**

The *Mining World* of September 24th contains the following curious paragraphs:—

"Mr. Leslie Urquhart has returned to London from Moscow without any very definite conclusions being arrived at. Agreement with the Soviet Government is hanging fire, like the Irish question. The Soviet Government beholds millions of the people starving, but is slow to give them the opportunity of earning money to obtain the nourishment they need. Time may be required for the arrangements to be made, but this is a case to which the words 'hurry up!' emphatically apply. Mr. Urquhart has been away five weeks, and directly he reached Victoria Station, a correspondent of the *Financial Times* was there to interview him. What he had to say was not very definite or precise. He found revolution still existing in Russia, and dissensions amongst the Soviet leaders. General agreement has been reached on the essential provisions of the contract for the resumption of operations in the Russo-Asiatic mines.

"It is clear that no agreement has yet been arrived at, though it is quite possible this may be otherwise within a short time, particularly as M. Krassin is again visiting London. Rumour has it that an agreement will be signed here by which the mines will be returned to their rightful owners."

The last passage is exceedingly ominous, and it would appear from the general trend of the statement that Soviet Russia is being offered loans to be used for famine relief on condition that she surrenders the mines to the old capitalists.

To agree to such an arrangement would be to place a burden of debt on the shoulders of the Workers' Republic whilst robbing her of the natural resources by which she might repay the debt, and condemning the mine workers to submit themselves again to the joke of the capitalist employer.

We hope that, whatever may be the result, Soviet Russia will stand out against such iniquitous proposals. Terrible is the Russian famine; but it may prove more terrible in the chains it will cast for the survivors than in the number of the dead.

May those who had the courage to make revolution now have the courage to refuse to purchase relief at the expense of freedom and progress!

## NO RATES.

The Bethnal Green Borough Council has now decided to follow Poplar in refusing to levy the L.C.C. and other general Rates. Some other Council will now probably adopt the same course, and pressure should be brought on all Councils with Labour majorities, to come into line.

Sir A. Mond states that the Government will retaliate by giving the L.C.C. power to collect direct from the householder or the landlord the general Rate which the Poplar Councillors refuse to levy.

The next move will then, obviously, lie with the householders, who should refuse to pay the Rate should the L.C.C. attempt to collect direct from them, or deduct the amount of the Rate from their rent, should it be levied upon the landlord.

The best outcome of the whole struggle would be a rent and Rates strike, not for the equalisation of Rates and work for the unemployed alone, but for a wide and comprehensive programme which would necessitate an entire change in the social system. This would, of course, mean the Social Revolution and the establishment of the Soviets. A large proportion of those who are supporting the no-Rate move are unprepared for that; but Communists must continue to advertise their programme in connection with every popular agitation, in order that they may arouse in the people a desire for its fulfilment. The Communist goal may appear relatively remote to those who take up the cry for equalisation of Rates with the confident hope that this object will speedily be achieved. But the equalisation of Rates will give only a small temporary relief and make no lasting difference whatever to the lives and relationship of rich and poor. If equalisation of Rates be secured, the rich in the West End will take steps to recoup themselves for the change; as landlords of working-class dwellings they will seek a pretext for increasing rents and reducing improvements and repairs; as traders and manufacturers they will find a means of increasing prices; as employers, they will reduce wages; as taxpayers, they will secure the transfer of taxation from income and property to commodities, by which the consumer is forced to pay. It is not by a little expedient like the equalisation of Rates that one may permanently improve the standard of the poor and cause the rich to reduce their wealth. How hopeless is the path of piecemeal Reform is seen by the fate of the Wages Boards established to protect the workers in sweated trades. The greatest and most important of these, the last to be secured, is the first to go: those dealing with the sweated industries in which women are mainly employed will shortly disappear. Yet these sweated trades Boards mitigated but very slightly the hard lot of the sweated workers.

## ITALIAN COMMENT ON OUR EXPULSION

[*The following paragraph appears in the "Rosta Wien"*].

**"Italian Comrade gives advice to the English Party."**

Turin, September 18th.

"A leading member of the Italian Communist Party has expressed himself on the expulsion of Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst from the English Communist Party. Outside of the fact that in the actual question under dispute Sylvia Pankhurst had the right attitude, it is especially important in such a matter to take her personality and her editorial services into consideration. The purification of the Communist International on the ground of firm party discipline shall not mean the exclusion of such a valuable revolutionary as Sylvia Pankhurst. The Italian comrade gives the English Communist Party the friendly advice to withdraw her expulsion."



## UNEMPLOYMENT.

### LABOUR PARTY v. LLOYD GEORGE

Lloyd George's mind is now said to be turning towards housing schemes and the beautifying of Britain as methods by which the unemployed problem may be met. It is only recently that he broke with his old supporter, Dr. Addison, because Addison would not assent to the abandoning of such a programme that was not even large enough to meet either unemployment, or the housing need of the people.

The only tangible thing that has so far resulted from the unemployment agitation and the Poplar protest, except what the unemployed have themselves rung from the Boards of Guardians, is the permission for Boards of Guardians to overdraw their banking accounts, if the banks will permit them to do so.

All sorts of proposals, said to emanate variously from Lloyd George, Sir Alfred Mond, and Sir Alfred Mond's Committee, are now being discussed. These include:

Boards of Guardians to be permitted to raise short-term loans, the Government guaranteeing the interest, and the Ministry of Health regulating the scale and forms of Relief.

Banks to be induced, by Government guarantees, to be more ready to make advances on exports and to finance industry.

Manufacturers to be induced to keep their plant running by Government offers of guarantees against loss.

The premier to call a Conference of financiers, merchants, and manufacturers, and Trade Union leaders.

The Prime Minister told the Labour Mayors that he cannot shoulder the burden of unemployment alone, and that co-operation between the Government, local authorities, manufacturers, traders, bankers, and organised Labour is essential.

These proposals mean, firstly, that there is to be an attempt to secure a so-called "industrial peace," such as we had during the war—a peace in which, whilst capital carries on the class-struggle as before, Labour ceases to fight, and the Trade Union officials make themselves responsible for preventing strikes and maintaining discipline amongst their members. During such a peace it is hoped by the Government and employers to effect wages cuts, the undermining of Trade Union rules and practices, and the breaking down of the revolutionary spirit.

Government subsidies to capitalists, subsidies which come out of the pockets of us all, are also envisaged for stimulating industry. When Capitalism fails in its business, it uses the power of the Government to force the people to pay up to provide it with more capital.

The Labour Party has laid before the Government and the people its own proposals for dealing with unemployment These may be summarised as follows:—

**Labour Party's Proposals for dealing with Unemployment.**

Government Departments to anticipate future needs and issue orders for stores and equipment now.

Government itself to place substantial orders for staple commodities with manufacturers.

Employers to supply to Government at reduced charges; working week to be 40 hours.

Government orders to be allocated within the industry by joint decision of employers' organisations and Trade Unions.

Government to export products made under these conditions, on credit, to Continental countries needing them.

The Government to deal direct with other Governments, Co-operative Societies, or other organisations able and willing to pay for the goods ultimately.

Some of these goods to be disposed of at home, for instance, agricultural machinery to be sold on instalment system to smallholders.

Public works, and especially housing, to be proceeded with by Government and local authorities.

Government to give "much more generous assistance" to local authorities than it has promised.

If work is not found for the unemployed, they must be maintained on an adequate scale.

We need scarcely point out to our readers that these Labour Party proposals are hopelessly vague and inadequate. The Labour Party has not even the courage to name the amount of maintenance it considers adequate, or to state any tangible basis on which it may be assessed. The Labour further fails to say to what extent the Government should assist the local authorities. In short, the Labour Party's policy is a bankrupt one.

The unemployed are wise to conduct their fight in their own way, without reference to the Labour Party.

We Communists continue to fix our hopes upon Communism and the Social Revolution.

## THE UNEMPLOYED v. THE LABOUR PARTY.

Those of the London unemployed who are class-conscious and who are organising the beseiging of Boards of Guardians and Borough Councils are not dismayed at the prospect of destroying the smooth working of the capitalist system and embarrassing those who administer it. On the contrary, that is precisely what they desire: they desire to smash the system, and they know that when one is trying to smash a system it is wise to do everything one can to put it out of gear.

Moreover, they take their stand on the principle that they are workers willing to work; that they are human beings with all the needs of humanity, and that, therefore, they refuse to suffer privation in a land of plenty.

The Woolwich unemployed have fixed a scale of Relief, which they demand as an alternative to work, at a Trade Union wage of 25/- a week for an adult, married or single, and 8/- a week for a child. The unemployed in other districts demand Relief on similar, or slightly lower scales.

The Woolwich Labour Party, which has a majority on the local Board of Guardians, has issued a circular in opposition to the unemployed demand. It finds itself in the position the capitalist parties occupied, when, in its early days, the Woolwich Labour Party assailed them in the same cause. The Woolwich Labour Party has acted just as its capitalist predecessors did; it has refused the unemployed demand, on the score that it is exorbitant, and has issued a leaflet justifying its own action and condemning the unemployed. It has taken up the defence of the ratepayer and so has become the defender of the present system.

There we see the gulf between Communism and Labourism: Labourism has not broken with the present system, and that being so, it asks men and women to be reasonable, in view of the limitations of the present system. The Woolwich Labour Party circular says that if the Relief scale demanded by the unemployed were granted:

"*It would mean that a married man with a wife and family of five children would receive £4 10s, a week, plus rent.*"

The Woolwich Labour Councillors do not think £4 10s. a week, plus rent, too high a wage for a man with a wife and five children to receive: on the contrary, under ordinary circumstances, they are inclined to argue that it is too little; but to give such a sum to a man out of work, though they admit that the man is not to blame, they consider out of harmony with other features of the present system.

The Woolwich Labour representatives say, just as the Pogressives, the Moderates, and the Municipal Reformers would have said in their place:—

"*This would mean a charge on the local Rate of a minimum of £25,000 per week. This sum is equivalent to over a sixpenny Rate per week.*"

"*This would mean an increase of 6/- week on a house now let at 13/9 weekly (pre-war, 9/-).*"

There it is: the unemployed must go short, because their working class neighbours cannot afford to pay more rent; the idea that they should lead those neighbours in a rent strike does not occur to the law-abiding minds of Labour Councillors.

Again, the partially-employed men are earning a mere pittance: Woolwich Councillors cannot approve that the unemployed should demand more than those whom the employer is using part of the time.

Says the circular:—

"*The average amount drawn by a labourer in the Arsenal, taking into account the week off in six, is £2 18s. 2d.*"

Thus the small pittance of the partially-employed man is to be made to serve as a reason why the workless should get less.

"*The Boards of Guardians, in refusing to be bullied into adopting the scale, will be supported by every self-respecting working man and woman in the Borough, be they employed or unemployed,*" says the circular; but those who wrote it are aware that their wish in this respect will not be fulfilled.

The London Labour Party has approved the Woolwich circular, and has sent it with a letter of its own to Labour Mayors, Labour Party leaders, and Whips and Secretaries of affiliated local Trades Councils, and Borough and Divisional Labour Parties.

This letter of the London Labour Party says:—

"There are two tendencies from which the Party must keep itself distinct:

"(1) That which is quite happy in the continuance of a social order which creates a substantial number of industrially unemployed well-to-do people, but which is bitterly indignant when any attempt is made to rescue the unemployed of the poorer classes from extreme poverty and despair;

"(2) That which is represented by those known as 'extremists,' who are diverting attention from the responsibilities of the national Government, concentrating the great bulk of the attack on Local Authorities which do not possess adequate resources and powers to deal with the question (particularly in the Labour areas), and who are demanding scales of Poor Law Relief which cannot be regarded as reasonable, *having regard to the general standard of life of the workpeople who will have to find a substantial part of the cost of such Relief.*

"The Executive is of the opinion that we must fight with great vigour those cruel and heartless elements in national affairs, which appear indifferent to the sufferings of the unemployed, and also that we must decline to be intimidated by a small band of enemies of the Labour Party who are endeavouring to intimidate Labour Local Authorities into pursuing policies which stand no chance of being endorsed by the electorate and which would impose what would be regarded as unreasonable burdens upon the working and lower-middle class ratepayers."

Those passages very graphically sum up the policy of the Labour Party: it is a half-way house between the extreme reactionaries and the workless masses clamouring for relief.

### NOTICE.

An Orchestral and Choral Academy has been started with a view to encouraging musical art in the ranks of the Labour Socialist and Communist movement.

Funds are urgently needed to support the above effort on behalf of Labour's cause.

All instrumentalists (beginners, intermediate or advanced) wishing to join the above Academy are cordially invited to communicate with the Secretary, J. James, Office, 55, Rodney Place, Palatinate Estate, S.E. 17.

## WINNING AND LOSING.

The miserable wages of the German worker make huge profits possible for the German capitalist in spite of the low prices at which the goods are put on the foreign market.

A trade agreement concluded between Italy and Germany gives facilities for the importation into Germany of a great number of articles of luxury, amongst which are such prime necessaries of life as wine, fruits, silk, coral, ivory, mother of pearl and tortoiseshell.

The English workers who won, and the German workers who lost, the war, are both paying for it in low wages and starvation, over-work and unemployment. The English capitalists who won the war and the German capitalists who lost it (both by proxy, of course), are still living on the fat of the land; racking their brains for new ways of spending their superfluous cash, so as to stimulate their appetites, gratify their perverted instincts, and satisfy the craving of vacant minds after novelty; sending to the four quarters of the globe for toys and luxuries.

And the worker looks on his brother worker, whether of the same country, or an alien, as an enemy, one who may at any time take his job from him, and snatch the bread and margarine from his mouth; but as for those who deny him the right to work for himself, and then come to him when he is starving for the bare necessities of life, and set him to work fashioning luxuries for them; why, he thinks they are indispensable to his existence; they "make employment"!

As long as these things are so; as long as worker fights worker for the behoof of masters of another class, we shall have hard work to distinguish winner from loser.

Only when the battle of all the workers against all their masters is fought and won will the issue be clear, and we shall not celebrate a mere paper victory with flags and cenotaphs, empty honours, and still emptier stomachs. Our happy lives, unhaunted by the fear of arbitrary interference, with no need left unsatisfied, will be the proof we have won a victory worth having, and conquered the Right to Live.

A. IRONIE.

## JUSTICE HOLDS THE SCALES EVEN.

Bruno Schäfer, the responsible editor of the *Rote Fahne*, the organ of the K.P.D., was condemned the other day to three months' imprisonment on account of an article published in the paper denouncing the "justice" of the Ebert Republic which filled the prisons with Communists and let the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Yogichos and other revolutionaries go free.

Schäfer's advocate showed how reactionary justice exercises its functions. The total of the sentences passed for the murder of 314 workers amounted only to 31 years, three months' imprisonment; whilst for 13 reactionaries killed in the revolutionary struggle, 8 death sentences were passed, and a total of 176 years, 10 months' imprisonment meted out to the workers.

## OGMORE EVANGELICALS OPPOSE EDUCATION.

Bolshevists write from Ogmore Valley:

"The Workmen's Hall Committee at Ogmore Vale has arranged an excellent series of lectures for the winter season, including such subjects as anthropology and psychology. Education is the essential need of the workers to-day and every worker in the Valley should attend these lectures.

"The Ogmore Evangelical Council has, however, issued a manifesto appealing for the abolition of Sunday evening lectures, on the ground that they desecrate the Sabbath and tend to the weakening of religious feeling and the undermining of morals.

"This manifesto should open the eyes of Ogmore workers to the type of men who dominate the Evangelical Council, whose intellects appear to be on a par with those of the men of the Stone Age."

The members of the Evangelical Council rightly fear that with the spread of scientific knowledge amongst the workers, the congregations which assemble to hear the dogmas preached from their pulpits will dwindle to vanishing point.

## RENT AND RATE STRIKE.

WHAT TO STRIKE FOR:

*To abolish unemployment.*

*To abolish rent.*

*To abolish poverty.*

*How?*

*By Communism.*

WHAT IS COMMUNISM

A form of society in which there will be:

*No class distinctions.*

*Economic equality for all.*

*No wages.*

*No landlords.*

*No employers of labour.*

*No buying and selling.*

*Common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange*, the houses, the trams, trains, means of transport, the light and fuel, the farms, the fisheries and all forms of industry being owned and managed in common.

*No Parliament.*

*No Municipal Councils.*

*The Workers' Soviets*, or Councils of delegates from the industries and the homes, will replace all these.

*No Boards of Guardians.*

*No Workhouses.*

*No Poor Law Schools.*

There will be no destitute men, women and children for such bodies to attend to.

*Everyone will be entitled to an equal share of the means of subsistence in virtue of being a human being.*

*Free Education for all, up to the University.*

Ignorance, poverty, and want will disappear.

## A GERMAN BENEFACTOR.

As everyone knows Cornish tin mining is in a bad state. The mine owners pleaded with the Government for a loan of £200,000 to £250,000. This was refused, mines were shut down, and masses of men thrown out of work. The employment dole exhausted, these men are now on poor law relief. Private enterprise failed, the Government refused to come to the rescue, the workers starve; another instance of the unsatisfactory nature of capitalism.

Though Cornish mineowners have failed to make their tin mines pay, some people are of opinion that they might be rendered highly profitable. One of these is the rich German capitalist Herr Stinnes. Says the *Mining World*:—

"His son is in England, and we believe that the purchase of the dumps in Cornwall and elsewhere is one, if, indeed, it is not the sole object of his visit. *We know for a fact that the dumps at Grenville United mines have been examined on his behalf, and reported upon, and that the results are now before him.* . . . He will be welcomed in Cornwall as a benefactor if he can only give employment to those who are now without it, and who, though willing to work, are obliged to subsist on "doles," supplemented by grants from relief funds raised within the county. Deserted by their own Government, which has refused to respond to every call made to it for aid, the Cornish miner will receive with gratitude employment, even coming from the hands of a former enemy."

The *Mining World* refers, it will be observed, to the miserable plight of the miners, but, as the trade journal of the mineowners, its real interest is for the owners. The owners are prepared to welcome Herr Stinnes, if they can make money out of him, although, as the *Mining World* says of him:—

"Herr Stinnes made himself known in an unmistakable way to the representatives of the Allies at the Spa Conference, towards the close of which he delivered a speech which not one of those who heard it can have forgotten; neither will it cease to be remembered by those who read it when published. His implacable attitude in regard to those who accomplished Germany's defeat in the Great War showed how little he was disposed to accept accomplished facts, but rather revealed him as the incarnation of that spirit of revenge which lies latent in the German breast."

Yet the *Mining World*, in the same article, hails Stinnes as a "benefactor." Of such hypocritical stuff is capitalist patriotism when the pocket is touched.

## SOME PLAN!

That impostor, Horatio Bottomley, placarded London last week week with advertisements that he had a "plan" for dealing with unemployment. The "plan" turns out to be merely to raise a loan of £100,000,000—a plan that anyone could have thought of—this loan to be tax-free and subject to 6 per cent. interest, 3 per cent. of which is to be drawn for in Prize Bonds. Bottomley obligingly offers to arrange the whole thing free of charge. His record assures every intelligent person that he forsees ways and means of making not merely kudos, but hard cash out of such an offer if it were accepted—which his character is too well known to admit of.

Bottomley suggests that the £100,000,000 be spent on making a Channel Tunnel and other works. But, as Bottomley knows, the Government is not likely to agree to a Channel Tunnel; it is too much afraid that it may presently quarrel with some Powers in Europe for that.

Thousands of workers read *John Bull*, because it is so widely advertised, and are taken in by Bottomley.

## COMING HOME.

'BUS CONDUCTOR: "*You're a mug!*"

OLD WOMAN: "*Ought to have put a few more years in, to get a good pension!*"

YOUNG WOMAN: "*Yes, that you ought!*"

'BUS CONDUCTOR: "*I've got a brother, been seventeen years in it.*"

SAILOR: "*Well, he's a hero!*"

'BUS CONDUCTOR: "*Going to get a big pension.*"

OLD WOMAN: "*Yes, you should have looked after your pension.*"

YOUNG WOMAN: "*Yes, indeed!*"

SAILOR: "*Got to be a Chief now to get a big pension.*"

'BUS CONDUCTOR: "*Well, he is a Chief.*"

SAILOR: "*Our Chief Stoker's resigned out of it.*"

'BUS CONDUCTOR: "*Well, you're a mug.*"

SAILOR: "*I've come out to get married.*"

OLD WOMAN: "*No work to be got now; no work doing anywhere.*"

YOUNG WOMAN: "*You'll never get any!*"

SAILOR: "*I'm going in the Reserve (to the old woman, confidentially), shilling a day.*"

OLD WOMAN: "*Oh, well, that's not so bad.*"

SAILOR: "*Two years as a boy and twelve years as a stoker, fourteen years; I reckon I've done my time.*"

OLD WOMAN: "*Well, you have.*"

'BUS CONDUCTOR: "*You're a mug; who'll give you a day's work?*"

YOUNG WOMAN: "*Aye, you're right. No work to be had!*"

## DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

J. Blundell 4s., J. Sullivan 5s., J. Donovan 2s. 6d., A. Dunn 2s. 6d., Poplar Comrades 10s., A. V. M. 10s., A. Frayne 2s. 6d., A. Gilbert 5s., N. S. 5s., A. Smithers 2s. 6d., B. R. Austin 5s., A Sympathiser (per Mrs. Cahill) 5s., H. Hersay £1, J. Leakey £2, J. Hill 10s., A. H. Holt 2s. 6d., Mr. Simpleton 5s. Total, £6 11s. 7d.



# INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### Russia v. Roumania.

The statement that the Russian government has proclaimed a state of war on the frontier of Bessarabia is a lie. The Russian and Ukrainian Red troops are merely defending Russian territory. In contrast to that Roumania is behaving most aggressively. The Petlura bands are crossing the frontiers of Poland and Roumania and are attempting to prevent the collection of the Produce Tax and the grain for the relief work. Petlura bands have caused a railway catastrophe, through which the grain meant for the famine district was destroyed and the railway workers killed. These bands were sent into Russian territory by the Roumanian and Polish government.

### Moscow School Year begins.

The beginning of the school year in all educational institutions has been fixed for September the 15th. Before the opening of the schools, teacher's conventions will take place.

### White Terror in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Communist Party formed a Russian Relief Committee. The Police President of Sofia ordered the prosecution of the Executive of this Committee, but, at the instance of the government, the order was withdrawn because it had caused the general anger of the workers. Up to the 29th of August, the Committee had collected 144,598.80 leva.

### One Day's Pay a Month.

"Sprava Robotniza" reports: The Trade Union Council in Warsaw has formed a committee of workers who organise the relief work for Soviet Russia. It has been decided that the workers shall give one day's pay per month.

### Russian Famine Relief.

The Russian Commissary for Food stated, on September 7th, that the following seed has been delivered to the Volga district:—

| Repayment of seed lent by the State | | |
|---|---|---|
| in 1920 | 3,000,000 | pood |
| Produce Tax | 13,000,000 | ,, |
| From the Soviet farms | 419,000 | ,, |
| Other Tay Taxes | 1,000,000 | ,, |
| From the Cancasus | 231,000 | ,, |
| From Turkestan | 43,000 | ,, |
| From Ukraine | 33,000 | ,, |

Besides this, the Ukraine has delivered 11,679,000 pood, which is 78 per cent. of its programm.

A communique of the commissariat for food of September 9th places the amount of seed delivered to the famine districts at 21,255,000 pood.

The following ships arrived in Reval harbour on August 30th and 31st with grain for Soviet Russia: The Finnish seamers "Uto" and "Froken," the Danish steamers "Paula" and "Edith," the Swedish steamers "Maywik" and "Egil," the Finnish sailing ships "Oni" and "Nordo," the Esthonian sailing ship "Eva," and the Norwegian steamer "Buri."

The appeal in Turkestan for the famine sufferers of the Volga has yielded 500 millions rubles besides large amounts of food and clothing.

In Rostow a shortage of food for the deserted children took place. It was decided that all dealers who came to the city with food, should give up a portion of their products for the childrens' home. No scale was fixed, the amount being left to their own judgment. Every morning special waggons from the feeding centres go to the market to collect the contributions. At first, the dealers were much dissatisfied, but very soon they convinced themselves that the collected food went without any bureaucratic circumlocution to the childrens' feeding centre.

### Arming the Reaction.

The Vienna "Rote Fahne" publishes a letter, numbered (Z. 167/T 1921) from the Polish military attache in Vienna to the chief of the military munition section. Enclosed in this letter were instructions from General Niesiolowski, written in Warsaw on August 19th, 1921, arranging for the speedy transport of three millionst rounds of ammunition which have been purchased in Vienna by the Ukrainian delegation for the Ukrainian Peoples Republic. This ammunition, as well as that for Poland, is to be shipped to Poland by way of Hungary and Roumania without delay.

### Famine amongst the Volga Germans.

The commissariat for nationalities possesses the following data over the autonomous Volga Germans. The area is about 13,200 square versts. The inhabitants number 450,000, including 109,000 under eight years of age, 112,000 children of school age, 96 per cent. of the population is German. In this district there are 335 schools of the first grade with 433 teachers, and 26 schools of the second grade with 91 teachers. The number of pupils is 69,000. Besides this there are 49 Kindergartens with 2,000 children. At present 73,000 children under 8 years of age, 68,000 children from 8 to 15, and 150,000 adults are in extreme distress. Since January 49,000 human beings have died of hunger.

### Communist Ethics.

"Pravda" reports: In the last sitting of the Executive of the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party the commission on ethics submitted its report. It was decided that every case of offence against party ethics upon which the Committee passed judgment should be given the widest publicity.

All members of the party who exercise responsible activity in several positions will receive a fixed maximum of food, housing, clothing and pocket money, for one of these positions only.

Commerce as a means of livelihood as well as the purchase of any article for the purpose of reselling is absolutely forbidden for members of the party. The question of political ethics will be debated in the discussion club of the Moscow Committee.

### The New Silver Roubles.

"Pat" reports: The state mint will issue silver roubles to the value of 580 million by January 1st, 1922. The new rouble has the same weight as the old.

### The Task of Noulens.

Trotzki has published a general army and navy order in which he points out the significance of the election of Noulens as chairman of the International Relief Commission of the supreme council. He states that the task of Noulens is not the organisation of the relief work, but the preparation of a new action against Soviet Russia. In a joint meeting of the Odessa Soviet, Trade Unions and Factory Committees, Trotzki said:—

"The capitalist governments will use the famine for their own interest. The bourgeoisie know that without Russia the economic situation of the world cannot be restored. For this reason they now seek once more to approach the Soviet government. Nevertheless, one cannot reckon with the active help of Europe and America. At the head of the International Relief Commission are Noulens, General Pau and Giraud, the sworn enemies of Soviet Russia." Referring to the hostile action against Soviet Russia in the Bukovina, Roumania and Bessarabia, he added: "We do not want war, since the economic restoration of the Republic comes before all for us. Nevertheless, we must protect our southwest frontier." If anybody dare to attack us, we will give them such a blow that the frontiers will no longer run were they are to-day."

### International Proletarian Solidarity.

In the town of Cuneo, in Italy, 116 soldiers from the local garrison have given their meat rations to the "Pro-Russia" committee. Several soldiers of the 34th infantry regiment sent 29 meat rations to the "Pro-Russia" committee.

### Starving Children.

The commission for the protection of children of the Central Executive has made the following report to the Americal Relief Committee over the condition of the children in the Volga:—

Child-feeding in public homes as well as with the parents is very scanty. The death rate is high. The public homes are over filled and cannot accept all the needy children. The help so far carried out and begun is insufficient. In the Sbwah district there are 300,000 children and 7,000 infants hungering. In the province of Viatka and in the territory of the Mary over half a million children are hungry.

In the Tartar Republic the number is 750,000, and in the province of Ufa over half a million. 150 deserted children are picked up daily in the streets of Ufa. The distress is still greater in the province of Simbirsk; there are nearly 800,000 hungry children In all these provinces a relief base will be erected by the Commission for the Protection of Children, and in each base a representative of the American Relief Committee will work.

### The Food Campaign.

Up to September 16 26,322,000 pood of grain have been handed in under the produce tax in Soviet Russia and in the Ukraine over 8 million pood.

### The End of Baron Ungern.

The public trial of the white guard leader Baron Ungern took place here. He was sentenced to death and the sentence carried out.

### Czecho-Slovak Railwaymen—Solidarity with the Miners.

The workers and officials of the State Electric Railways and the metal workers of Mährisch-Ostrau group held two meetings on September 7th and decided in case of a strike of the miners to join with them in a general strike.

(These continued demonstrations of solidarity which come from Mährisch-Ostrau should not be without interest to English readers. It will be remembered that J. H. Thomas of the N.U.R. visited Czecko-Slovakia last winter. Since that time the events of the English Coal Strike, in which he played no small part took place. A coal strike is approaching in Mährisch-Ostrau. The rank and file are taking no chances that the experience of the English workers with Mr. Thomas on that occasion shall be repeated for the Czecko workers in this coming strike. The matter is being settled in advance by rank and file decisions to down tools the moment the miners go on strike. Think it over!)

### A Disarmament Swindle in Hungary.

The Budapest official Gazette publishes two orders of the ministry of finance on the organisation of "Customs Police," whose task is "to report the events upon the frontier which are of significance for the order of the State," and further, "to prevent all attacks coming from neighbouring States directed against persons or property which are on Hungarian territory." Section 11 of the order states that "until the 'Customs Police' are organised independently, this service will be performed by troops supplied by the National Army."

(This is all part of the eyewash which the Hungarians carry out under the kindly hints of the Entente representatives in Budapest. The Entente are the last people on earth who want to see Hungary disarmed. However, to go through the farce of assuring the democratically elected representatives of the people that Hungary is actually disarmed, they must have a statement that the Hungarian army is only of a certain strength. They hope that the people will not learn of "Customs Police," "transport companies limited," "Aero transport companies," etc.)

## RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"The Red Labour Union International." Bulletin of the Executive Bureau. No. 1. August 30th, 1921. Published by the Red Trade Union International, Moscow. May be obtained at the *Workers' Dreadnought* Office.

Two pamphlets by Philip Kurinsky. "Industrial Unionism and Revolution" and the "Intellectual and the Worker." Published by the Modern Press, New York, U.S.A. 10 cents. each.

"Industrial Unionism and Revolution" is a plea for militant industrial unionism. It declares for social revolution by general strike and the armed insurrection of the proletariat. It discussed the two tendencies in the I.W.W.: the evolutionary and the revolutionary. The former school, says Kurinsky, believe that the I.W.W. will blossom forth out of capitalism, like a beautiful flower, and that "it is a peaceful organisation," which only needs to learn how to take over run the industries "when capitalism shall have collapsed." Kurinsky, as a member of the revolutionary school, contends, on the other hand, "the nature of industrial unionism is such that it must be revolutionary; or else become valueless. It must act in a revolutionary manner under all conditions, and its tactics must be just as revolutionary as its ultimate aim. Otherwise it is as misleading as the impotent and counter-revolutionary trade-unionism."

It is interesting to get this criticism of the I.W.W., and explanation of the two tendencies within it from one of its own members. That there should be the dual trend is inevitable, owing to the fact that it takes in all the workers in a given industry, if it can induce them to join, whatever their political views may be; therefore it is necessarily composed of non-revolutionary workers as well as revolutionary. The fact that the I.W.W. aims at creating "One Big Union," and organising the workers within it along industrial lines, which places it inevitably in opposition to the old trade unionism embodied by the American Federation of Labour; the fact that it exists largely amongst the unskilled and migratory labourers, hitherto unorganised, amongst the bottom dogs of industry, and those who live the adventurous life of the lumber camps; the character and outlook of the men who began it and have set their stamp upon it; these things have given the I. W. W. both the name of being revolutionary and a bent in that direction. Yet, as Kurinsky tells us, the levelling tendency of majority rule in a period and a country in which the masses are not revolutionary, has its effect even in the I.W.W. Kurinsky clearly states, in the foreword to the "Intellectual and the Worker," that in the United States "there is not, as yet, any revolutionary sentiment amongst the masses," for this he is inclined to blame the leaders rather than to attribute the lack to any inherent backwardness in the masses.

Kurinsky opposes Parliamentarism, which, he says, "misleads the workers, turns them from their path, deadens the spirit of revolt, lowers their pride, and leaves them patiently waiting for the bones the capitalists throw them from time to time."

The burden of argument in the "Intellectual and the Worker" is that the "intellectual" is an egotist and a danger to the movement. The intellectuals, Kurinsky argues, may be allowed to help the movement, but most not be allowed to belong to working class organisations. Kurinsky here means bourgeois intellectuals. He admits the existence of working class intellectuals, and these he would have very carefully watched. We think that Kurinsky makes a mistake in using the term intellectual; it is not the intellect of misleaders of the working class to which we object, but their misleading. No one would think of describing Arthur Henderson, J. H. Thomas, or J. R. Clynes, M.P., as intellectuals, yet they are misleaders of an extreme order. Moreover, they have sprung from the working class. As a matter of fact it has been proved abundantly that a man's origin does not determine his sympathies, and that a worker who has left his class cannot by any means be guaranteed to work on behalf of his class.

The masses oppressed by wage slavery will fight together for better conditions when circumstances force them to fight; but only a few persons will continue to fight on behalf of the masses when they themselves are withdrawn from the pressure of circumstances which causes the masses to revolt. It is the pressure of circumstances, not the quality of their education, or social origin, which causes the masses to revolt.

*These pamphlets may be obtained from Workers' Dreadnought Office.*

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# NO MILK

In Poplar recreation ground the other day, a little boy and girl were minding their baby brother. The baby was sucking away at his bottle—a bottle not of milk, but of water.

A group of young women stopped to speak to the children:

"Why have you put water in baby's bottle instead of milk?"

"Mother hasn't any milk for his bottle. She hasn't any money to buy it with," the children answered.

No milk for a baby's bottle: that is the pass at which we still remain in this twentieth century: under the capitalist system which some, even amongst the working class, would still maintain. All the vaunted Social Reform of recent years, the Ministry of Health and the baby clinics have left this baby without his bottle ofmilk.

This little chap in the Poplar recreation ground has been robbed of his birthright: his mother istoo under-nourished, too overworked to give him his natural sustenance, and cannot afford even to buy him a substitute.

If he survive, his parents will put him to work, from sheer economic necessity, as soon as the law allows them: even before the law permits it, he will be earning odd coppers by selling newspapers, running errands, minding other people's babies, or even by begging.

But if he had been born of the well-to-do, if his father provided him with an inheritance, he need do no work all the days of his life, and yet he would be respected by all men: if he should deign to work and not take pay for his services; then, indeed, men would shower praises upon him. Even our Labour Councillors would feel him to be a superior man, because his possessions enabled him to live without toil.

As it is, if his father joined the crowd of men who demand from Boards of Guardians twenty-five shillings a week for each adult and eight shillings a week for each child, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Executive of the London LabourParty, and a chorus of Labour Councillors, would denounce that father and his demand as mischievous and extravagant.

To the employing classes, the workers, the numerous hordes of "Have Nots," are of diffeent clay from themselves: unfortunately, too, even the workers are apt to forget that the needs of the unemployed are precisely the same as their own.

We stand for Communism, which shall abolish all social classes and give to everyone of us the right to free, unstinted enjoyment of what the earth and its people produce; just because we are living, sentient beings.

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## :: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

*From the Greenwich Communist Party.*

Greenwich Branch, C.P. of G.B.

To Manager, *Workers' Dreadnought.*

I am instructed, as secretary of the above, to send you the enclosed sum of 5s. as a small subscription to your paper in recognition of the good work in the past of our Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst.

Yours fraternally,
B. R. AUSTIN.

*From a Young-Old Comrade of 84.*

Dear Editor,—Enclosed I send $5 to help along your *Dreadnought.* This in all probability is the last; wish it might be a larger donation—say $500 but cannot. Am 84 years old in January, active in mind and body; years simply ~~to live~~ and *exist* I do not crave—let me go when I cease to be interested in the mighty problems confronting all nations and peoples. If I could I would get a thousand subscribers for you. Alas! for America *just now*; she will awaken soon.

Yours sincerely,
MRS. A. D. SWEET.

De Kalb, U.S.A.

*An Independent Organ Imperative.*

Dear Comrade,—I am so glad to hear that the *Dreadnought* is to continue. The existence of an independent organ seems to me to be an imperative necessity in these critical years. From the point of view of an independent Communist organ it seems certain that had you obeyed the dictates of the C.L.P. Executive, the only true and uncompromising Communist paper in England would have gone the way of all flesh. I thought at the time that the stoppage of the *Dreadnought* for a period would be infinitely preferable to its control by the Party. I agree with you when you say that this "farcial parade of discipline is a passing error." The C.P. is still in the silly stage of youth, and has got to be matured. Perhaps, after all, your expulsion will be productive of great good. It seems that the Executive do not desire criticism; it seems that they wish to be omnipotent and all-powerful, and the only fly in the ointment is your paper. I should like to draw the attention of the ran kand file of the C.P. to that famous slogan "Watch your leaders." Hoping your efforts to continue the paper will meet with the success they deserve.

I am yours for the cause,
ALICE SMITHSON.

P.S.—I am enclosing a trifle for the benefit of your valuable paper.

Dear Comrade,—Enclosed please find 5s. 6d. I am really grieved at the turn events have taken re your expulsion, and do think the Communist Party is making a serious mistake so far as I can judge.

G. BALLAM.

*From Poplar.*

Please find enclosed £1 from Poplar Comrades. We were all sorry when we read in the *Dreadnought* that it was stopping, but glad to hear it will continue. We hope you will get enough money to relieve you of the worry, and only wish we had more to send. Cheer up: better days are coming, though we may never live to see them. Poplar Comrades,

(*per*) ELSIE LAGSDING.


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